## GUIDE TO THE OA14 CENTRAL BISAYAN FILE

[The OA14 Central Bisayan file deals with the Bisayan (Visayan) of the central Philippines, particularly with the present inhabitants of the island of Negros. The file is a subfile of the OA1 Philippines file and the 116 text category for sources in the OA14 Central Bisayan file will be found in the OA1 Philippines file. The file is focused on the Cebuano community of Barrio Caticugan, located in Siaton municipality in Negros Oriental Province. It is basically a one-source file (20: Hart) with only incidental materials coming from other sources. Hart studied this community in 1951 with his research directed mainly to the study of technology, but with information on many other subjects. This is a small file, with materials missing from a number of categories. However, it is well-focused in time and place and should be useful for some research purposes. The file was processed in 1955.]

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treasurer, postmaster, agricultural and sanitary inspectors are appointive positions. The provinces are roughly similar to American states while the municipalities correspond in many aspects to American counties. The mayors of the chartered cities, Dumaguete and Bacolod, are appointed by the President of the Philippines. One municipal district, Bago, is located in Negros Oriental; all the officials of this district are appointed by the provincial governor.

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## The Visayans

This section is a brief introduction to the people of the Visayas with emphasis on the present inhabitants of Negros. The pre-Hispanic names for Negros were Buglas (Binglas), Nayon, and Mamaylan, the latter two probably derived from settlements in the vicinity of Himamaylan.[7] The Negritos or people of a mixed Indonesian-Papuan-Negrito stock were the first inhabitants of the Philippines. When the Spaniards first visited Buglas, they reported Negritos living on the island. "In one of the large islands there were so many of them [Negritos] that it is for that reason called the island of Negros."[8] Whether

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[7] Miguel de Loarca, "Relación de las Yslas Filipinas" (Relations of the Filipinas Islands), Iloilo City, Philippines, June, 1582. Emma H. Blair and James A. Robertson, The Philippine Islands, 1493-1898. Cleveland, Ohio, Arthur H. Clark, 1903-1909, V, p. 47.

[8] Francisco Colin, S.J., "Native Races and Their Customs" (Labor Evangelica). Madrid, 1663. Translation in Blair and Robertson, op. cit., XL, p. 45.

center, Brunei.[13] It is known that in the 13th century some of the settlers of Panay moved to western Negros.[14] Besides bringing highly developed industrial arts these emigrants from Borneo brought different religious and social concepts. The pre-Hispanic Visayan art of Panay is a mixture of Brahman and Buddhist elements; this is true also of the oral literature and folklore.

The name, Visayan (or Bisaya), given to Filipinos of this mid-section of the Philippine archipelago, is said to derive from either the Spanish term, Los Pintados ("The Painted or Tattooed People")--which translated Viseys--or Sri-Vishaya. Beyer writes:

> The name 'Visayan' in the Philippines was first applied only to the natives of Panay and to their settlements eastward in the island of Negros and northward in the smaller islands now comprehended in the province of Romblon. In fact, even at the time when the Spaniards came they used the term

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[13] H. Otley Beyer, A History of the Orient. New York, Ginn and Company, 1926, p.118.

[14] An old Philippine history, Maragtas, relates the settling of Panay in the first quarter of the 13th century by nine datus (chiefs) from northern Borneo. The Maragtas was compiled by Pedro Alcantara Monteclaro from several ancient manuscripts and other records; later this history was translated into Spanish by C. Santiago-Cuino. In 1943 Manuel Carreron made an English translation of the Spanish manuscript. Both Carreron and the noted Filipino historian, C. F. Zaide, believe the code in the Maragtas was promulgated in 1212. While the Maragtas has not been published, I was able to secure a typed copy of Carreron's translation.

'Visayan' only for the areas just mentioned, while the people of Cebu, Bohol, and Leyte were for a long time known only as Pintados. The name 'Visayan' was later extended to them because...their languages are closely allied to the Visayan dialect of Panay.[15] 101

In 1942 there were about 7,200,000 Visayan Filipinos living in more than twenty major islands and several hundred smaller ones. In addition to the coastal regions of Mindanao, six large islands inhabited almost exclusively by Visayans are Cebu, Bohol, Negros, Panay, Leyte and Samar. (See Plate IV.)[1] The largest group of Visayans are the Cebuanos (3,940,000) who occupy Negros Oriental province, Cebu, Bohol and other Visayan islands. The barriofolk of Caticugan are almost entirely Cebuanos. The Panayanos (2,085,000) inhabit most of Negros Occidental province, Panay, Guimaras, and other Visayan islands. In 1942 the population of eastern Leyte and Samar island totalled 995,000, the people (most of whom) speaking a modified Cebuano dialect called Wari-Wari. A small enclave of people living in the Aklan River valley of Panay (about 180,000) may have migrated to the Philippines before the arrival of the Borneo emigrants who settled the island in the 13th century.[16] 161 162

The Cebuanos and Panayanos (the latter are often called Ilongos) speak different dialects. Beyer believes that Cebuano is probably the least modified of the 197 174

[15] G. Nye Steiger, H. Otley Beyer and Conrado Benitez, A History of the Orient. New York, Ginn and Company, 1926, pp.122-3.

[16] H. Otley Beyer, "The People of the Philippines." Unpublished book manuscript. Manila, 1943, p.173.

[See p.36, Cat. 162--Analyst]

20: Hart E-5 (195.) 1954 OA1 Philippines
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in 1950-51 or nearly 64 per cent of the total Negros crop.

Wernstedt aptly describes the general landscape of western Negros:

> The sugar lands of Negros present much the same landscape picture wherever they are encountered. In many respects they are more reminiscent of the wheat lands of Midwestern United States, than those characteristic of the Orient. Extensive rolling fields are covered with waving cane, looking not unlike waving wheat from a distance. Modern farm machinery can be seen at work in the fields, small cross-road villages house the agricultural workers, and large gleaming factories dot the landscape like Midwestern grain elevators. All look somewhat incongruous amidst the intensively cultivated rice paddies dotted with lumbering carabaos pulling wooden plows through the fields.[103]

This chapter has aimed to survey the general features of Negros' cultural landscape with emphasis on those factors that highlight the position of Siaton municipality and Caticugan. Caticugan is one of more than 300 *barrios* of Negros Oriental, located in a relatively sparsely settled part of the Southeastern Coastal lowlands. The barriofolk are subsistence farmers whose major crop is corn, although some rice is raised. The western province of Negros is primarily a sugar cane and rice area, with more people, urban settlements, transportation facilities, and modern agricultural methods. The people of Caticugan live outside the cash economy of Negros' sugar *haciendas* and *centrals*. Besides

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[103] Wernstedt, *op. cit.*, p.186.

these differences the barriofolk of Caticugan, and Negros Oriental, are mainly Cebuanos with dialect and customs different from those of Panay[illegible] of Negros Occidental.

Recent improvements in transportation have brought most of the barriofolk of Caticugan closer to Dumaguete, the provincial capitol where American cultural patterns are most heavily concentrated. Yet they live on the periphery of the major traffic flow of this province. With their undeveloped technology and crude implements, the Caticugan barriofolk have adjusted their economy to the seasonal rhythms of the southwest and northeast monsoons, the former beginning their agricultural cycle. This chapter has described the general scenery of the "stage" where the barriofolk of Caticugan act out their lives.

An American visitor in Dumaguete would find much in the city to remind him of the United States. New Fords, modern buildings, the mode of dress, Hollywood cinemas and Silliman University with its American professors and English-speaking students would be visible signs of American influence. As he left Dumaguete for the rural areas of Negros, he would quickly enter a new milieu and the farther south he travelled the fewer clues he would find to suggest familiar scenes of his country.

Today one can catch an early morning bus from Dumaguete to Siaton poblacion. The faded green bus

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Sandugo is when one man makes a small cut in anothe another man's arm and drinks the blood and the other man does the same thing. Then they call each Sandugo or Igso [an abbreviated form of Igso-on, i.e., brother] among friends. A Sandugo can tell if one of his Sandugos is back-biting [criticizing] him. I do not know how. Maybe it is because they have drunk each other's blood.

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During the later Spanish period few Bukidnons lived in the hills near Siaton poblacion. The Guardia Civil patrolled the hills and were said to shoot any Bukidnon on sight.[60] During the American period, as a few informants could remember from their youth, Bukidnons came to barter honey and rattan for corn and rice. A man named Tacio, a former resident of Salag, was reported to have had many Bukidnon friends. They often came to Salag to get him to settle their quarrels. A few stories were told by the barriofolk of Bukidnons coming to the lowland to steal grain and animals. Most of the barriofolk regard the Bukidnons as inferior humans.[61]

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[60] The constabulary force organized in 1869 was called the Guardia Civil. Sawyer writes they "...were well paid and were dressed in a very smart and neat uniform...They were armed with Remington rifles and bayonets, and in addition carried a heavy chopping knife." By 1880 there were three divisions of the Guardia Civil, one being stationed in the Visayan region. The district office was in the district capitol, company headquarters in the provincial capitols, and detachments were sent to areas where they were needed. Sawyer, op. cit., p. 28; C. Zaide, The Philippines Since the British Invasion, pp. 156-7; Dean C. Worcester, The Philippines: Past and Present. New edition in one volume with biographical sketch and four additional chapters by Ralston Hayden. New York, Macmillan, 1930, pp. 308-9.

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[61] The Caticugan barriofolk refer to Christian Filipinos living in the mountains as Bukidnons.

CB [10]

BOATS

Sakayan is the general term for all types of dug-out boats; there are two main classes. The banca (normally the bokaran and panahiran) is the larger group of boats, whereas the baroto, a smaller group, includes the begiw, tangp, kayackagan, and solongan. The sailing boat, usually much larger than the banca, is called parkahan or parao. There were no paraos in Siaton although I saw some in Tolong poblacion. None of the boats in Siaton had inboard or outboard motors. 501

Many boats are made in Barrio Mangoto, Pamplona municipality; fishermen in Siaton rarely make their own boats because of lack of suitable timber in the vicinity. Sketches were made of the most frequently seen boats in Siaton; the panahiran, bokaran and begiw are the most numerous.[71] (See Plate LVII.)[1] 396 438 501

Barrio Mangoto is an hour's walk west of Pamplona coconut plantation, in Pamplona municipality. The community is situated in the hilly piedmont region of the Central Mountain range at the edge of a forest beset by caingins, 101

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[71] I am grateful to Pedro Solde, a prominent fisherman of Siaton poblacion, for his assistance in introductions to his friends in Tanjay. Acknowledgement is also made to Antonio Torres, a Tanjay boat contractor of several decades, who made a special trip to Mangoto with me and my assistant to introduce us to the people. Two days were spent in Mangoto gathering most of the information presented in this section on boat construction. The data were augmented by Siaton informants who had purchased boats in Mangoto.

1 [See p. 623, cat. 501 or 116 -- Analyst]

boat-builders and a nearby sawmill. Large areas, *caingins* of the past, are covered with cogon grass; corn is the principal crop. The region is full of stumps and charred or decaying tree trunks. Many house walls are made of bark peeled from trees in the nearby forest. Mangoto is a community of Christian farmers many of whom have specialized in boat construction.

Arranging for the Purchase of a Boat

It is customary for a Siaton fisherman who wishes to buy a boat to contact a Tanjay contractor. One boat contractor, who had been in the business for nearly 30 years, reported there were three "old-timers in Tanjay besides the newcomers." Usually the buyer tells the contractor the type of boat desired and what he will pay. The buyer depends on the contractor to see that the boat is properly built and delivered within the agreed period.

Some buyers, however, go to the *barrio* with the contractor to discuss the boat with the workers and even to select the tree. Often the buyer pays down one-half of the price; the remainder of the fee is paid upon delivery. However, one Siaton informant stated:

> This is not often done. Many workers cannot be trusted. This is why you need a contractor who will see that the work is done properly and the workers do not loaf.

When the contractor is paid one-half of the boat's full price he may share part of this money with his workers. Other buyers refuse to give either the contractor or the

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The higher percentage of people living in "light material" dwellings in Negros Oriental, in contrast with Negros Occidental, is explained partly by fewer and smaller urban settlements in the former province. Another factor is the cement or wooden dwellings furnished for sugar cane workers in Negros Occidental. In Barrio Caticugan 99 per cent of the people lived in "light material" dwellings; in the poblacion I estimated that 85 per cent of the dwellings were of bamboo and nipa. Before the war, however, there were more wooden tin-roofed houses in the poblacion; this was not the case in Caticugan. All of the "heavy material" houses in the poblacion were burned during the last war; only a few of them had been rebuilt by 1952.

MOUNTAIN HOUSES AND THE MATERIALS USED

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The transitional point in Siaton River valley between dwellings with pounded bamboo walls (sasa) and cogon-grass-thatched roofs, and the more typical bamboo-nipa and nipa shingled house occurs in Sitios Lamtok and Balanan. (See Plate VI, Page 42.) North of this area most houses have pounded bamboo walls and cogon-thatched-roofs, although there are some houses of the lowland type. Pounded bamboo walls and cogon grass roofs are not regarded as superior to materials used in Caticugan or the poblacion. These materials are used because of the distance from the nipa palm swamps along the seacoast. It is difficult to carry the large bundles of nipa back from the coastal area; at

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the same time an abundant supply of cogon grass is available--owing to the nearby caingins--in the upper Siaton River valley. Residents in Caticugan reported that cogon grass is more inflammable than nipa and takes more time to thatch; no dwellings in Caticugan had cogon-grass-thatched roofs. Some houses had pounded bamboo walls; usually this wall type was used only for exterior kitchen walls since it is less inflammable.

Farther north in the Siaton River valley, such as in Apoloy, Cambid and Comon (sometimes called Goshen since Seventh Day Adventists have settled there) walls of many dwellings are made of bark peeled from trees. The bark of the lauan group--danlogan and balangobang--is considered best for house walls. These barks are softer and thicker than other hardwood barks.[3]

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A tree from six to ten feet in circumference is chosen for bark for house walls. The tree is cut so that one end is slightly elevated when it falls to facilitate removal of the bark. The trunk is then cut into segments of the length of the bark wanted for the walls. The outer bark ("dead bark" as it is called by the people) is carefully scraped from the trunk segments so not to injure the inner bark. When this process is completed the inner bark is pounded with a wooden club until sap appears on its surface; then a line is drawn along which it is cut. The

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[3]The danlogan is probably white lauan (Pentacme contorta Merrill and Rolfe) that is widely distributed in the Philippines, including Negros. Reyes, op. cit., pp. 309-10.

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purchased by the barriofolk in the poblacion or Dumaguete; I often saw women, sometimes from Caticugan, returning home on the bus with winnowing baskets purchased in Dumaguete. Dumaguete's public marketplace had many stores that sold this type of basket. Two women who lived in Naga were said to plait and barter niggo baskets during harvest-time but I never observed them doing so. Unlike the bukag, the niggo is made sturdily and lasts for years with proper care.

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Kalalaw are small baskets used to coil abaca thread during the weaving process. Since so few women plait in Caticugan, I never saw kalalaw being plaited. They are made, like the niggo, from thin strips of bamboo and rattan. They usually come in sets of three or four since each size is used for a specific type of abaca thread. I measured one set of kalalaw baskets; the figures are in Table XLII.

TABLE XLII

KALALAW BASKET MEASUREMENTS (Inches)

| Height | Width |
|---|---|
| 16-1/2 | 11 |
| 14-1/2 | 10-1/2 |
| 12-1/2 | 8-1/2 |
| 10-1/2 | 7 |

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ABACA WEAVING

The three major areas of hand-weaving in the Philippines are: (1) northern Luzon (Ilocos region and the Mountain Province); (2) southern Luzon (Rizal and Bicol

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regions); and (3) the Visayas, i.e., Panay, Bohol and Cebu islands. While weaving is done in other parts of the archipelago, these three areas contain the majority of weavers and produce most of the woven fabrics of the Philippines. After the last war the weaving industry in the Philippines was rapidly declining due to the destruction of looms during the occupation, high costs of materials, influx of inexpensive cotton material from abroad, and obsolete designs, and inconsistencies in size and quality of locally produced fabrics.[9]

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Caticugan (and Negros Island) is not representative of any one of these three major Philippine weaving areas. Only a few older women weave abaca cloth in Caticugan.[10] There were ten looms in Caticugan (two were broken)--or about one loom to every twelve families. Not all of these looms were used in 1951. I estimate that of the eight workable looms only four or five were used, at one time or another, during my residence; no loom was in constant use by its owner during this year. The probable disappearance of weaving in Caticugan in the future encouraged me to spend more time in studying the technique than would have been merited by its importance in the community's economy.

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The barrio loom (halablan) is made of bamboo except for the wooden beam and cloth rollers (likisan) and base

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[9] Lysbeth Wallace, Hand-Weaving in the Philippines. United Nations Publication, Sales Number: 1954.II.H.3., ST/TAA/K/Philippines/3, December 21, 1953, p. 2.

[10] Abaca is better known as Manila hemp (Musa textilis). Bark cloth is not made by the barriofolk of Caticugan, although cloth from the bark of the talobang tree is made by the Magahats. Oracion, op. cit., pp. 31-2.

48: Finley and Churchill G.E-5 (no date) 1913 OA1 Philippines OA1
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Yet we are not without data which may be applied toward the solution of the problem. The formative elements tell a tale of importance. In general we observe that the Visayan employs all the composition members which are in Subanu use. From the dictionary of Fray Juan Félix we find that the Visayan has in use a considerable number of such members which the Subanu lacks. This is particularly to be noticed in the matter of the infixes, those puzzling yet very convenient marks of a word-treatment which is just beginning to reach out toward inflectional value. From this we begin to form the impression that the Subanu represents an earlier phase of a common speech; that it has not undergone the development which accession of higher culture has induced among the Visayans.

The geography of the culture site of the Subanu leads us in the same direction. On the ethnographic chart in Father Algué's "Atlas de Filipinas" the Visayans are indicated as occupying a somewhat compact area in the mid Philippines. Their settlements are principally found on Negros, Cebu, Bohol, Siquijor, Leyte, Sámar. North of this center the islands of Panay, Masbate, Tablas, Romblón, and Sibuyán show more or less extended occupation by this stock. Toward the south they are found in settlement at spots upon the north coast of Mindanao, on the east shore of the Bay of Iligan, on its west shore as far as Dapitan, on the northeast coast from Surigao to Lianga, and upon the outlying islands of Dinagat and Siargao. This plot shows distinctly the movement of the Visayans in their advance upon the archipelago, for it is indisputable that they are a Malayan race both linguistically and ethnologically.

From the tip of Borneo two well-marked lines lie before the coastwise seamen of the *prahu*. The northern line leads from the north shore of Borneo by Balbac, Paragua, and Busuanga direct to Mindoro, with not a trace of Visayans along the line. The southern line of approach, after leaving the south coast of Borneo, leads by Tawitawi, Joló, Basilan, and Zamboanga directly to the abodes of the Subanu and to the center of Visayan life and settlement spread over the area from Negros to Sámar. The position in which the Subanu lie relative to this broad avenue of Visayan migration indicates for them an early association with the main body of migrants. Having taken possession of this region north of Zamboanga, they withdrew to the interior of the country for the usual protection of weak peoples by evasion. Thus they lost touch with the greater members of their race; they remained undeveloped in their inland seclusion and now present an earlier type, perhaps the earliest type of the race which with greater freedom of development under better settlement conditions has marched forward to such progress as now marks the Visayan culture.

By combination of all these considerations we reach the conclusion that the Subanu are of the Visayan race, that their language represents an early phase of the Visayan, and that future investigation may bring

20: Hart E-5 (195.) 1954 OA1 Philippines
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in 1950-51 or nearly 64 per cent of the total Negros crop.

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> The sugar lands of Negros present much the same landscape picture wherever they are encountered. In many respects they are more reminiscent of the wheat lands of Midwestern United States, than those characteristic of the Orient. Extensive rolling fields are covered with waving cane, looking not unlike waving wheat from a distance. Modern farm machinery can be seen at work in the fields, small cross-road villages house the agricultural workers, and large gleaming factories dot the landscape like Midwestern grain elevators. All look somewhat incongruous amidst the intensively cultivated rice paddies dotted with lumbering carabaos pulling wooden plows through the fields.[103]

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[103] Wernstedt, op. cit., p.186.

along one of the main sea routes of the Moros to Panay and Cebu; this fact probably retarded the region's development. It seems plausible to believe that Visayans were living in this locality during the first part of the 17th century, if not earlier.

Siaton is said to have obtained its name from Aton, the paternal uncle of Apak, an 18th century capitan of the locality.[33] The exact date of Apak's office is not known but Cadiane's manuscript states that he was succeeded by Capitan Buroganibong in 1779. Aton lived near the present site of the Catholic church in the poblacion. Then the Siaton River had a different course and when the tide was high, fair-sized boats could navigate the river from its mouth almost to the location of the present church, a distance of nearly a mile. Aton was said to be more than eighty years old, quite poor, and on friendly terms with the Moros when the people and the thirteen capitans pasados (former capitans) decided to name the place Siaton in his honor. Si is the Cebuano article used with proper nouns and titles of respect. For example, the "kings" of Bohol when Legaspi arrived

[33] At this period local government in the Philippines was under the direction of the capitan or gobernadorcillo (little governor) who administered the poblacions, assisted by a teniente mayor (chief lieutenant) and other officials. For administrative purposes the poblacion (sometimes called pueblo) was divided into barangays (barrio districts) in charge of the cabeza de barangay who was appointed by the capitan. Zaide, The Philippines Since the British Invasion, pp. 101-2.

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in the Philippines were called either Katuna or Sikatuna and Gala or Sigala.[34]

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The major settlement in the Siaton locality was Barrio Bokoboko which was situated on the west bank of the Canswag River. The Cadiane manuscript states that a Spanish priest named Sumiga visited Bokoboko sometime before 1777 and found the barrio inhabited by 87 persons. He is reported to have gone as far west as the present location of Tolong.[35] Here he found seven persons with the family name of Magsumanay. Sumiga was probably a Dumaguete priest making an inspection trip through southern Negros.

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[34] Aton was believed to have a powerful anting-anting (amulet that protected him from the Moros). ANOTHER version of how this area received its name is that a man named Agaton had a surface well near the river bank where one could obtain unusually pure and cool water. When visitors drank this water, they inquired of its source. The people would say: "It comes from Siagaton's well" which was eventually shortened to Siaton.

[35] Tolong has had a number of names in the past. The original site was said to have been at Omod about 3 miles inland from the present poblacion. One Sunday an enraged Filipino murdered the priest during mass as the latter was in the act of raising the chalice called "bayaw." From this incident the settlement became known as Bayawan. This story is told by Lilia Quindo, "A Brief History of Tolong," Tolong Fiesta Program, 1952, pp. 3-4--a source not beyond suspicion but probably reporting what many residents believe today. Sta. Catalina was then known as Old Tolong. Bayawan later was called New Tolong and finally shortened to Tolong while Old Tolong assumed its present name, Sta. Catalina. Ruiz states that Tolong was once known as Cauitan. It is not certain if he refers to New Tolong (now Tolong) or Old Tolong (now Sta. Catalina). Ruiz, op. cit., p. 151.

Until this time Talo-ot was separated from Barrio Caticugan. Dangola and Naga were settled later than Barrio Caticugan. Naga was first owned by Pablo Radoc and was inhabited by only two families in 1899. A typhoon in 1912 flooded Barrio Caticugan, covering the land with water waist-deep that left a thick blanket of mud on subsidence.

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How Some of the Barrios Received Their Names

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Barrio Caticugan received its name from the ticug reed that once grew in abundance in the swampy area. This reed is used today to make mats in many parts of the Philippines. Ca is a Cebuano prefix which means "the place where." Caticugan translates as "The Place where the Ticug Grow." With the draining of the swamps, and the increasing number of carabao kept in the barrio, the ticugs disappeared. Naga, Talo-ot, Casala-an, Bantolinao, and Dangola all received their names from trees that once grew in their locality.[68]

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[68] Narra is also called naga. Luis J. Reyes, Philippine Woods. Technical Bulletin No. 7. Manila, Department of Agriculture and Commerce, Bureau of Printing, 1938, p. 143. Bantolinao trees (Diospyros sp.) that grew in this area were said to have a black heartwood that made them valuable for decorating furniture; they were also called ebony. Juan Felix de la Encarnacion, Diccionario Bisaya-Espanol: Compuesto por el R. P. Fr. Juan Felix de las Encarnacion, Provincial. Que has sideo dos veces de Agustinos Descalzos de la Provincia de S. Nicolas de Tolentino de Filipinas. Tercera Edicion. Manila, Tipografia de Amigos del Pais, 1885, p. 38. Vide Reyes, op. cit., pp. 407-11.

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Inalad is named because the area is "fenced in" (alad) by the Bondo plateau and the hills to the north and west. Canaway is the name of a bird that was often seen on the river. Sandolot's name is derived from the agricultural ceremony, dulot, while Datag means "level." Dolog means "to lie side by side"; this sitio once was raided by bandits who killed all members of one family, leaving them lying side by side. Sitio Malbog is reported to derive its name from the drunkenness of its inhabitants. When the people came to the poblacion to sell their abaca, they often got drunk on the money they received. The name is a combination of Spanish and Cebuano (malo, Sp. "bad"; hubog, Cebuano, "drunkard").[69]

The names of the sitios and barrios often are taken from suppositions. Barrio Talay, Dumaguete, is said to derive its name from the execution of a group of bandits by the Spaniards. The bandits were lined up and shot in one volley. Talay means "a line of persons." Barrio Bantayan was established as an observation village for Moro raids like that of Bonbonon. Bantayan means a "guardian place." The district of Cambagroy, Dumaguete, is alleged to have received its name during the revolution when American forces stayed in the community. The

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[69] Another story is told how Dolog allegedly received its name. During a smallpox epidemic the people made a magical string "fence" to keep out the disease. However, a stray animal broke the "fence" and smallpox killed many people, leaving them lying side by side in their houses. This type of "magical string fence" has been reported among some of the primitive peoples of the Mountain Province, Luzon.

soldiers taught the Filipinos a few English phrases. When the soldiers left, some of the girls who had grown fond of a soldier named Roy, cried: "Come back, Roy." From this phrase was coined the name of the district, Cambagroy![70] These examples illustrate the various ways in fact or in legend in which the sitios and barrios have received their names.

The End of the Moro Raids

Moro raids on Negros and the other Visayan islands continued beyond the midpoint of the 19th century. In March, 1856, the Moros sacked Basay, a small coastal settlement in the southwest corner of Negros Oriental, and burned the church which Mezquita had built. In 1861 the Spanish government purchased eighteen steamships from England which they used to pursue Moro pirates and to blockade the port of Jolo. These ships gave the Spanish forces mobility superior to that of the sailing and rowing crafts of the Moros. In 1869 the Moros raided Salay point, west of the mouth of the Siaton River, a favorite landing place. In 1871 they returned to raid Barrio Cabangahan. In these latter two raids the Moros were said to have obtained a few captives.[71] After 1871 the Moro pirates were no longer a problem to Siaton, although raids

[70] Alcoran, op. cit., p. 2.

[71] Ruiz, op. cit., p. 151 and Saleeby, op. cit., p. 214.

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[In a letter dated 6 November 1955, the author requests that 'anyone using data from my dissertation on Caticugan contact me before incorporating material into a paper or article--I have gathered considerable [sic] more data and I might be able to augment the subject the person was interested in--and would be glad to do so if possible. I have discovered some errors in spelling of Cebuano terms. Such persons inquiring if additional data were gathered on any topic of my dissertation could write to me [Donn V. Hart] at the Social Science Foundation, University of Denver, Denver 10, Colorado.' For text, see 20: Hart, OA1 Philippines, category 116. --Analyst]

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[For a discussion of the history of Negros and of Siaton in particular, see 20: Hart, OA1 Philippines, category 116, pp. 135-258. --Analyst]

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[For discussions of agricultural ceremonies, and of associated magical concepts, see 20: Hart, OA1 Philippines, category 116, pp. 280-284 (palio), p. 285 (buhatan), pp. 294-299 (loto), pp. 394-396 (camote-planting lihi), pp. 399-400 (cassava-planting lihi), pp. 304-306 (rice-planting lihi), p. 308 (rice-transplanting lihi), pp. 313-316 (rice-harvesting lihi), pp. 334-337 (corn-planting lihi), pp. 339-340 (protective charms for cornfields), pp. 342-359 (dulot), pp. 359-361 (other practices associated with corn agriculture), pp. 377-385 (guhang lihi), p. 404 (coconut-planting lihi). --Analyst]

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[In a letter dated 6 November 1955, the author requests that 'anyone using data from my dissertation on Caticugan contact me before incorporating material into a paper or article--I have gathered considerable [sic] more data and I might be able to augment the subject the person was interested in--and would be glad to do so if possible. I have discovered some errors in spelling of Cebuano terms. Such persons inquiring if additional data were gathered on any topic of my dissertation could write to me [Donn V. Hart] at the Social Science Foundation, University of Denver, Denver 10, Colorado.' For text, see 20: Hart, OA1 Philippines, category 116. --Analyst]

Many studies of modern communities have been made "as if the larger whole were simply a mosaic of such parts."[17]

Believing these comments to be constructive criticism of many modern community studies, a technique still in the process of evolution, I directed my research toward putting into action some of Steward's recommendations. The historical approach was stressed to place Barrio Caticugan and Siaton municipality in their proper perspective. Chapter III, THE HISTORICAL MOULD, is an attempt to reconstruct the past of this locality over two centuries, based upon the unpublished Cadiane manuscript, interviews with local informants, and historical records.

A study of the interrelations of Caticugan with Siaton municipality, and the latter with its wider setting, Negros Island, is handicapped by the lack of detailed materials. On the other hand, the writer was fortunate to have Dr. Frederick L. Wernstedt's "Agricultural Regionalism on Negros Island, Philippines."[18] Through a happy coincidence both Dr. Wernstedt and the writer selected Negros for study during the same year.

Though comparisons are made, the lack of data on barrio life in the Philippines, particularly in the

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[17] Ibid., p.22.

[18] Frederick L. Wernstedt, "Agricultural Regionalism on Negros Island, Philippines." Unpublished doctoral dissertation in geography. Los Angeles, University of California, January, 1953, 264pp. Ozalid reproduction.

Siaton poblacion. The second covers the period from 1845 to the outbreak of the Philippine revolution against Spain. During this period the Moro raids finally stopped but the peace of southern Negros was disturbed by various outlaw and messianic bands. A brief overview of Spanish administration in Siaton is also included. The third includes the Filipinos' rebellions against Spain and the United States, the rise and fall of the Republic of Negros, and continued disturbances in southern Negros. The fourth embraces the period from the establishment of American authority in the Philippines to the Japanese invasion in 1941. The last period includes the Japanese occupation of Negros and ends with the present.[2]

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[2] Much of the material in this chapter that relates to Siaton's history is taken from Juan Gadiane's "Happenings Worth Remembering," and his autobiography. Several weeks after settling in Siaton poblacion I was told that Gadiane had a manuscript history of the locality. Gadiane, nearly eighty years old, was born in Siaton and had a long career of public service under both the Spaniards and Americans. The sources for his history, he told me, were Siaton records of Spanish officials, early municipal records during the American period, and events he observed. Later Gadiane, at my request, wrote "My Autobiography." Both the history and the autobiography were originally written in Cebuano and fill seventy-five single-spaced typed pages. I integrated Gadiane's history and his autobiography into one account, arranging the events discussed in a temporal sequence. During both translations, made at Mr. Gadiane's residence, I was able to question him on statements that were not clear to me and to request additional information. Every attempt was made to check these two manuscripts with available records and publications, and through interviews with other older residents of Siaton. ALL QUOTATIONS IN THIS CHAPTER THAT ARE NOT FOOTNOTED OR OTHERWISE IDENTIFIED ARE TAKEN FROM GADIANE'S MANUSCRIPTS.

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The first map of Negros was made by Diego Lopez Povedano, a Negros landowner, who made an exploratory trip of the island in 1572. He found that the Tanjay-Dumaguete area was the major center of population in eastern Negros. In western Negros another population center existed from Ilo (Ilog) in the south to Canadaguite (Candaguit, near La Carlota) in the north. Varona states this general area was "la cuna primitiva de Negros" (the original cradle of Negros). Another settled region called Tecgaguan, now Saravia, was located in the extreme north of the island. At this time the population of Negros was estimated roughly at 7,000 persons, excluding the Negritos.[10]

An early description of Negros was made by Loarca in 1582.

> West of the island of Cubu [Cebu] lies another island called by the Spanish--Negros, because its mountain districts are inhabited by some blacks [Negritos]. The Indians [Filipinos] have given it various names, such as Mayon, Mamaylan [Himamaylan], and others, all taken from the names of villages in different parts of the island. It contains some six or seven thousand Indians; but the number of blacks has not been ascertained, because of their hostility. The side of the island facing Cubu is sparsely populated; for it has only one settlement worthy of the name, which is situated on the river Tanay [Tanjay], and half of the Indians on that river are natives of Bohol. The southern side [from Panay actually the western and northern regions of Negros] and the town of Arevalo, is thickly settled; for it contains the rivers Ylo [Ilog], Ynabogan, Binalbagan, Carobcop, and Tecgaguan [Saravia],--all fertile districts, rich in foods,

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[10] Varona, op. cit., pp. 2-3.

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# VITA

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Graduate appointment
Degree: M. A.
Date: 1942

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# PRELIMINARY NOTES ON THE RURAL PHILIPPINE FIESTA COMPLEX
## (NEGROS ORIENTAL PROVINCE) [1]

DONN V. HART

796 THE fiesta (piyesta) is as typical of the Philippines as corn, coconuts, and carabaos. Every day in the year some city, *poblacion* or *barrio* is holding a fiesta in honor of its patron saint. For most rural Filipinos the fiesta is the big annual *provincias* (blow-out). As one sophisticated Manileña has written:

> At certain times of the year, Manila loses portions of its population to the provinces surrounding it. The call is irresistible to those who hear it and completely mystifying to those who do not and who are compelled to watch while, one after another, a segment of the community around them collectively drops everything it holds dear and necessary to life in this dusty metropolis to participate in the curious religious-social rites known as the fiesta.[2]

There is no printed source by which the actual number of fiestas annually held in Negros Island can be determined, or in the Philippines as a whole. Since there are more than 600 *barrios* in Negros, and many more *sitios*, the number of fiestas held in this island each year probably total more than 500. The fiesta is a major aspect of Philippine culture and an excellent example of the reinterpretation of Spanish culture by Filipinos over the centuries. It is remarkable that so little has been written on these fiestas, for they are so typical of the Philippines. This article

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[1] This study was part of the research done by the writer while a Fulbright Fellow in the Philippines, 1950-52. For one year the writer lived in the southern part of Negros while making a community study of Barrio Caticugan, municipality of Siaton. The writer attended eight *barrio*, three *poblacion*, and one city fiestas while living in Negros Oriental. His work was aided in many ways by the gracious hospitality and cooperation afforded him by the faculty of Silliman University. It is understood, of course, that neither the Fulbright Committee nor Silliman University is responsible for the opinions and conclusions stated in this draft on the rural fiesta complex.

[2] Consuelo Abaya, "The Fiesta," *Philippine Quarterly*, 1:30, March, 1952.

rather than a city because I was also interested in studying agricultural conditions. Rumors, however, grew around my presence: I was a deserter from the American army, hiding from the military police, a rich American on a vacation or business man looking for investment opportunities. After a month I was able to move around the barrio without causing much excitement. I suspect I became a sort of necessary nuisance, as Malinowski phrased it, mitigated by a rather abundant distribution of free cigarettes!

This beginning period in the poblacion, with visits to the surrounding area, proved to be a valuable investment of time. First, news about the Americano quickly spread throughout the locality, so when I appeared for the first time in the barrios, I did not arrive as a total stranger. Second, it was during this period that I "tried out" several candidates as an interpreter. Since I needed an interpreter who spoke English, this meant I had to become acquainted with the young men living in the poblacion. Third, I was able to begin the study of the dialect with the English-speaking residents of the poblacion.

My interpreter, Mr. Dioscoro Ragay, was a stocky, energetic young man of thirty-three years, the father of three children. He was born in Zamboanguita poblacion but had lived most of his life in Siaton. He had spent nearly two years at Silliman University and had taught school in both Sandolot and Caticugan. During the war,

Coring (his nickname), had been a respected guerrilla in southern Negros and later imprisoned by the Japanese. When I arrived in Siaton, he was working as a clerk in the municipio (the building which contains the offices of the municipal officials), a job which paid him a pittance.

Coring's father was the municipal sanitary inspector. His wife's family lived in Caticugan which was a distinct advantage to me. Coring was patient, interested in the work (though never as interested as I probably unreasonably hoped he would become) and gave me valuable advice. He was respected and liked by the barriofolk for his keen wit and warm friendly nature.

Each day Coring and I went to Caticugan around seven in the morning, returning to the poblacion in the early afternoon when the barriofolk took their daily siesta.[24] Often we revisited the barrio in the late afternoon; otherwise we examined municipal or church records, interviewed informants in the poblacion, or visited the fishing sitios at Baybay or Malabuhan. During the evenings I revised and typed my notes or attended a funeral wake, talked with the people at the guhang booths in the poblacion, or visited Caticugan when some special event was held.

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[24] In the beginning the work schedule was seven days a week for several months until I realized such a routine was unfair to Coring's family and reduced it to six days a week.

in a general manner, the interpretations made by my assistant and to discuss intelligently problems of translation of Cebuano into English. I also could carry on more detailed conversations with the people.

I made wide use of the available records of Siaton municipality. Unfortunately, most of the pre-war municipal records were lost when the municipio was burned during the last war. However, the records of the Roman Catholic church (which went back to the middle of the 19th century) had been preserved during the war. Through the kindness of the parish priest, I was able to examine them. Only a cursory survey was possible of the Spanish records kept in the Recollect convento (residence of the priests) in Dumaguete City. Various provincial records were consulted or summaries obtained through the courtesy of officials. The resources of the National Library in Manila and the collection of books and manuscripts supervised by H. Otley Beyer were used as time permitted.

During the two years it took to write this study, I frequently wrote to my former colleague[1] in Siaton for information. He was able to check certain dubious points or gather additional information on minor aspects that I had overlooked or failed to collect sufficient data. The material was sent to me with the names of the informants, their residence, and often their unabridged comments. The people, for the most part, did not know that Mr. Ragay was gathering information for me.

[1] [i.e. Ragay -- Analyst]

# CHAPTER I

## INTRODUCTION AND TECHNIQUES

### Introduction

This study presents selected aspects of research done in 1951 in Barrio Caticugan, a Visayan (Cebuano) community, located in Siaton municipality, Negros Oriental province, Negros Island, Philippines.[1] The research covered an eleven-month period, from January to December, while the writer had a Fulbright fellowship. Although all aspects of barrio life were studied, the material in this report will deal largely with the barriofolk's technology and material culture. Herskovits states that men obtain from

> ...their habitat by means of their technology the food-stuffs, the shelter, the clothing, and the implements they must have if they are to survive. The objects they make and use for these purposes are generally classified under the heading of material culture.[2]

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[1] "The 1939 Census of the Philippines (Vol. II, page 48) has the following detailed description of a barrio: '(It) usually consists from 10 to 1000 houses. Ordinarily, these houses are located very near each other, forming a small village, although in some cases the barrio may comprise several small settlements locally known as sitios,..The centrally located barrio and the one in which the municipal building is located is known as the poblacion.'" Population Classified by Province, by City, Municipality, and Municipal District, and by Barrio: Census of the Philippines, 1948. Manila, Bureau of Census and Statistics, Bureau of Printing, 1951, foreword. Hereafter cited as 1948 Philippine Census (Population).

[2] Melville J. Herskovits, Man and His Works: The Science of Cultural Anthropology. New York, Alfred A. Knopf, 1949, p. 241.



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> To my mind, the most important element of national strength or weakness is the common man. He is that man in the faraway barrio who is sometimes in rags, with gnarled limbs and calloused hands, humble, God-fearing, hardworking, many times exploited, often downtrodden, always in want. I think that our highest hopes for national strength lies in him, in the circumstances under which he labors and lives. To develop and strengthen his economic position is, therefore, of the most pressing urgency to us. The problem demands the best of our talents and our energies for its solution.[1]

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What remains now is to base action upon these honest statements.

The slow and unspectacular task of building up a body of systematic and accurate information on the barriofolk is one of the most important problems to be solved before a rural renaissance can be programmed in the Philippines. An irrigation canal system here, a new road there, and a few hundred sacks of fertilizer will not be enough. Before we can work with the Filipinos, or before they can help themselves alone, to reorganize and revitalize the rural Philippines, a "table of contents" of the culture of the barriofolk must be prepared. I hope this study may contribute toward this end.

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I am deeply indebted to a host of individuals, both in the United States and the Philippines, for their guidance, assistance, and encouragement. A list of all such persons would fill many pages, and there are some whose names I do not know. However, as in every research

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[1]Pio Pedrosa, "Economic Directions: Regimentation or Freedom." Commencement address, University of the Philippines, April 14, 1953, p.2. Mimeographed.

The original plan was to include all the material gathered during the research period in Caticugan. Due to the probable length of such a study, to the need for careful examination of historical records, and time limitations, this plan was regretfully abandoned. In the near future I hope to write an accompanying volume for this present report that will deal mainly with the social organization of the people of Caticugan. The tentative chapter headings for this proposed volume are: THE BARRIO FAMILY; BARRIO KINSHIP PATTERNS; LIFE CYCLE: REPRODUCTION; LIFE CYCLE: THE EARLY YEARS; LIFE CYCLE: OLITAOS AND DALAGAS; LIFE CYCLE: THE SEVEN SACRAMENTS - MARRIAGE; LIFE CYCLE: THE FRIENDLY FOE - DEATH; SICKNESS AND ITS TREATMENT; THE OLD RELIGION; THE NEW RELIGIONS; THE SCHOOLS; THE RURAL FIESTA; and FINE ARTS IN THE BARRIO.[3]

The research done was not aimed primarily at the investigation of any specific theoretical problem in anthropology. With the meager information available on Christian Filipino culture, the pressing need today is for the collection of accurate information on the general contours of Philippine culture. This is a dissertation, therefore, on many problems, not one problem.

Ralph Beals has written:

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[3] A general summary of some of my material on the rural fiesta has been published as "Preliminary Notes on the Rural Fiesta Complex (Negros Oriental)," Silliman Journal, I, No. 2 (March, 1954), pp. 1-10.



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> It is obvious that scientific ends in anthropology are often varied in character, but all depend to some extent upon the primary problem of description. It is obviously impossible to discuss anything...without first knowing its characteristics. Description, then, necessarily provides the raw data for any scientific objective. The amount of description necessary to any particular objective may, of course, vary, but unless a precisely limited problem is set in advance, the fullest possible description is apt to be of the widest use to the most people.[4]

The primary objective of the research done in Caticugan was to gather data which would enable the writer to describe community activities and to establish a foundation for future research in the rural Visayas.[5] Since there was no "precisely limited problem" the fullest possible description was believed to be of the greatest value. While this study is mainly descriptive, the data are not presented without selection for one could write 500 pages on how to build a house or a fish corral.

This study is the first detailed anthropological report of a Christian Filipino community. After the completion of my research the Philippine Council for

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[4]Ralph L. Beals and others. House and House Use of the Sierra Tarascans. Publication No. 1. Washington, D.C., Smithsonian Institution, Institute of Social Anthropology, 1944. p.2.

[5]Visaya is a term for the "middle islands" of the Philippine archipelago, namely, Leyte, Samar, Cebu, Bohol, Siquijor, Negros, and Panay, to list the more important ones.

United States Aid and the United States Mutual Security Agency made a limited, and mainly statistical, study of thirteen different barrios from Luzon to Mindanao.[6]

Anthropologists working in the Philippines have concentrated largely on the primitive peoples such as the Negritos, Ifugaos and other scattered groups in the archipelago. Yet Felix Keesing wrote in 1949 that the study of primitive groups in the Philippines "is a rich yet little worked field."[7] The study of Christian Filipino culture is a more neglected field of research. There is less anthropological material on any one of the major Christian Filipino groups than on the small Negrito bands of the islands.

Due to this lack of information on Christian Filipinos, the impact of American culture on rural Filipinos often has been exaggerated. Grunder and Livezey state:

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[6] Generoso F. Rivera and Robert T. McMillan, The Rural Philippines, Manila, Philippines. A cooperative project of the Philippine Council for United States Aid and the United States Mutual Security Agency, reproduced by the Office of Information, Mutual Security Agency, October 1952. This report was released less than a week before my manuscript was sent to the typist. However, part of this report was available to the writer, Rivera and McMillan, "The Rural Philippine Cooperative Project of PHILCUSA and MSA, Part II: Summary and Suggested Lines of Action and Part V; Agriculture." Manila, Philippines, August 1952, 34 pages, mimeographed.

[7] Felix Keesing, "Some Notes on Bontok Social Organization, Northern Philippines," American Anthropologist, LI, No. 4, Part 1 (October-December 1949), p.578.

Hardie land tenure report contained a veiled threat of intervention on the part of the United States if certain internal economic conditions were not eradicated.[11] Senator Claro Recto, spokesman for the Nacionalista party, has spoken indignantly regarding certain aspects of American policy.

> Why then was it necessary to amend our Constitution to grant parity to Americans, to give them military, naval and air bases in our sovereign territory, to slavishly play the kite to every changing wind in American foreign policy, to make America's enemies automatically our own, to submit to supervision over our internal affairs including even the reorganization of our cabinet and of our army's high command, and the enactment of our revenue statutes and social legislation, conditions which no self-respecting nation under the Marshall Plan ever accepted?[12]

The paucity of data on Christian Philippine culture, the frequent exaggeration of the impact of past American policies on rural Filipinos, and the rise of a nervous nationalism among many politically alert individuals are all factors which handicap American efforts to assist the Republic initiating a grass-root rural renaissance. Future relations between the Philippines

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[11] Robert S. Hardie, Philippine Land Tenure Reform: Analysis and Recommendations. Manila, Special Technical and Economic Mission, Mutual Security Agency, 1952.

[12] Address given by Senator Recto in Manila, May 4, 1951. p.21. Mimeographed.

and the United States must take a more realistic and sensitive approach to problems of mutual concern. One way this approach may be partly achieved is through a better understanding of rural Philippines.[13]

Caticugan is a village in which the transition, for the most part, from a primitive to a modern community, has been achieved. The research techniques needed to study this barrio could not be the same as those used in the observation of a primitive community. The shift of attention of many anthropologists from the study of primitive to modern communities has sometimes left much to be desired in the use of the community study method. Whereas "a community study that is adequate by all standards will probably never be made", the potential value of this basically anthropological approach to modern communities has yet to be fully explored.[14]

According to Julian Steward, there has been an uncritical transfer of the techniques of community studies from primitive to modern societies. For example:

> The historical approach has been little used in [modern] community studies; history is rarely included in them and never covers more than a few

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[13]For some penetrating comments along this line vide Jose Lansang, "Philippine-American Experiment--A Filipino's Viewpoint", Pacific Affairs, XXV, No. 3, (September, 1952), pp.226-34.

[14]Julian H. Steward, Area Research: Theory and Practice. Bulletin 63. New York, Social Science Research Council, 1950. p.47.

> years of the immediate past. The result is that analysis of function and process tends to be predominately synchronic and lacks insights into the basic trends that the historical method might give.[15]

Anthropologists studying primitive communities, normally groups without a written language, rarely are able to consult historical records. The anthropologist is often the first individual to study a community, about which very little is otherwise known. The only historical "records" which exist, outside of archaeological artifacts, are the memories of the people--their traditional history in myth, song and oral literature. A different situation is encountered, however, when anthropological studies are made of modern communities. Books, public documents and official reports deal with the community under observation. However, the "historical lag" which occurred in the process of transference from primitive to modern community studies still persists in many quarters. In some cases anthropologists have conducted modern community studies as if no historical records were available.

Steward also writes that the value of many modern community studies would be enhanced if they treated the community as part of a larger whole.

> That the community is part of a larger whole which deeply affects it is recognized but the methodology for relating it to the larger whole has not been developed because investigations of regions, nations, and areas generally have divided the subject matter among specialized disciplines.[16]

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[15] Ibid., p.24.

[16] Ibid., p.50.

Many studies of modern communities have been made "as if the larger whole were simply a mosaic of such parts."[17] 121 ●

Believing these comments to be constructive criticism of many modern community studies, a technique still in the process of evolution, I directed my research toward putting into action some of Steward's recommendations. The historical approach was stressed to place Barrio Caticugan and Siaton municipality in their proper perspective. Chapter III, THE HISTORICAL MOULD, is an attempt to reconstruct the past of this locality over two centuries, based upon the unpublished Cadiane manuscript, interviews with local informants, and historical records. 127 121

A study of the interrelations of Caticugan with Siaton municipality, and the latter with its wider setting, Negros Island, is handicapped by the lack of detailed materials. On the other hand, the writer was [114] fortunate to have Dr. Frederick L. Wernstedt's "Agricultural Regionalism on Negros Island, Philippines."[18] Through a happy coincidence both Dr. Wernstedt and the writer selected Negros for study during the same year.

Though comparisons are made, the lack of data on 121 barrio life in the Philippines, particularly in the

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[17] Ibid., p.22.

[18] Frederick L. Wernstedt, "Agricultural Regionalism on Negros Island, Philippines." Unpublished doctoral dissertation in geography. Los Angeles, University of California, January, 1953, 264pp. Ozalid reproduction.

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Visayan islands, made it difficult to determine regional similarities and differences. However, our Chapter III, THE CULTURAL LANDSCAPE OF NEGROS ISLAND, is an attempt to place Caticugan in its geographic setting in relation to Negros. Whenever possible, I have taken into consideration the geographic bonds and historical links of Caticugan to its larger setting and past.

J. E. Spencer has written that

> Regionalism is derived from the physical landscape itself, from climate, vegetation, drainage, and soils. Regionalism is contributed by the variable patterns of land use--agriculture, forestry, fishing, mining, or industry. And regionalism also is contributed by the group psychologies and the culture patterns that descend in part from historical events and from the racial and religious differences of the various peoples who make up the Philippine archipelago.[19]

The study of Philippine regional geography, as outlined by Spencer, is manifestly a task not only for geographers but also anthropologists.

The regional geography of the Philippines is handicapped, however, by the lack of detailed studies of small localities like Caticugan. For George Cressey states

> Regional generalizations are valid only as they rest upon demonstrated relations within the smaller mosaic [which compose the region], and the latter acquire meaningfulness only as oriented in their larger setting.[20]

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[19]Joseph E. Spencer, Land and People in the Philippines: Geographic Problems in Rural Economy. Issued under the auspices of the International Secretariat of the Institute of Pacific Relations. Berkeley and Los Angeles, University of California Press, 1952, p. 24.

[20]George B. Cressey, Asia's Lands and People. A Geography of One-Third the Earth and Two-Thirds its People. 2nd ed. New York and London, McGraw-Hill Book Company, Inc., 1951. p. 99.

The regional geography of the Philippines lacks these "mosaics" as Spencer's recent study indicates. Our Chapters II and IV are attempts at geographic enrichment of the usual anthropological community studies of Southeast Asia. As more community studies of this type are made, geographers will be assisted in refining Philippine regional geography, since they can draw more upon "demonstrated relations within the smaller mosaic."

Techniques

Negros Island was selected for study for four major reasons. First, during the period of research, conditions in the island were not disturbed by the predatory activities of the Hukbalahap (an agrarian communist-dominated rebellion) which would have made research difficult, if not impossible. Second, Visayan Filipinos constitute the largest group in the Philippines, yet little is known of their way of life. Another and somewhat ancillary factor was that Hindu and Indonesian influences are best preserved in the Visayan region. Third, in Negros we have invaluable "bench marks" with the Povedano manuscripts of 1572 and 1578

and Pavón's material written in 1837-1838.[21] Fourth, the writer had excellent personal contacts in Negros Oriental which would facilitate research in this province, particularly with the cooperation of Silliman University, Dumaguete City. All these factors indicated the desirability of locating in Negros.

I wished to select a "typical" Visayan (Cebuano) agricultural barrio. I did not want to live in a barrio which was either unusually backward or progressive, but rather one which was representative of the majority of Visayan farming communities. While a "typical" barrio is as mythical as the "average" American, there are certain characteristics common to the greater number of barrios in this region. On the basis of exploratory trips to Siquijor, Bohol and Cebu islands, conversations with individuals, and previous information, I felt there were seven factors to consider in the selection of a barrio.

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[21] The full title of the 1578 Povedano manuscript is "Las Antiguas Leyendas y Cuentos de los Indios Jarayas--Jiguenes e Igneines de Esta Isla de Bugtas." This manuscript was discovered in 1950 in Cebu City and has yet to be published, although the writer was able to read the partial translation in the possession of Dr. Beyer. Dr. Eggan has a copy of another manuscript written by Povedano in 1572 which is in the process of being translated and edited at the University of Chicago. Diego Lope Povedano was the son of a general of Phillip II who became a land owner in Negros (Bugtas) and described conditions he saw while traveling in the island. Vide Gregorio F. Zaide, "Oldest Filipiniana Document", Freedom, V, No. 9 (March 2, 1953), pp.26-7.

First, a barrio should be chosen which was neither too near nor too far from a fair-sized urban center; in either case I might have failed to obtain a typical Philippine situation. This condition implied more than mere physical propinquity. It included such factors as roads and bus schedules. In this situation, Caticugan, and Siaton poblacion, are at the half-way mark between the end of the National Road, at Tolong, and Dumaguete City, the capital of Negros Oriental. Siaton poblacion is 35 miles from both Tolong and Dumaguete.

Second, a barrio was desired that was near the National Road. The roads in rural Philippines are major arteries of culture change (ranking in importance with the schools, due to the relative lack of radios, reading materials, and the cinema. In Siaton municipality for every mile one went away (north) from the National Road one retreated several decades in cultural change. Caticugan is only a ten-minute walk from the National Road.

Third, I wanted to study a barrio in which the people were predominantly Catholics, since this is the religion of 83 per cent of the Filipinos.[22] On the other hand, I felt a municipality where Aglipayan and

[22]The 1948 Philippine Census states that 83 per cent of the Filipinos are Roman Catholics; 8 per cent Aglipayans (Philippine Independent Church); 4 per cent Moslems; 2 per cent Protestants; and 3 per cent other denominations. Rivera and McMillan, The Rural Philippines, p.166.

Protestant churches were active had the advantage of studying the problems and conflicts between these various denominations. In some of the northern municipalities of Negros Oriental, the dominant denomination is Aglipayanism and not Catholicism. Though there were no Aglipayan churches south of Dumaguete, Siaton had a United Church of Christ and a Seventh Day Adventist church.

Fourth, a barrio near the municipal poblacion was advantageous in order to study the functions of local government and to gather comparative data on barrio and poblacion life. This proved to be a wise decision for other reasons, not then anticipated. Residence in the poblacion made it possible to develop friendships with municipal officials which greatly facilitated my acceptance by the barriofolk. By becoming intimately acquainted with these local officials, I was able to examine municipal records and observe poblacion activities which would have been difficult, if not impossible, had I lived in a community some distance from the municipal seat.

Fifth, the barrio selected had to be in an area that was not disturbed by the Hukbalahap movement, which would have disorganized the normal way of life and made research extremely difficult. The Hukbalahap movement, or the Huks as the members are known, is a communist-dominated agrarian rebellion against the Philippine

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government which is nourished by social injustices and tenancy problems common in many parts of the rural Philippines.[23] During 1951 the peaceful conditions of Negros were never disturbed by this dissident movement.

Sixth, a barrio was desired in which the land use pattern was not plantation agriculture. Though plantation (sugar) agriculture is the typical land utilization in most of Negros Occidental province, it is not for the Visayas as a whole. As for tenancy, Negros Oriental province comes close to the national averages. Whereas corn is the major food of most Visayans, I wished to locate in a barrio in which rice culture also could be studied.

Seventh, I sought a barrio near enough to the sea to permit a survey of fishing activities. For this purpose two sitios were selected, Baybay and Malabuhan.

Siaton municipality was first suggested by Professor Timoteo Oracion, Department of Sociology and Anthropology, Silliman University. Professor Oracion, a native of Negros Oriental, knew the municipality well and recommended it as an excellent area for study of a barrio. The first trip to Siaton was made in the company [123] of Professor Oracion who introduced me to his friends and the municipal officials. A second trip was made about a week later after I had discussed the municipality with

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[23] For a recent account of the Hukbalahap movement vide Luis Taruc, Born of the People. New York, International Publishers, 1953. Taruc is one of the founders and leaders of this movement.

various individuals in Dumaguete. After the second visit Siaton was tentatively selected. I decided to stay in the poblacion for several weeks. If the desired type of barrio was not found, I planned to move to southern Bohol where I had located another possible barrio for study.

After two weeks Caticugan appeared to be ideal for my purposes--a decision which I never regretted. After locating in the poblacion I met Mr. Juan Cadiane who had a manuscript history of the general area of Siaton and also found an unusually capable interpreter, Mr. Dioscoro Ragay. I finally decided it was unnecessary to move from the poblacion to Caticugan, as I had previously planned, once I had selected a barrio. As time passed it became obvious that the advantages of living in Siaton poblacion, a ten-minute walk from Caticugan, outweighed the disadvantages. I made frequent visits to Caticugan in the evening, often staying overnight with friends. It soon became apparent that little activity occurred in the barrio at night except for dances, funeral wakes and certain religious events of which I knew in advance. Since most of the barriofolk retired with the sun, it would have been difficult to have worked after darkness.

At the start I spent most of my time explaining to the people in the poblacion, and later in the barrio, the purposes of my residence. I told the people that I wished to learn Cebuano. I had decided to live in a rural area

I originally planned to study Caticugan only, but I soon realized that the sitios Naga, Dangola and Talo-ot had to be included. Talo-ot was for all purposes part of Caticugan while Dangola was located on a bluff overlooking the barrio. The houses of Naga were built on a stretch of level ground between Caticugan and the Mantuyop River. Residents of Caticugan had land and relatives in these three sitios and the people mingled daily.

Three trips, varying from two to four days each, were made to the northernmost communities in the Siaton River valley, including Balanan, Casala-an, Dolog, Apoloy and Comon (Goshen). When the rainy season began visits to these northern barrios became almost impossible because of flood levels in the river. Many one or two-day trips were also made to the various barrios in other parts of Siaton municipality. Once a month a two-day visit was made to Dumaguete to discuss certain problems with the provincial officials and to obtain supplies not available in the poblacion.

I made a four-day trip from Siaton to Tolong poblacion in order to see the coastal region of southern Negros. During the final month I travelled for two weeks in Negros Occidental province, going as far south as Kabankalan. During this journey I stopped at various poblaciona in both the provinces. The purposes of these trips were to see the relation of Caticugan and Siaton municipality, to the island as a whole, and to gather additional data.

20: Hart E-5 (1951) 1954 OA1 Philippines
Central Bisayan OA14

# CHAPTER III

## THE HISTORICAL MOULD

This chapter sketches the general historical contours of Siaton and Negros. One criticism of many anthropological studies of modern communities has stressed neglect of the historical approach, resulting from an "uncritical transfer of the methodology of studies of primitive peoples to those of modern societies."[1] Since all cultures are dynamic, reconstruction of their past furnishes valuable insights into the present and suggests possible future trends. For these reasons--in order to see Caticugan not only as it is but as it was--I have tried to recover and synthesize from printed record, oral tradition and manuscript source the history of Caticugan and its larger setting.

Caticugan barriofolk are heirs of many cultural traditions. The history of Negros and Siaton sheds light on the temporal sequence of various culture contacts, their impact and subsequent modification of the barriofolk's way of life. Yet events in Siaton or Caticugan cannot be adequately understood apart from the island's history; for this reason selected aspects of the historical development of Negros are presented as a backdrop.

This chapter deals with five major periods in the history of Negros and Siaton. The first period begins with the Spanish settlement of Negros, including the founding of

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[1] Steward, op. cit., pp. 24-5.

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It is hoped this recapitulation has illustrated the insights that accrue from a historical survey of Negros, Siaton and Caticugan. Much of the material to follow will be more meaningful in the light of the historical development of Negros. For "human culture thus no longer is something that we believe we can derive directly from psychology, but it is construed as a historic product whose history can be gradually reconstructed and is being reconstructed."[178] Anthropology divorced from history would be an impoverished discipline.[179]

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[178]Alfred L. Kroeber, "The Delimitations of Civilizations," The Journal of the History of Ideas, XIV, No. 2 (April, 1953), p. 276.

[179]David Bidney, Theoretical Anthropology. New York, Columbia University Press, 1953, p. 285. Vide "Culture History," pp. 215-48.

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stump in the center. Bunches of rice stalks, about two handfuls, were slightly leaned against the base of the stump. The stump was encircled in this manner with "rings" of rice. One "ring" or layer was placed over another and stacks six or seven feet high were made. No rice stacks were seen in Caticugan in 1951. The barrio-folk said tumpils were only memories of the past when the rice harvests were more abundant. I did see rice stacks built around a center bamboo upright in other parts of southern Negros.

Paddy Sizes and Yields in Caticugan and Environs

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While municipal land records were studied, a personal survey was made in Caticugan to check the figures obtained from these records as to size of paddies, also to get additional data on yield, residence of owners and tenancy rates.[33] Few farmers know the acreage of their fields. The method of determining field sizes has already been described. I had mimeographed forms made of the land records and

[33] Rural land records in the Philippines are not noted for reliability; this is true for other Asian countries such as Japan. Vide Richard K. Beardsley's review of The Japanese Village in Transition, in Pacific Affairs, XXIV, No. 4 (December, 1951), pp. 428-30. There have been no cadastral surveys in Siaton municipality. Recently the land records of Negros Oriental were rechecked to improve their accuracy. However, the "inspectors" are said to have been the local supporters of provincial politicos and the program occurred suspiciously close to an election.

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transferred the data from these records to my forms. All land records for the barrios in the Siaton River valley were copied.

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I interviewed about fifty families--about 40 per cent of the families resident in Caticugan. Of course, not all of the people living in Caticugan own or till paddies. Of the families interviewed, figures were obtained for twenty-six individual paddies from twenty families; other families did not cultivate any paddies. Six of these paddies were located outside Caticugan so they were eliminated. Of the twenty paddies, totaling nearly 25 acres, all were planted with Macan Sta. Rosa except one farmer who had interplanted a glutinous variety.

Another survey was made of lowland rice paddy sizes and yields in Sandolot and Datag to obtain comparative data. Seventeen families living in Datag and fourteen in Sandolot were interviewed. Their paddies, totaling 61 acres, were all planted with Macan Sta. Rosa, except one paddy planted with Lubang. According to the municipal land records the average size of the rice fields in Caticugan is .99 of an acre while my survey arrived at the figure of 1.1 acres. The average paddy in Sandolot-Datag was slightly larger--1.6 acres. In 1952 Siaton's average rice yield per acre was 891 pounds; for Caticugan, according to my survey, the yield was only 553 pounds per acre. The Sandolot-Datag average rice yield was lower than in Caticugan; 337 pounds per acre. These figures support the opinion that of all the rice fields seen in the Siaton

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remembered. Land is the barriofolk's bank. It offers greater security than any other investment. Before the people there was the land and after the people there will be land. While fire, storm, flood and war may destroy other possessions, land is the most indestructible. Without land most barriofolk could live in the community only as dependents of their family or relatives--a situation more accepted than encouraged. Few writers describe the land with such warm sentimentality and endearment as do Filipinos.

> Behold the bountiful land,
> The young hills and the corn;
> In the green river's womb
> Children are born.
>
> Honey's in the forest,
> Blue fish in the sea;
> The ash-grey of the clearings
> Grown grain for me.
>
> N. V. M. Gonzalez

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Chapter IV was focused on the land use patterns and agricultural practices in Caticugan. This chapter[1] is concerned with social patterns that regulate land use in the barrio: inheritance, heirs, succession, and methods of division of real estate and movable property. The patterns of tenancy in Caticugan, and regulations that govern the relationships between tenant and landlord; different ways of borrowing and loaning money--credit arrangements--will be presented. This topic deals with some of the most sensitive and disruptive forces within Caticugan.

[1] [i.e. Ch. V -- Analyst]

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regions); and (3) the Visayas, i.e., Panay, Bohol and Cebu islands. While weaving is done in other parts of the archipelago, these three areas contain the majority of weavers and produce most of the woven fabrics of the Philippines. After the last war the weaving industry in the Philippines was rapidly declining due to the destruction of looms during the occupation, high costs of materials, influx of inexpensive cotton material from abroad, and obsolete designs, and inconsistencies in size and quality of locally produced fabrics.[9]

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CB 286 [107]

Caticugan (and Negros Island) is not representative of any one of these three major Philippine weaving areas. Only a few older women weave abaca cloth in Caticugan.[10] There were ten looms in Caticugan (two were broken)--or about one loom to every twelve families. Not all of these looms were used in 1951. I estimate that of the eight workable looms only four or five were used, at one time or another, during my residence; no loom was in constant use by its owner during this year. The probable disappearance of weaving in Caticugan in the future encouraged me to spend more time in studying the technique than would have been merited by its importance in the community's economy.

CB [178 121]

The barrio loom (halablan) is made of bamboo except for the wooden beam and cloth rollers (likisan) and base

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[9] Lysbeth Wallace, Hand-Weaving in the Philippines. United Nations Publication, Sales Number: 1954.II.H.3., ST/TAA/K/Philippines/3, December 21, 1953, p. 2.

[10] Abaca is better known as Manila hemp (Musa textilis). Bark cloth is not made by the barriofolk of Caticugan, although cloth from the bark of the talobang tree is made by the Magahats. Oracion, op. cit., pp. 31-2.

20: Hart E-5 (1951) 1954 OA1 Philippines
Central Bisayan OA14

ABSTRACT

Barrio Caticugan, A Visayan Filipino Community is an anthropological community study made in 1951 of a barrio (village) of Christian Filipinos located in Siaton municipality, Negros Oriental Province, Negros, Philippines. The writer lived in the locality for nearly one year; the research was made possible by a Fulbright Fellowship. Research was directed mainly toward the study of the technology of the barriofolk who live in an agricultural community that the writer believes is fairly typical of Cebuano Filipinos. The research results are presented in nine chapters.

Chapter I (INTRODUCTION AND TECHNIQUES) describes how and why the barrio was selected for investigation and the various techniques employed to obtain information. Chapter II (THE CULTURAL LANDSCAPE OF NEGROS) sets the barrio and Siaton municipality within the general geographic and cultural framework of Negros Island. Such factors as climate, soils, vegetation, land use patterns, transportation facilities and population growth of Negros are discussed; the focus is on the relationships of Caticugan to the island as a whole.

Chapter III (THE HISTORICAL MOULD) is a history of Negros built around a manuscript history of Siaton that was written by a Siaton resident. This chapter deals with the Spanish settlement of Negros, Moro raids, local

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51:Hart E-3 (1950-1952)1954 OAI Philippines
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# PRELIMINARY NOTES ON THE RURAL PHILIPPINE FIESTA COMPLEX
## (NEGROS ORIENTAL PROVINCE) [1]

DONN V. HART

796 THE fiesta (piyesta) is as typical of the Philippines as corn, coconuts, and carabaos. Every day in the year some city, *poblacion* or *barrio* is holding a fiesta in honor of its patron saint. For most rural Filipinos the fiesta is the big annual *prowicias* (blow-out). As one sophisticated Manileña has written:

> At certain times of the year, Manila loses portions of its population to the provinces surrounding it. The call is irresistible to those who hear it and completely mystifying to those who do not and who are compelled to watch while, one after another, a segment of the community around them collectively drops everything it holds dear and necessary to life in this dusty metropolis to participate in the curious religious-social rites known as the fiesta.[2]

There is no printed source by which the actual number of fiestas annually held in Negros Island can be determined, or in the Philippines as a whole. Since there are more than 600 *barrios* in Negros, and many more *sitios*, the number of fiestas held in this island each year probably total more than 500. The fiesta is a major aspect of Philippine culture and an excellent example of the reinterpretation of Spanish culture by Filipinos over the centuries. It is remarkable that so little has been written on these fiestas, for they are so typical of the Philippines. This article

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[1] This study was part of the research done by the writer while a Fulbright Fellow in the Philippines, 1950-52. For one year the writer lived in the southern part of Negros while making a community study of Barrio Caticugan, municipality of Siaton. The writer attended eight *barrio*, three *poblacion*, and one city fiestas while living in Negros Oriental. His work was aided in many ways by the gracious hospitality and cooperation afforded him by the faculty of Silliman University. It is understood, of course, that neither the Fulbright Committee nor Silliman University is responsible for the opinions and conclusions stated in this draft on the rural fiesta complex.

[2] Consuelo Abaya, "The Fiesta," *Philippine Quarterly*, 1:30, March, 1952.

51:Hart E-3 (1950-1952)1954 OA1 Philippines
Central Bisayan OA14



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796 177 The fiesta complex was brought to the Philippines by the Spanish conquerors of the archipelago in the 16th century. All fiestas originally corresponded to church feasts listed on the Catholic calendar " . . . and were, whatever they have now turned out to be, originally intended solely to do honor to the patron saints of the towns of King Philip's Catholic colony."[3] During the following centuries the fiesta was reinterpreted by the Filipinos. The event came to fill a sociocultural void created by the priests' suppression of ancient pagan ceremonies, to increase the religious education of the *tao* and the church's position among the people, and whether it was an original purpose or not, soon became a profitable financial venture for the Church.

771 Most rural Filipinos regard their patron saint as the "guardian" of their *barrio* or *poblacion*, watching over their health, households and general welfare. The patron saint is normally in the background of community affairs in the *barrios*, if less so in the *poblacions*, except during the fiesta period, when the *poblacions* also render special homage to their [789] saint. In periods of crises, crop failures, lack of rain, epidemics, etc., the patron saint may be turned to for aid, particularly by the barrio folk. During the writer's residence in Siaton, the people of Caticugan carried their patron saint (San Isidro) around the barrio, singing and praying, in hope of producing a badly needed rain for their parched crops. Ordinarily, however, the patron saint does not have such an important place in the daily routine of the people as during the annual fiesta. Yet, for many of the Filipinos, the mere fact that a patron saint exists must give them a diffused feeling of security.

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I originally planned to study Caticugan only, but I soon realized that the sitios Naga, Dangola and Talo-ot had to be included. Talo-ot was for all purposes part of Caticugan while Dangola was located on a bluff overlooking the barrio. The houses of Naga were built on a stretch of level ground between Caticugan and the Mantuyop River. Residents of Caticugan had land and relatives in these three sitios and the people mingled daily.

Three trips, varying from two to four days each, were made to the northernmost communities in the Siaton River valley, including Balanan, Casala-an, Dolog, Apoloy and Comon (Goshen). When the rainy season began visits to these northern barrios became almost impossible because of flood levels in the river. Many one or two-day trips were also made to the various barrios in other parts of Siaton municipality. Once a month a two-day visit was made to Dumaguete to discuss certain problems with the provincial officials and to obtain supplies not available in the poblacion.

I made a four-day trip from Siaton to Tolong poblacion in order to see the coastal region of southern Negros. During the final month I travelled for two weeks in Negros Occidental province, going as far south as Kabankalan. During this journey I stopped at various poblacions in both the provinces. The purposes of these trips were to see the relation of Caticugan and Siaton municipality, to the island as a whole, and to gather additional data.

20: Hart E-5 (1951) 1954 OA1 Philippines
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## PREFACE

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It is difficult not to become sentimental or to lose one's perspective in writing about a group of people with whom one has lived for many months, spending seven days a week studying their culture. This is particularly true of the barriofolk of Caticugan whose friendship and hospitality I enjoyed for nearly a year. Looking back now I can see how often I must have disrupted their daily schedules to ask my questions or make my kinship charts. Many times the last egg in the nest or the biggest piece of chicken in the pot was forced upon me by people who themselves had little to eat. My questioning of and participation in various activities must have become tiring and, at times embarrassing to many of the people, yet rarely was I treated discourteously.

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I doubt that any American could live in Caticugan for the same period that I did and not come to realize that these people, the Filipinos, represented the "vital core" of the country; elemental source of the Philippine's spiritual strength and material wealth. Mr. Pio Pedrosa, president of the Philippine National Bank, in his commencement address at the University of the Philippines (1953), said what we both think is the basic problem of his country:

government which is nourished by social injustices and tenancy problems common in many parts of the rural Philippines.[23] During 1951 the peaceful conditions of Negros were never disturbed by this dissident movement. 121

Sixth, a barrio was desired in which the land use pattern was not plantation agriculture. Though plantation (sugar) agriculture is the typical land utilization in most of Negros Occidental province, it is not for the Visayas as a whole. As for tenancy, Negros Oriental province comes close to the national averages. Whereas corn is the major food of most Visayans, I wished to locate in a barrio in which rice culture also could be studied.

Seventh, I sought a barrio near enough to the sea to permit a survey of fishing activities. For this purpose two sitios were selected, Baybay and Malabuhan.

Siaton municipality was first suggested by Professor Timoteo Oracion, Department of Sociology and Anthropology, Silliman University. Professor Oracion, a native of Negros Oriental, knew the municipality well and recommended it as an excellent area for study of a barrio. The first trip to Siaton was made in the company [123] of Professor Oracion who introduced me to his friends and the municipal officials. A second trip was made about a week later after I had discussed the municipality with

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[23] For a recent account of the Hukbalahap movement vide Luis Taruc, Born of the People. New York, International Publishers, 1953. Taruc is one of the founders and leaders of this movement.

various individuals in Dumaguete. After the second visit Siaton was tentatively selected. I decided to stay in the poblacion for several weeks. If the desired type of barrio was not found, I planned to move to southern Bohol where I had located another possible barrio for study. 125

After two weeks Caticugan appeared to be ideal for my purposes--a decision which I never regretted. After locating in the poblacion I met Mr. Juan Cadiane who had a manuscript history of the general area of Siaton and also found an unusually capable interpreter, Mr. Dioscoro Ragay. I finally decided it was unnecessary to move from the poblacion to Caticugan, as I had previously planned, once I had selected a barrio. As time passed it became obvious that the advantages of living in Siaton poblacion, a ten-minute walk from Caticugan, outweighed the disadvantages. I made frequent visits to Caticugan in the evening, often staying overnight with friends. It soon became apparent that little activity occurred in the barrio at night except for dances, funeral wakes and certain religious events of which I knew in advance. Since most of the barriofolk retired with the sun, it would have been difficult to have worked after darkness. 124 123

At the start I spent most of my time explaining to the people in the poblacion, and later in the barrio, the purposes of my residence. I told the people that I wished to learn Cebuano. I had decided to live in a rural area

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rather than a city because I was also interested in studying agricultural conditions. Rumors, however, grew around my presence: I was a deserter from the American army, hiding from the military police, a rich American on a vacation or business man looking for investment opportunities. After a month I was able to move around the barrio without causing much excitement. I suspect I became a sort of necessary nuisance, as Malinowski phrased it, mitigated by a rather abundant distribution of free cigarettes!

This beginning period in the poblacion, with visits to the surrounding area, proved to be a valuable investment of time. First, news about the Americano quickly spread throughout the locality, so when I appeared for the first time in the barrios, I did not arrive as a total stranger. Second, it was during this period that I "tried out" several candidates as an interpreter. Since I needed an interpreter who spoke English, this meant I had to become acquainted with the young men living in the poblacion. Third, I was able to begin the study of the dialect with the English-speaking residents of the poblacion.

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My interpreter, Mr. Dioscoro Ragay, was a stocky, energetic young man of thirty-three years, the father of three children. He was born in Zamboanguita poblacion but had lived most of his life in Siaton. He had spent nearly two years at Silliman University and had taught school in both Sandolot and Caticugan. During the war,

Coring (his nickname), had been a respected guerrilla in southern Negros and later imprisoned by the Japanese. When I arrived in Siaton, he was working as a clerk in the municipio (the building which contains the offices of the municipal officials), a job which paid him a pittance. 115

Coring's father was the municipal sanitary inspector. His wife's family lived in Caticugan which was a distinct advantage to me. Coring was patient, interested in the work (though never as interested as I probably unreasonably hoped he would become) and gave me valuable advice. He was respected and liked by the barriofolk for his keen wit and warm friendly nature.

Each day Coring and I went to Caticugan around seven in the morning, returning to the poblacion in the early afternoon when the barriofolk took their daily siesta.[24] Often we revisited the barrio in the late afternoon; otherwise we examined municipal or church records, interviewed informants in the poblacion, or visited the fishing sitios at Baybay or Malabuhan. During the evenings I revised and typed my notes or attended a funeral wake, talked with the people at the guhang booths in the poblacion, or visited Caticugan when some special event was held. 123

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[24]In the beginning the work schedule was seven days a week for several months until I realized such a routine was unfair to Coring's family and reduced it to six days a week.

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The techniques of research included controlled and uncontrolled interviewing, taking of life histories from informants in both the barrio and poblacion, and participant observation. The unaffected graciousness and hospitality of nearly all of the barriofolk made it a pleasant experience to participate in most barrio functions. Information was gathered and checked with regard to sex and age of individuals, barrio farmers and civil officials in the poblacion. It was difficult to establish close rapport with the shy dalagas (young unmarried women) of the barrio, mainly because a platonic relationship between an unmarried man and woman was generally believed to be almost impossible. However, several dalagas were most helpful in giving me information. First-aid equipment, sulfa for treating tropical ulcers, medicine for malaria, and services to the barriofolk who usually willingly accepted assistance, made things easier.

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Eight life histories were obtained from the residents of Caticugan and Siaton poblacion. Two men living in the poblacion wrote their biographies, one in English and the other in Cebuano. Later I went over the life histories with the authors, asking them to elaborate on certain points of interest or to clarify vague statements. The other life histories, three men and three women, I recorded during interview sessions. I was able to collect these biographies without paying my informants for their time. In one case an active and

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in a general manner, the interpretations made by my assistant and to discuss intelligently problems of translation of Cebuano into English. I also could carry on more detailed conversations with the people. 123

I made wide use of the available records of Siaton municipality. Unfortunately, most of the pre-war municipal records were lost when the municipio was burned during the last war. However, the records of the Roman Catholic church (which went back to the middle of the 19th century) had been preserved during the war. Through the kindness of the parish priest, I was able to examine them. Only a cursory survey was possible of the Spanish records kept in the Recollect convento (residence of the priests) in Dumaguete City. Various provincial records were consulted or summaries obtained through the courtesy of officials. The resources of the National Library in Manila and the collection of books and manuscripts supervised by H. Otley Beyer were used as time permitted. 127

During the two years it took to write this study, I frequently wrote to my former colleague[1] in Siaton for information. He was able to check certain dubious points or gather additional information on minor aspects that I had overlooked or failed to collect sufficient data. The material was sent to me with the names of the informants, their residence, and often their unabridged comments. The people, for the most part, did not know that Mr. Ragay was gathering information for me. 124 115

[1] [i.e. Ragay -- Analyst]

unwelcome addition to the generally meatless diet of the barriofolk.[2]

Hunting wild pig is a strenuous, often dangerous, task. One may trot behind barking dogs for hours, up and down hills, across ravines, through tangled undergrowth and knife-like dry grass. When the exhausted pig is cornered it is vicious. Now and then a hunter is badly mauled and frequently dogs are killed by a wounded pig. There are stories of hunters killed by a wild boar (tangwan) but such tragedies are rare.[3] The following incident describes a hunt that occurred in the vicinity of Barrio Cahangahan.

> One time my brother and I and two other people went out hunting wild pigs. Our dogs found a scent of a wild pig and the chase began. After two hours of chasing the tangwan that had badly

[2]Every Christmas season the young people of Caticugan carol for the residents of the barrio and the poblacion. The donations of money or food they receive are used for a party. One group of fourteen young men in 1952 decided instead of contributing chickens for the party to hunt wild pigs and donate whatever meat they killed. The group, with twenty-two dogs, was able to kill, in one morning, four pigs that each weighed from thirty to forty-five pounds.

[3]I never participated in a wild pig hunt. Several times I was invited to accompany a group on a hunt but refused on the basis that a previous operation (I exhibited my scar!) made it impossible for me to trot after the dogs for hours. This was not true but I was rather certain I could not maintain the necessary pace for a hunt. I did not wish to endanger my position among the young men by becoming an object of humorous ridicule. Gathering information on the hunting of wild pigs was not difficult except for the data on the blood--which I would not have been permitted, most likely, to witness had I participated in a hunt.

catch fish in the sea and the money necessary to construct a fish corral.

PELAGIC FISHING: INTRODUCTION

The South Mindanao Sea is considered one of the richest fishing grounds in the Philippines, according to Dr. Villadolid, Director, Bureau of Fisheries. This section describes the methods of catching fish, types caught, and commercial aspects of pelagic fishing. In the past, cattle was the "big business" of Siaton municipality. Today, with the depletion of the herds during the last war, the fish corral has become the municipality's "big business."[31]

Four major methods of catching sea fish are used in Siaton municipality. First, the bonsod or bongsod (fish corral); second, various types of twine or abaca nets; third, the bobo fish trap; and fourth, hook and line fishing from small boats. As has been noted previously, piscicides cannot be considered a major method of catching pelagic fish in Siaton.

[31] I did not live in a fishing barrio. However, I spent a great deal of time in Baybay and Malabuhan, often staying in the villages for several days at the time, observing and talking with the residents. Most commercial fishermen lived in the poblacion. Mr. Francisco Baldebrin, vice mayor of the municipality, was one of my most intelligent and willing informants; he managed several fish corrals off Baybay. Other fishermen such as Mr. Pedro Solde and Carding Alonzo, Malabuhan, spent a great deal of time with me, showing me their equipment and explaining their work. For comparative data on Philippine fish traps, types of nets, etc., vide Agustin F. Umali, Guide to the Classification of Fishing Gear in the Philippines. Research Report 17. Washington, D. C., Fish and Wildlife Service, United States Department of the Interior, Government Printing Office, 1950.

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Various collections were made during the period of research; e.g., an ethno-botany collection of approximately one hundred plants used for medicinal and ritual purposes. This collection was later sent to the National Museum, in Manila, and the Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D.C., for scientific identification of the specimens. Specimens of river fish and crustaceans used by the barriofolk for food were preserved in alcohol and sent to the Bureau of Fisheries, Manila, for scientific identification. A similar collection of fresh water and marine snail and clam shells was collected and sent to the Smithsonian Institution. Soil samples taken in Caticugan were forwarded to the Division of Soil Laboratories, Manila, for chemical analysis. 126

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transferred the data from these records to my forms. All land records for the barrios in the Siaton River valley were copied.

I interviewed about fifty families--about 40 per cent of the families resident in Caticugan. Of course, not all of the people living in Caticugan own or till paddies. Of the families interviewed, figures were obtained for twenty-six individual paddies from twenty families; other families did not cultivate any paddies. Six of these paddies were located outside Caticugan so they were eliminated. Of the twenty paddies, totaling nearly 25 acres, all were planted with Macan Sta. Rosa except one farmer who had interplanted a glutinous variety.

Another survey was made of lowland rice paddy sizes and yields in Sandolot and Datag to obtain comparative data. Seventeen families living in Datag and fourteen in Sandolot were interviewed. Their paddies, totaling 61 acres, were all planted with Macan Sta. Rosa, except one paddy planted with Lubang. According to the municipal land records the average size of the rice fields in Caticugan is .99 of an acre while my survey arrived at the figure of 1.1 acres. The average peddy in Sandolot-Datag was slightly larger--1.6 acres. In 1952 Siaton's average rice yield per acre was 891 pounds; for Caticugan, according to my survey, the yield was only 553 pounds per acre. The Sandolot-Datag average rice yield was lower than in Caticugan; 337 pounds per acre. These figures support the opinion that of all the rice fields seen in the Siaton

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Many studies of modern communities have been made "as if the larger whole were simply a mosaic of such parts."[17]

Believing these comments to be constructive criticism of many modern community studies, a technique still in the process of evolution, I directed my research toward putting into action some of Steward's recommendations. The historical approach was stressed to place Barrio Caticugan and Siaton municipality in their proper perspective. Chapter III, THE HISTORICAL MOULD, is an attempt to reconstruct the past of this locality over two centuries, based upon the unpublished Cadiane manuscript, interviews with local informants, and historical records.

A study of the interrelations of Caticugan with Siaton municipality, and the latter with its wider setting, Negros Island, is handicapped by the lack of detailed materials. On the other hand, the writer was fortunate to have Dr. Frederick L. Wernstedt's "Agricultural Regionalism on Negros Island, Philippines."[18] Through a happy coincidence both Dr. Wernstedt and the writer selected Negros for study during the same year.

Though comparisons are made, the lack of data on barrio life in the Philippines, particularly in the

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[17] Ibid., p.22.

[18] Frederick L. Wernstedt, "Agricultural Regionalism on Negros Island, Philippines." Unpublished doctoral dissertation in geography. Los Angeles, University of California, January, 1953, 264pp. Ozalid reproduction.

The regional geography of the Philippines lacks these "mosaics" as Spencer's recent study indicates. Our Chapters II and IV are attempts at geographic enrichment of the usual anthropological community studies of Southeast Asia. As more community studies of this type are made, geographers will be assisted in refining Philippine regional geography, since they can draw more upon "demonstrated relations within the smaller mosaic."

Techniques

Negros Island was selected for study for four major reasons. First, during the period of research, conditions in the island were not disturbed by the predatory activities of the Hukbalahap (an agrarian communist-dominated rebellion) which would have made research difficult, if not impossible. Second, Visayan Filipinos constitute the largest group in the Philippines, yet little is known of their way of life. Another and somewhat ancillary factor was that Hindu and Indonesian influences are best preserved in the Visayan region. Third, in Negros we have invaluable "bench marks" with the Povedano manuscripts of 1572 and 1578

and Pavón's material written in 1837-1838.[21] Fourth, the writer had excellent personal contacts in Negros Oriental which would facilitate research in this province, particularly with the cooperation of Silliman University, Dumaguete City. All these factors indicated the desirability of locating in Negros.

I wished to select a "typical" Visayan (Cebuano) agricultural barrio. I did not want to live in a barrio which was either unusually backward or progressive, but rather one which was representative of the majority of Visayan farming communities. While a "typical" barrio is as mythical as the "average" American, there are certain characteristics common to the greater number of barrios in this region. On the basis of exploratory trips to Siquijor, Bohol and Cebu islands, conversations with individuals, and previous information, I felt there were seven factors to consider in the selection of a barrio.

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21 The full title of the 1578 Povedano manuscript is "Las Antiguas Leyendas y Cuentos de los Indios Jarayas--Jiguenes e Igneines de Esta Isla de Bugtas." This manuscript was discovered in 1950 in Cebu City and has yet to be published, although the writer was able to read the partial translation in the possession of Dr. Beyer. Dr. Eggan has a copy of another manuscript written by Povedano in 1572 which is in the process of being translated and edited at the University of Chicago. Diego Lope Povedano was the son of a general of Phillip II who became a land owner in Negros (Bugtas) and described conditions he saw while traveling in the island. Vide Gregorio F. Zaide, "Oldest Filipiniana Document", Freedom, V, No. 9 (March 2, 1953), pp.26-7.

in a general manner, the interpretations made by my assistant and to discuss intelligently problems of translation of Cebuano into English. I also could carry on more detailed conversations with the people.

I made wide use of the available records of Siaton municipality. Unfortunately, most of the pre-war municipal records were lost when the municipio was burned during the last war. However, the records of the Roman Catholic church (which went back to the middle of the 19th century) had been preserved during the war. Through the kindness of the parish priest, I was able to examine them. Only a cursory survey was possible of the Spanish records kept in the Recollect convento (residence of the priests) in Dumaguete City. Various provincial records were consulted or summaries obtained through the courtesy of officials. The resources of the National Library in Manila and the collection of books and manuscripts supervised by H. Otley Beyer were used as time permitted.

During the two years it took to write this study, I frequently wrote to my former colleague[1] in Siaton for information. He was able to check certain dubious points or gather additional information on minor aspects that I had overlooked or failed to collect sufficient data. The material was sent to me with the names of the informants, their residence, and often their unabridged comments. The people, for the most part, did not know that Mr. Ragay was gathering information for me.

[1] [i.e. Ragay -- Analyst]

[In a letter dated 6 November 1955, the author requests that 'anyone using data from my dissertation on Caticugan contact me before incorporating material into a paper or article--I have gathered considerable [sic] more data and I might be able to augment the subject the person was interested in--and would be glad to do so if possible. I have discovered some errors in spelling of Cebuano terms. Such persons inquiring if additional data were gathered on any topic of my dissertation could write to me [Donn V. Hart] at the Social Science Foundation, University of Denver, Denver 10, Colorado.' For text, see 20: Hart, OA1 Philippines, category 116. --Analyst]

The original plan was to include all the material gathered during the research period in Caticugan. Due to the probable length of such a study, to the need for careful examination of historical records, and time limitations, this plan was regretfully abandoned. In the near future I hope to write an accompanying volume for this present report that will deal mainly with the social organization of the people of Caticugan. The tentative chapter headings for this proposed volume are: THE BARRIO FAMILY; BARRIO KINSHIP PATTERNS; LIFE CYCLE: REPRODUCTION; LIFE CYCLE: THE EARLY YEARS; LIFE CYCLE: OLITAOS AND DALAGAS; LIFE CYCLE: THE SAVEN SACRAMENTS - MARRIAGE; LIFE CYCLE: THE FRIENDLY FOE - DEATH; SICKNESS AND ITS TREATMENT; THE OLD RELIGION; THE NEW RELIGIONS; THE SCHOOLS; THE RURAL FIESTA; and FINE ARTS IN THE BARRIO.[3]

The research done was not aimed primarily at the investigation of any specific theoretical problem in anthropology. With the meager information available on Christian Filipino culture, the pressing need today is for the collection of accurate information on the general contours of Philippine culture. This is a dissertation, therefore, on many problems, not one problem.

Ralph Beals has written:

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[3] A general summary of some of my material on the rural fiesta has been published as "Preliminary Notes on the Rural Fiesta Complex (Negros Oriental)," Silliman Journal, I, No. 2 (March, 1954), pp. 1-10.



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## CHAPTER II

### THE CULTURAL LANDSCAPE OF NEGROS

This chapter will present, in bold outline, the cultural landscape of Negros Island with particular emphasis on the local area in which Siaton municipality and Barrio Caticugan are located. The material will place Caticugan in its larger setting, providing background for the succeeding chapters on agriculture, fishing and other aspects of material economy. The barriofolk, with their meager technology and crude implements, are in imtimate association with the seasonal rhythms of their land. The southwest monsoon brings moisture-laden air masses beginning in April and climaxing in August. The consequent rains begin the major agricultural cycle and end the fish corral period. The end of the southwest monsoon initiates a dry season with diminishing food supplies and consequently increases the food gathering activities of the barriofolk. The backward technology and cultural perspectives of the people hinder their exploitation of the latent potentialities of their land. Life in Caticugan is better understood in the light of a summary of landform regions, climatic conditions, edaphic factors, population distribution and transportation facilities of Negros Island.

20: Hart E-5 (1951) 1954 OA1 Philippines
Central Bisayan OA14

ABSTRACT

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Barrio Caticugan, A Visayan Filipino Community is an anthropological community study made in 1951 of a barrio (village) of Christian Filipinos located in Siaton municipality, Negros Oriental Province, Negros, Philippines. The writer lived in the locality for nearly one year; the research was made possible by a Fulbright Fellowship. Research was directed mainly toward the study of the technology of the barriofolk who live in an agricultural community that the writer believes is fairly typical of Cebuano Filipinos. The research results are presented in nine chapters. 128

Chapter I (INTRODUCTION AND TECHNIQUES) describes how and why the barrio was selected for investigation and the various techniques employed to obtain information. Chapter II (THE CULTURAL LANDSCAPE OF NEGROS) sets the barrio and Siaton municipality within the general geographic and cultural framework of Negros Island. Such factors as climate, soils, vegetation, land use patterns, transportation facilities and population growth of Negros are discussed; the focus is on the relationships of Caticugan to the island as a whole.

Chapter III (THE HISTORICAL MOULD) is a history of Negros built around a manuscript history of Siaton that was written by a Siaton resident. This chapter deals with the Spanish settlement of Negros, Moro raids, local

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messianic disturbances, founding of Caticugan, Filipino revolutions, rise and fall of the Negros Republic, and the American and Philippine Republic periods.

Chapter IV (THE PRACTICE OF AGRICULTURE) discusses kaingin cultivation and lowland rice and corn agriculture. Minor crops are described and detailed analyses are made of land preparation, planting, field care, and harvest methods. The "cash" crops of the community, guhang (a local alcoholic beverage) and copra, are discussed. The relationships of agriculture (and all other activities) to the people's concept of unseen spirits (encantos) is described and analyzed along with the local reinterpretation of Catholicism. Agricultural extension activities in the municipality are described and certain recommendations for their improvement offered.

Chapter V (INHERITANCE, TENANCY AND CREDIT) presents the inheritance patterns of the barriofolk,(usufruct, inheritance rights of illegitimate and adopted children, etc.); land as a source of conflict within the community, and tenancy problems in Caticugan, are described. Tenancy agreements are usually within the law, although infractions do occur, and tenant-landlord relationships harmonious. Various sources of credit (Chinese and Filipino) available to the barriofolk are described.

Chapter VI (HUNTING AND FOOD GATHERING) discusses the role of hunting (wild boars, birds, etc.) and food gathering (roots, vegetables, fruits, etc.) in the economy and daily diet of the people. Detailed attention is given to sources

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of food (snails and fish) obtained from the Siaton River. Associated practices connected with hunting are described, e.g., food offerings to the spirit "owners" of wild animals, etc. Chapter VII (SECURING AQUATIC PRODUCTS) discusses the "big business" of the municipality--fish corrals. Other methods of catching pelagic fish--fish traps (bobos), nets, hook and line fishing, piscicides, etc.--and boat types used are described.

Chapter VIII (MY NIPA HUT) presents data on the types of dwellings built by the barriofolk, materials used, methods of construction, furnishing, and associated practices. Chapter IX (BARRIO HANDICRAFTS) discusses pottery, abaca weaving, buri plaiting, basketry and wood carving in Caticugan. Most handicrafts have disappeared or are declining; the reasons for the state of local handicrafts are analyzed. An agricultural rite, the dulot, was selected in order to study culture change occurring in the Siaton River valley. The distribution of this rite, its purpose and changing nature as one approaches Caticugan were analyzed.

All data point to the conclusion that Caticugan is a community in transition. The people's village, once largely self-sufficient, is becoming increasingly dependent on outside products. Bartering activities of the past are slowly being replaced by an expanding money economy. Yet the transition from the past to the present is far from complete; the land and sea is believed to be inhabited by unseen spirits that must be placated or honored whereas

20: Hart E-5 (1951) 1954 OA1 Philippines
Central Bisayan OA14

P.25

**Introduction**

Negros is a boot-shaped island in the southern Visayas, the fourth largest island in the Philippines, slightly smaller than Connecticut. (See Plate I.)[1] Negros is 118 miles long and varies from 22 to 49 miles in width. To the northwest is the triangular island of Panay, separated from Negros by a narrow strait. To the east, as if balanced on Negros' "toe" is Cebu, parted from Negros by the Tañon Strait. The northern tip of Negros is about 300 statute miles from the Philippine capital, Manila. 131

> All of the island [Negros] lies well within the tropics, occupying a position between latitudes 9° and 11° North. Altogether, the island of Negros represents a total land surface of 4,997 square miles, or about four per cent of the total area of the Philippines.[1]

The physiographic and, to a less extent, the major political divisions of the island depend upon a central mountain system, lying slightly to the east of the center of Negros, and running north to south. (See Plate II.)[2] To the west this mountain system descends to the broad and fertile plains of Negros Occidental province. To the east the mountains tumble toward the Tañon Strait, tapering off and fringed by the small isolated plains of eastern Negros Oriental province. To the south and southwest, the mountain region merges into a dissected hill and plateau region, dominated in 133

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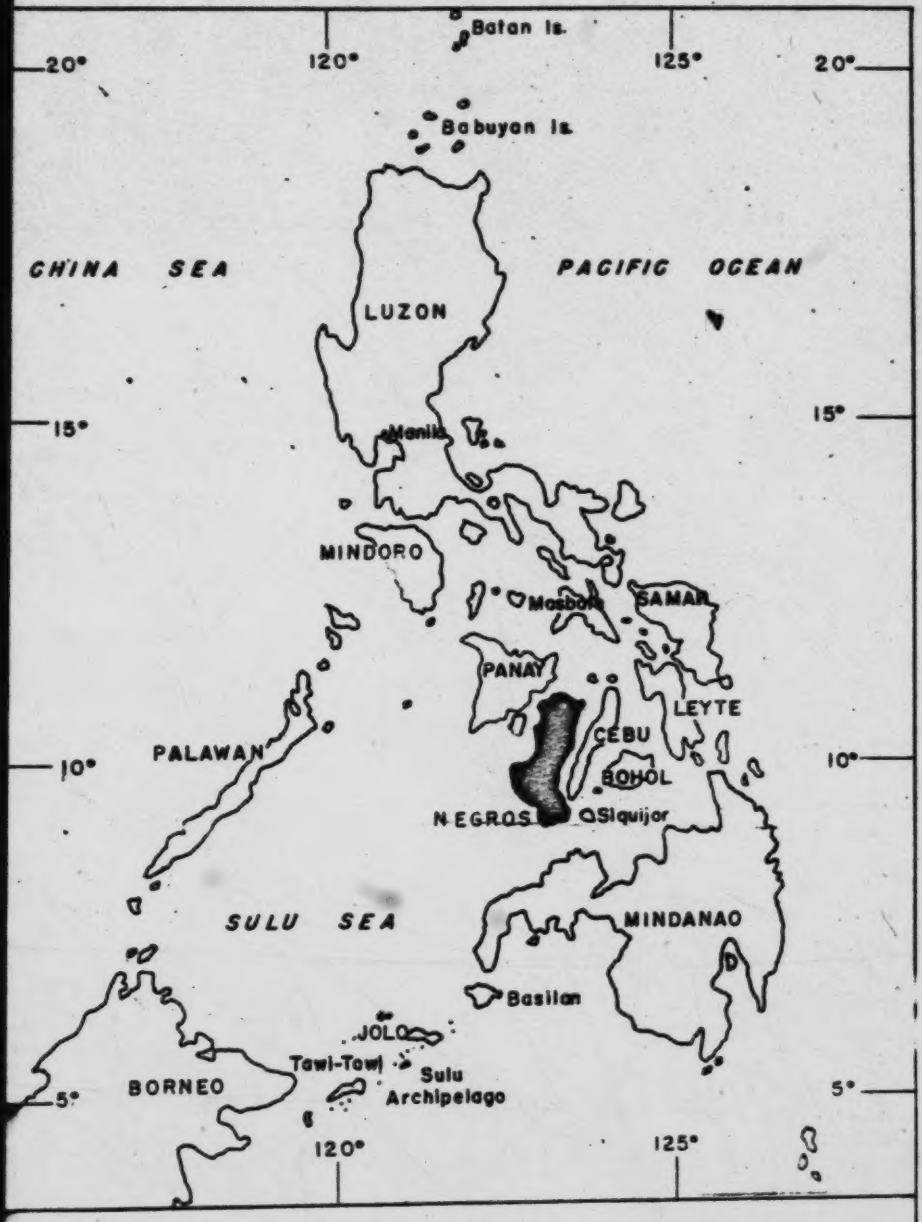
[1] Wernstedt, op. cit., p.2.

1 [See p.26, cat.131 - Analyst]

2 [See p.27, cat.133 - " ]

20: Hart E-5 (1951) 1954 OA1 Philippines
Central Bisayan OA14

PLATE I P.26




LOCATION MAP
NEGROS ISLAND PHILIPPINES

N

0 100 200 300 400

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Corn stalks from the first paddy corn harvest are given to those who cut them. At this time the nearby grazing areas are green and fodder is plentiful. During the harvest or shortly afterwards men or young boys come to cut the stalks and carry them home for their animals. However, in the later corn and rice harvests the cultivators do not donate the harvested stalks. By this time the pastures have begun to dry up; the corn and rice stalks are retained by the owners for their own animals.

243 476 231 [462 857]

Local Harvest Migrations

During July many people from Caticugan, the poblacion and nearby barrios go to Omanod to help in the corn harvest. Corn is usually harvested earlier in Omanod than in Siaton.[49] Omanod is situated in a small riverine plain in Sta. Catalina municipality, about three or four miles west of Barrio Bonawon. In 1951 people came from Bacong and Dauin to help in the Omanod corn harvest. Some took the bus and others from Siaton poblacion walked or rode horses. Women and young children outnumbered men. Several families in Caticugan and the poblacion left younger children under the care of an elder daughter while mother and father went to Omanod.

243 224 [13]

[49] Siaton corn harvests sometimes occur before those of Omanod. Normally, however, the earlier rains of Omanod make it possible for the barriofolk to plant (and harvest) their corn before Siaton. However, in 1952, fewer harvesters went to Omanod from Siaton because both harvests occurred about the same period.

Climate

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Though climates detrimental to human occupance may be modified by man's technology, the economic use of any area is greatly influenced by prevailing climatic conditions. In Negros the average farmer's freedom in agricultural activities dependent on the climate is restricted because of meager technology and equipment. His selection from the alternatives that his land offers is limited severely by inability to emancipate himself from minor caprices of the climate. One crop [731] failure due to inadequate or maldistributed rainfall may mean hunger or borrowing against the next harvest and possibly a debt for life.

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In Caticugan the tempo of many activities is closely adjusted with climatic variations. The transition, for example, from the dry to the wet season starts a series of changes in the lives of the barriofolk, and affects such activities as agriculture, fishing, house repair, food gathering, diet, transportation, and health. The day before the first heavy rains, Caticugan had the silent appearance of a deserted village with plows abandoned on their sides in the fields. The next day the rains came. In the drizzle which followed the downpour the fields suddenly came alive with men plowing the wet earth and women and children planting corn. Irregularity in climatic phenomena often results in disruption of the work cycle and economic patterns of the community.

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The temperature ranges on Negros are slight whereas temperature averages are high. The latitudinal position of Negros is largely responsible for tropical temperature conditions. Twice during the year the sun appears exactly overhead producing a zone of maximum heat reception. The prevalence of cloudiness, exposure to the sea, and the paths of air masses exert moderating influences on the temperature. The periods of maximum cloudiness and maximum heat reception in Negros coincide; this mitigates the heat. The average monthly temperatures (in degrees Fahrenheit) are given in Table II for Bacolod and Dumaguete.[22]

TABLE II

Bacolod, Negros Occidental (18 Years)

| January | February | March | April | May | June | July |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 78.4 | 78.8 | 80.1 | 82.8 | 82.9 | 81.7 | 79.9 |
| **August** | **September** | **October** | **November** | | **December** | **Average** |
| 79.8 | 79.9 | 79.9 | 79.5 | | 79.4 | 80.2 |

Dumaguete, Negros Oriental (14 Years)

| January | February | March | April | May | June | July |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 78.8 | 79.0 | 79.7 | 81.5 | 81.5 | 81.4 | 81.4 |
| **August** | **September** | **October** | **November** | | **December** | **Average** |
| 81.7 | 81.5 | 80.8 | 80.7 | | 80.2 | 80.7 |

In Siaton the diurnal range is usually greater than the annual temperature range. Even during the warmest part

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[22] Wernsted, op. cit., p.30.

of the year, the evenings were often pleasantly cool for "night is the winter of the tropics."[23]

The precipitation variation of Negros is far more important to the people than temperature differences. From April to December is the season of the southwest monsoon, a period of heavy rain and constant cloudiness. In these months air masses originating south of the Asian continent (e.g., Australia, Indonesia, etc.) blow into the low pressure system of Asia due to the more rapid warming of the land than the sea. Since this is a low pressure system, winds approach the Philippines in a counterclockwise direction, i.e., from the southwest.

As these moisture-laden air masses strike the mountainous lands of Negros they are forced to rise, cool, and drop their moisture.[24] The southern, southwestern, western and northwestern parts of Negros receive abundant rains during the period of the southwest

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[23]"The daily temperature curve reaches its lowest stage at six a.m. Then a strong rise follows until 9:00. After the high point which is reached in the rainy months in Manila at 1:00 p.m., in the dry hot period at 3:00 p.m., a sharp falling off usually follows from 4:00 to 7:00 p.m. which gradually levels off in the evening." Albert Kolb, Die Philippinen. Leipzig, K. F. Koehler, 1942, p.49. Kolb writes that this daily temperature curve is similar in all seasons and in all localities of the Philippines.

[24]Frederick L. Wernstedt, "Climatic Study of the Philippines: 1. Negros Island." Philippine Geographical Journal, I, No. 1, (First Quarter, 1953), pp.24-32.

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monsoon. Eastern Negros receives relatively smaller amounts of precipitation in comparison with the more exposed western and southern sides of the island. (See Plate VII.)[1] During the ascendency of the southwest monsoon, Cauayan observation station (51) receives 142 inches while Dumaguete (3) has only 33.1 inches of precipitation during the same period.

Siaton municipality has less precipitation than Cauayan but more than Dumaguete since Siaton is more exposed to the southwest monsoon. The annual precipitation over a 6-year period in Siaton is given in Table III.

TABLE III

Annual Precipitation (Inches)

Siaton (1947 - 1952)

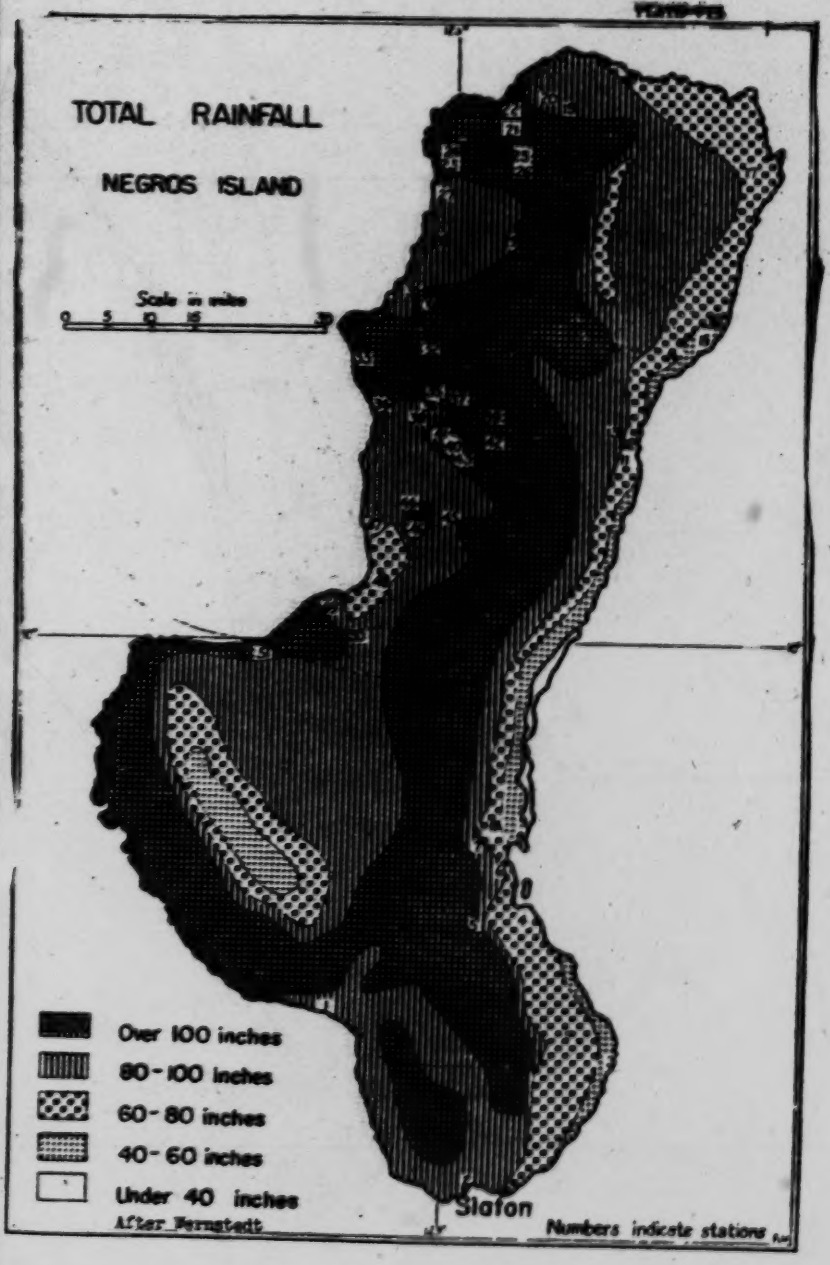
| 1947 | 1948 | 1949 | 1950 | 1951 | 1952 |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 81.3 | 102.6 | 101.2 | 88.0 | 90.0 | 106.1 |

The annual average for this 6-year period was 94.8 inches. Beginning in April there is a rise in precipitation that increases progressively to a climax in August. (See Plate VIII.)[2] By December the precipitation decreases two-thirds. The only month in this 6-year period with no rainy days was January (and only for 1949 and 1952). During the height of the southwest monsoon, August and September, there is an average of 16 rainy days a month.

In September the southwest monsoon fades away and the dry season begins in southern Negros. During this

1 [See p. 50, cat. 132 - Analyst]
2 [See p. 51, cat. 132 - Analyst]

20: Hart E-S (1951) 1954 OA1 Philippines
Central Bisayan OA14

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P. 50

20: Hart E-5 (1951) 1954 OA1 Philippines
Central Bisayan OA14

PLATE VIII

p.57

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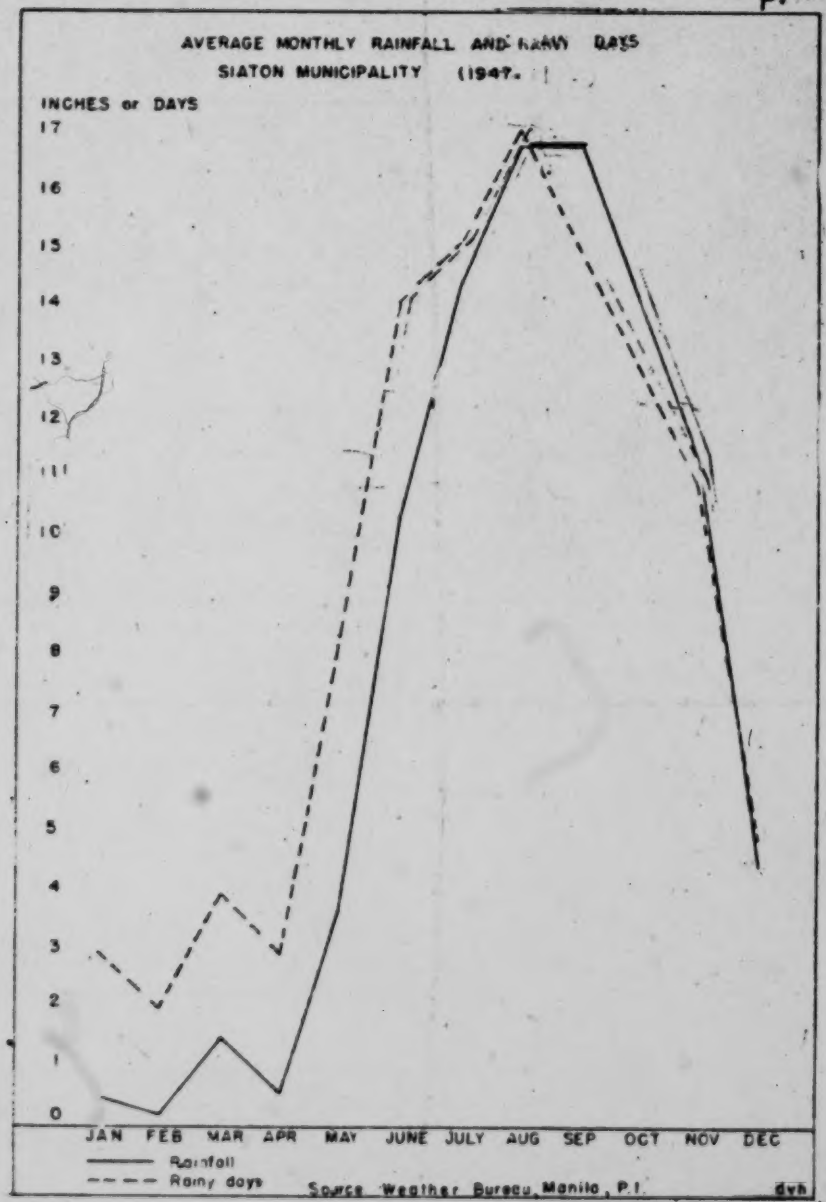

period Asia cools more rapidly than the surrounding seas, creating high pressure centers over the continent. Due to these high pressure centers there is a general outflowing air movement that is deflected clockwise direction, arriving in the Philippines as the northeast monsoon. 132

During the period of the northeast monsoon abundant precipitation falls on Negros' north and northeastern coasts while the south and southwestern coastal areas are relatively dry. Cebu "milks" much of the moisture of the northeast monsoon before it reaches Negros making it less productive of precipitation than the southwest monsoon. It is during the northeast monsoon's period that the fish corrals of Siaton are built. [221]

The total rainfall map (Plate VII)[1] illustrates the annual distribution of precipitation in Negros. The island's eastern coast is the driest because of the less humid northeast monsoon, the proximity of Cebu Island and the Central Mountain range. The heaviest rainfall occurs on the slopes of this range and in parts of southern and west-central Negros. Though Siaton municipality receives nearly 95 inches of precipitation annually, the uneven distribution of this seemingly adequate moisture during the critical agricultural period sometimes results in partial crop failures or necessitates extensive replanting of many cornfields. [731]

1[See p.50, cat. 132--Analyst]

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From January to March is both the dry and windy period in Siaton. These winds, usually blowing from the east or northeast, are dry and warm. For January and February, 1951, there were, respectively, twelve and eleven windy days in Siaton poblacion. In March and April the windy days decreased to about one-half this amount, seven and six days, respectively. During the period of the southwest monsoon, the winds were both less forceful and less frequent. Now and then a sudden downpour with strong winds would occur. By November the dry winds reappeared with five windy days during this month. Most of these winds were moderate.

In Siaton there are three synonyms for "southwest monsoon": habagat, tanghabagat, and tang-ulolan. In the dialect habagat is "south." The rainy (cool) season is called tangulolan or tanghabagat. The former term is derived from the noun, ulan (rain), while the terms are also the ones used for the rain-bringing southwest monsoon. The northeast monsoon is called amihan or tangamihan; amihan means "north." The dry (hot) season is known as tang-init, tingadlao, or tangamihan. The former term is derived from the adjective, mainit (hot).[25]

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25-"East" is silangan and "west" is saladpan. Some of the older residents of Siaton claim amihan is "east," ubos "south," habagat "west" and ibaobao "north." This variety of terms may have occurred in the manner ibaobao came to mean "north." A more precise translation of ibaobao (often shortened to babao) is "up" or "mountainward" which in Siaton normally means going toward the north. There is a sitio called Ubos, just south of the poblacion.

Another source of precipitation for Negros is the typhoon or baguio. Casimiro del Rosario, Director of the Weather Bureau, in Manila, reports that:

> On the average, about nine tropical cyclones of varying intensity (from depression to typhoon strength) pass over the Philippines per year. For the post-war years, thirteen such tropical cyclones occurred in 1948, eleven in 1949, five in 1950, and nine in 1951.[26]

Whereas the trajectories of these tropical cyclones are usually north of the island, some pass near or over parts of Negros, bringing several days of heavy winds and rain, often causing serious destruction. In December, 1951, Typhoon "Amy" (typhoons are given feminine names by the Weather Bureau) struck parts of eastern Negros Occidental, killing 49 persons and destroying about 20 per cent of the sugar cane. Little damage was done in southern Negros Oriental. In 1952 another typhoon passed near southern Negros but the planted fields were not damaged.

Convectional rains frequently occur during the period of the southwest monsoon in the upper reaches of the Siaton River valley. A number of times during my residence the sky above this locality would darken malignantly. Soon a misty grey curtain of rain would slowly move down the valley toward the sea. Often, however, by the time the rain reached Caticugan it was only "big-drop"

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[26] Casimiro del Rosario. A letter in "Question and Answer" column, Philippines Free Press, XLII, No. 30 (September 27, 1952), p.44. In 1934 there were 17 typhoons which struck the Philippines, the greatest number of typhoons recorded for one year in the Philippines.

shower. As Plate VII[1] indicates, the mountainous area northwest of Siaton poblacion has over one hundred inches of rain. Several times during 1951, the Siaton River became a raging torrent overnight, although no rain had fallen in the vicinity of the poblacion. People coming from Balanan and Casala-an would report that it had rained abundantly during the night. 132 ●

Wernstedt established three precipitation regimes in Negros. The first region is located in western and southwestern Negros with a pronounced dry season from December to April and a wet season during the remainder of the year.[27] While the Central Mountain range prevents the northeast monsoon and trade winds from effectively reaching this region, it is open to the southwest monsoon which brings heavy rain. The precipitation of the first regime is most favorable to the growth of sugar cane and rice. Siaton municipality falls into this regime with more than four months of less than 2.4 inches of rain.[28] 132 311

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[27] The average monthly precipitation (in inches), over an 18-year period, for Binalbagan estate, Negros Occidental, located in this region, is: January (2.3); February (1.6); March (1.8); April (2.1); May (8.3); June (8.0); July (15.5); August (12.2); September (12.7); October (11.2); November (7.8); December (3.9). Total annual precipitation: 87.3 inches. Wernstedt, op. cit., p.35.

[28] Wernstedt's original classification placed Siaton in the second precipitation regime. However, since the 1951 and 1952 precipitation records have become available, they show a 6-year period with four months of less than 2.4 inches of rain.

1 [See p. 50, cat. 132 -- Analyst]

The soils and lack of water supplies are perhaps the two most important reasons why more corn than rice is grown in Siaton; the droughty period, limited level land and inadequate transportation facilities do not encourage the cultivation of sugar cane. 132 311

The second precipitation regime is the eastern littoral of Negros Oriental, between Zamboanguita and Calatrava municipalities. Here there is no definite maximum precipitation period but a one- to three-month drought period. The drought normally occurs between December and the beginning of May and discourages both sugar cane and rice but favors corn. This precipitation regime is the corn center of Negros.[29]

Northern Negros, from Calatrava to Victorias municipalities, with an enclave in the Bais lowland, is the third precipitation regime. This area has no dry season but often a pronounced rainfall maximum period. The distinction in land utilization between the first and third precipitation regimes is the length of the harvest and milling seasons. For example, Victorias central (the mill where the cane is processed), located in the third precipitation regime, mills cane for the

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[29]The average monthly precipitation (in inches) for Dumaguete City, located in the second precipitation regime, for a 29-year period, is: January (4.4); February (3.3); March (2.0); April (1.9); May (4.5); June (5.5); July (5.5); August (4.3); September (5.4); October (7.9); November (6.1); and December (5.2). Total annual precipitation: 55.9 inches. Wernstedt, op. cit., p.35.

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entire year while most of the centrals in the first regime are limited to a 6-month processing period.[30] 132 311

Vegetation

Most of Negros originally was covered with forests. Today about 66 per cent of the land surface of the Philippines is still forested.[31] Older residents of Barrio Bonbonon (Siaton) remember when the forests, which then abounded with deer, covered large areas of Bondo. Today the typical tree of this grassy plateau is the stubby talongon (Ginelina philippensis Cham.) The forests were once nearer to Caticugan where rattan could be gathered without long walks to the mountains. The western and eastern plains of Negros also were once forested. As the population of the island increased the most desirable land for cultivation was cleared of trees and planted with rice, corn, sugar cane and other crops. 137 311

Approximately 50 per cent of Negros' primary forests have been alienated by the people in their centuries of

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[30]The average monthly precipitation (in inches) for Hacienda Bilbao, Manapla, located in the third precipitation regime, for a 19-year period, is: January (7.9); February (4.8); March (4.8); April (3.); May (7.1); June (6.3); July (7.3); August (6.1); September (6.9); October (11.9); November (14.6); and December (9.2). Total annual precipitation: 90.0 inches. Wernstedt, op. cit., p.36.

[31]Reginald G. Hainsworth and Raymont T. Moyer, Agricultural Geography of the Philippine Islands: A Graphic Survey. Washington, D.C., United States Department of Agriculture, Office of Foreign Agricultural Relations, December, 1945, p.12.

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## Introduction

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Negros is a boot-shaped island in the southern Visayas, the fourth largest island in the Philippines, slightly smaller than Connecticut. (See Plate I.)[1] Negros is 118 miles long and varies from 22 to 49 miles in width. To the northwest is the triangular island of Panay, separated from Negros by a narrow strait. To the east, as if balanced on Negros' "toe" is Cebu, parted from Negros by the Tañon Strait. The northern tip of Negros is about 300 statute miles from the Philippine capital, Manila.

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[1] Wernstedt, op. cit., p.2.

1 [See p. 26, cat. 131 - Analyst]

2 [See p. 27, cat. 133 - " ]

20: Hart E-5 (1951) 1954 OA1 Philippines
Central Bisayan OA14

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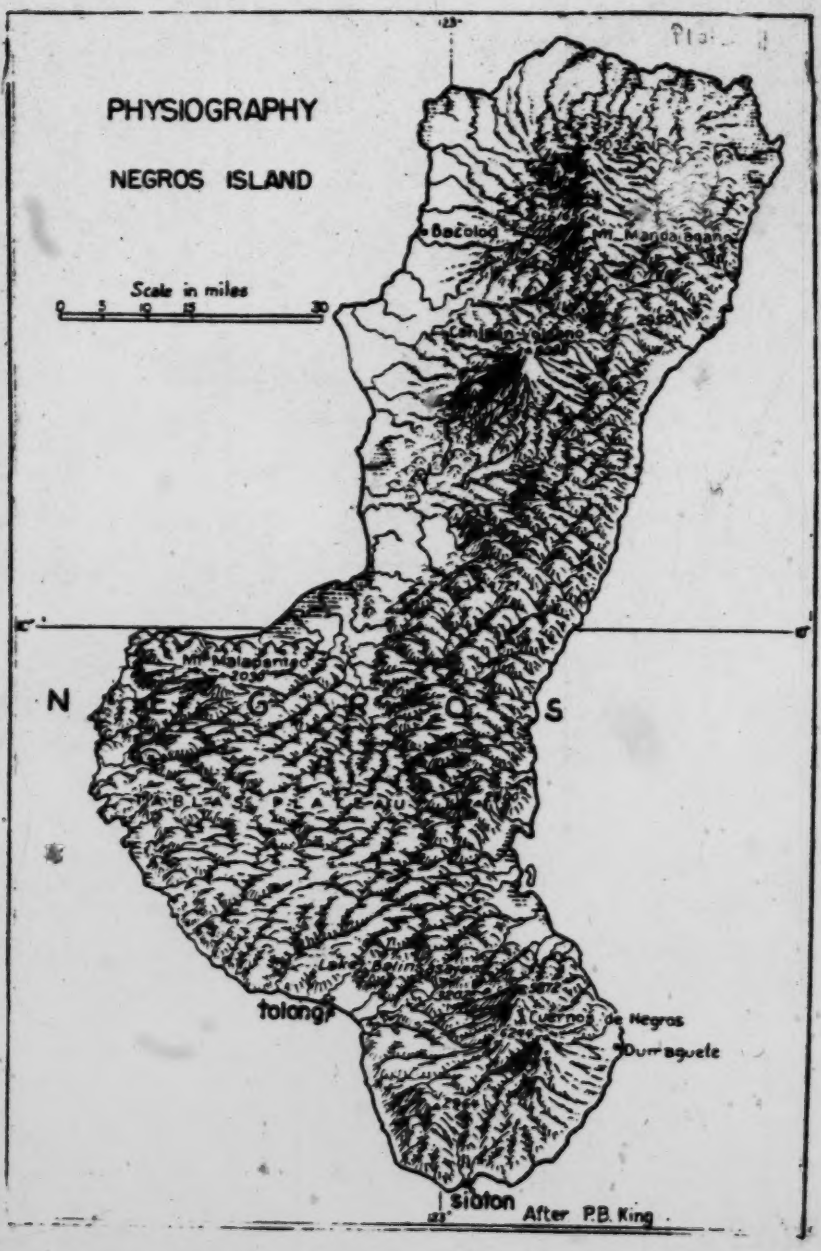


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southeastern Negros by a cluster of volcanic peaks. Two of the island's best known volcanoes are Canlaon (8,088 feet), north-central Negros, and Cuernos de Negros ("Horns of Negros") in the southeast. Canlaon is still an active volcano while Cuernos de Negros is dormant.[2] On a clear day the blue outline of Zamboanga peninsula, Mindanao, normally wreathed with clouds, is visible from Siaton.

133

Political Divisions of Negros

635

Negros is divided into two provinces, Negros Occidental and Negros Oriental, the latter including the subprovince of Siquijor Island which lies off the southeast tip of Negros. In 1948 1,482,219 people lived in Negros' two provinces: this was 8 per cent of the total population of the Philippines.[3] In the same year there were 50 provinces, 983 municipalities, 21 chartered

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[2] Steere, traveling in Negros in 1898, states Canlaon Volcano was once known as Malaspina. He visited Cuernos de Negros and wrote that while he and his party heard of no recent accounts of eruptions, "...we were struck with the appearance of immense ancient lava streams reaching from the summit of the mountain to the sea. Some of them looked like gigantic railway embankments, so even was their grade and so level their surface. They were too recent to have weathered into good soils and were covered for the most part with low trees and coarse grass." J. B. Steere, "Volcanoes and Earthquakes in the Philippines," Scientific American, N.S., LXXVIII, (June 18, 1898), p.395.

[3] 1948 Philippine Census (Population), p.9.

original Visayan tongue from which stem all other Visayan dialects. He states that prior to the arrival of Cebuano-speaking Filipinos, the dialect of eastern Leyte and Samar was basically Bicol and that of Panay was mainly Tagalog, the present national language of the Philippines. The Cebuano intrusion resulted in a blended Tagalog-Cebuano dialect in Panay and a Bicol-Cebuano blend in Leyte and Samar. The original dialects of Cebu, Bohol and Negros were displaced by the flood of emigrant Cebuanos.[17]

197
174

Major Landform Regions of Negros

133
311

The West Negros plain of Negros Occidental province is ranked among the larger plains of the Philippines and dominates an important part of the island's economy. (See Plate V.)[1] This moderately level plain is almost 100 miles in length and has a width of almost 30 miles in the locality of Bacolod. The plain has been subdivided into northern, west-central and southern sections.

The northern subdivision of this plain, with swampy coastal areas often covered with mangroves, is narrower than the southern or west-central subdivisions. Along the interior borders of the northern subdivision, the plain rises to join the central mountain system. The major crop, covering most of the land, is sugar cane. The west-central subdivision, one of the most important

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[17] Ibid., pp.174-8.

1 [See p.38, cat. 133 -- ANALYST]

20: Hart E-5 (195.) 1954 OA1 Philippines
Central Bisayan OA14

PLATE V

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P. 38

economic regions of Negros, is devoted almost entirely to sugar cane except for a fringe of lowland rice along the southwestern coast. The land is relatively level along the coast but undulation occurs as the plain approaches the mountains. Only the northern and southern subdivisions of the plain have drainage problems. 133 31

The southern division of the west Negros plain has the greatest amount of acreage devoted to lowland rice, although it is also a sugar cane area. Here flows the Ilog, the longest river in Negros, navigable for five miles by lightdraft ships. The west Negros plain is the most important area in the island from an agricultural point of view. Associated are large towns, adequate roads, narrow-gauge railways (for transporting cane to the mills), and a dense population.

The Tablas plateau in southwestern Negros, a thinly inhabited and little known area, is relatively isolated from the rest of the island. Here occurs the only break in the national road system encircling Negros. While once a plateau surface, the Tablas area is now a hilly upland, deeply dissected. Perhaps with the exception of [161] the central mountains, the Tablas plateau is the most undeveloped area in Negros. The few settlements are located along the coast.

The Southwest Coastal lowlands, extending westward from Tolong to the southern part of the plain of west Negros are a series of disconnected flood plains created where the rivers deposit their sediments on reaching the

133
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sea. There are no roads in the region, which is isolated from the rest of Negros by the Tablas plateau. The majority of settlements, such as Asia and Sipalay, are found along the coast.

Siaton municipality is located in the Southeastern Coastal lowland which stretches from the westward boundary of Tolong to the Bais lowland in the north. Over 80 miles in length, its width varies from less than a mile to not more than five miles. In some localities between Siaton and Tolong, the hills almost reach the sea with scant space for the road. Small flood plains have been built by the rivers in this region.

> Steep slopes, coupled with meager rainfall and porous soils, have precluded the growing of either sugar cane or rice, except in small local areas, so that the substitute crop of corn assumes a greater importance.[18]

Siaton municipality begins with the Bondo ("Mound") plateau, just south of Zamboanguita poblacion where the National Road turns west and climbs to an elevation of about 400 feet. Bondo is a relatively level platform, moderately dissected by small streams dry except during the rainy season. From the bluffs along the sea, the plateau rises, first gently, and then with increasing undulation as it blends into the southeastern volcanic lands. Bondo is dotted with isolated dwellings, scattered fields of corn, camotes and upland rice. A spur from the National Road runs south to Barrio Bonbonon.

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[18] Wernstedt, op. cit., p.20.

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Descending from the plateau, the National Road passes through the small riverine plain of the Canaway River. The plain is about three miles long and nearly a mile wide. The valley is surrounded by hills on the west and north, Bondo on the east and the sea on the south. The largest acreage of lowland rice is grown here on the best rice land in Siaton municipality. A low finger-ridge to the west separates the Canaway and Siaton rivers north of Siaton poblacion.

East of the Siaton River the lowland tapers along the coast. South of Sitio Balaso dead coconut trees stand in the surf and the people speak of how "the land is sinking." The shoreline near Barrio Giliga-on, however, gives evidence of recent uplifting. From Siaton poblacion to the western boundaries of the municipality, the larger barrios like Bonawon and Giliga-on are located in small alluvial deltas.

The Siaton River valley extends north about six miles. Above Sitio Dolog, the river rushes noisily through a boulder-strewn bed, e[illegible]sed by mountains that rise abruptly on both sides. (See Plate VI.)[1] The largest area of level cultivated land is on the west side of the river where Barrio Sandolot is located. East and west of the valley are rolling hills covered with secondary growth and large areas of cogon grass. There are no roads into this area. During the rainy season travel is quite difficult, since fording the river in flood often is impossible.

1 [See p 42, cat. 133 or 311 - Analyst]

20: Hart E-5 (1951) 1954 OA1 Philippines
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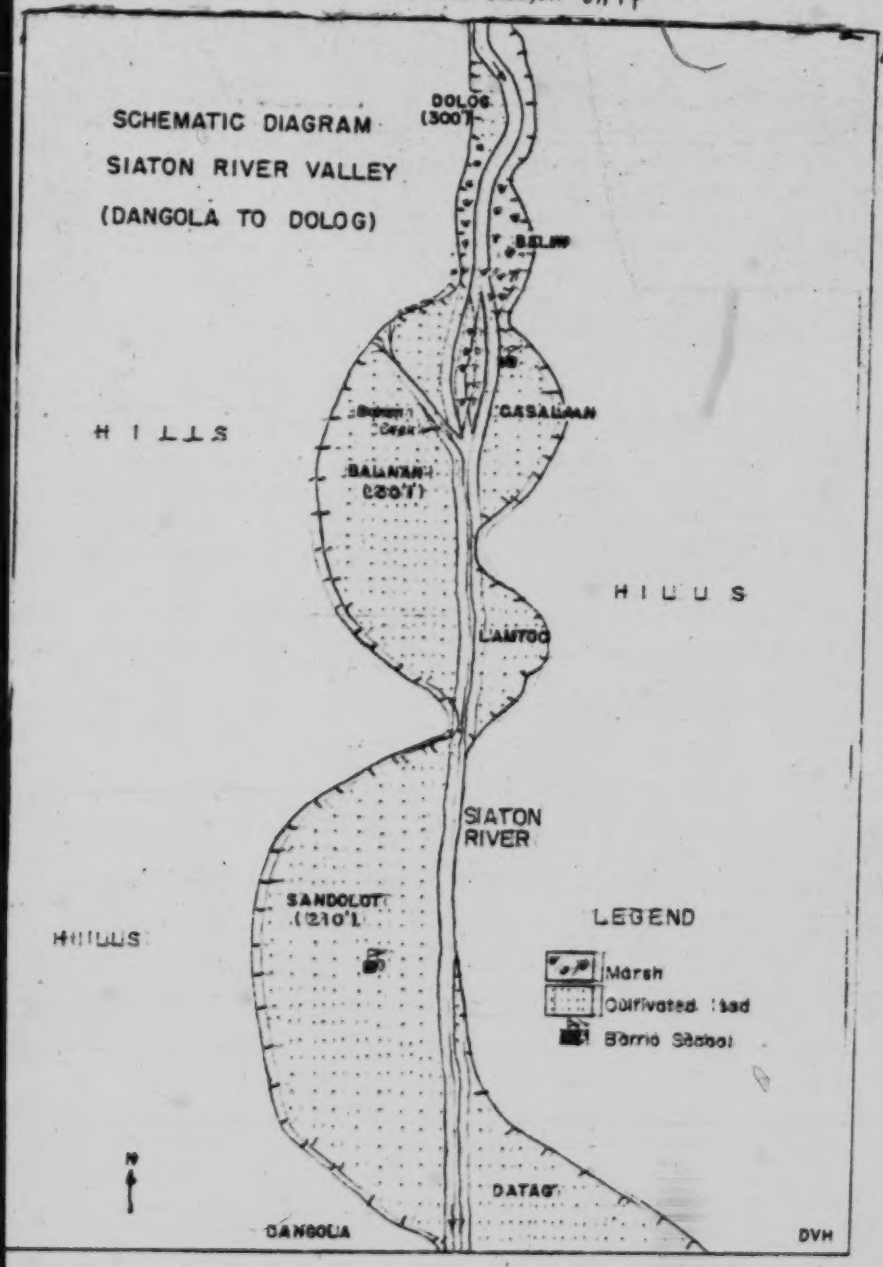

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The Bais lowland, a sugar cane region, was created by the confluence of several large rivers, e.g., Panambalan, Lotan, Montenegro, and Tanjay. Small valley floors extend back into the mountains, up each river, making a many-fingered interior boundary for this lowland. This lowland was probably one of the areas first [167] settled, and in 1845 had the densest population in Negros, according to Buzeta.[19]

The Eastern Coastal plains are like a broken chain, linking the San Carlos and the Bais lowlands.

> Wherever a river breaches the mountain wall and debouches onto the coast, a small alluvial plain or delta is formed. On the larger of these plains are located the municipalities, such as Guihulngan, La Libertad, Tayasan, and Ayungon. Where there is limited level land, small barrios or sitios of only a few houses are found. Since many of these plains are relatively isolated from one another, the agriculture has tended to be mainly a subsistence economy.[20]

Guihulngan is a small interisland port with daily shipping connections with Cebu.

The San Carlos lowland extends about 30 miles along the eastern coast of Negros. To the lowland's west the mountains rise abruptly to elevations of four to six thousand feet. This alluvial lowland is almost entirely

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[19] Manuel Buzeta and Felipe Bravo, Diccionario Geográfico, Estadístico, Histórico, de las Islas Filipinas. Madrid, 1851, pp.555-9. Wernstedt, op. cit., p.91, Plate I, has an 1845 population map of Negros.

[20] Wernstedt, op. cit., p.19.

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planted with sugar cane. San Carlos is a regular stop for many of the inter-island ships from Mindanao and Manila while the port facilities at San Carlos sugar mill service overseas shipping.

The Northeastern Hill Lands of Negros Occidental, located north of the San Carlos lowland, is a region of low rolling hills with steep slopes yet not sufficiently steep to prevent caingin agriculture. Small basin-like plains nestled among the hills and equally small flood plains constitute the major portion of level land.

Negros' backbone is the Central Mountain range running from north to south and covered with dense vegetation, except where caingin agriculture has produced cogon grass areas. This mountainous region of Negros, the home of primitive groups, remains an unbroken barrier to east-west travel except for one road that winds through a two-thousand-foot pass south of Canlaon Volcano. Because of landslides this road is often closed during the southwest monsoon season.

The crestline of the Central Mountain range lies east to the center of Negros and slopes toward the eastern coast in many localities. In the north-central and southeastern parts of the range are a number of volcanic cones, the highest being Canlaon. The Central Mountain range is a source of timber and of many forest products such as resins and rattan.

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> Skirting the flanks of almost all of the central mountain mass is a band or transition zone between the steeper mountain slopes and the low-lying coastal plains. This is a belt that is generally made up of low hills. In almost every case the slopes of these foothills have been burned by cultivators and are now either devoted to crops or have been left in the tall cogonal grasses which quickly take over cleared areas that are not permanently cultivated...The river valleys are often over five hundred feet in depth, and present a tremendous obstacle to travel 'across the grain' of the land.[21]

In summary, the most economically important and developed agricultural regions of Negros today are its plains, particularly the fertile West Negros plain. Negros Oriental is less fortunate in having more mountains and fewer plains; the latter are often small, mainly disconnected lowlands, separated by eastern spurs of the Central Mountain range or rugged foothills. The southwestern portion of Negros is a hilly upland, between one and two thousand feet in elevation, relatively isolated and undeveloped. The source of the major rivers of Negros, severely eroded and covered with dense forests, is the Central Mountain range serving as a stout backbone for the island. This range terminates in a southeastern mountain knot near Siaton municipality. As Negros' landforms are not absolute determinants, they have exerted a powerful influence on land use. The landforms give meaning to the agricultural patterns and cultural diversities of the people of Negros.

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[21] Wernstedt, op. cit., p.22.

when copra prices fall school enrollments decrease. For the most part, the Chinese control the buying and selling of copra. Their trucks come from Dumaguete to pick up copra from stores where Filipinos sell their small crops.

The Northern Corn-Coconut region begins in the south with Manjuyod municipality and continues to the north to Canlaon and Vallehermoso municipalities. A northern extension of this region includes Negros Occidental's eastern littoral. Both the southern and northern municipalities of this region are transitional to sugar cane agriculture. This northern region is larger than the Southern Corn-Coconut area; the former has about 743 square miles of which 239 square miles (32 per cent) are actively cultivated.

Many geographic factors typical of the southern region also characterize the Northern Corn-Coconut region. There is less level land in the northern region; the small riverine floodplains and narrow littoral account for most of it. While annual precipitation is greater than in the southern region, the northern area also is subject to droughts. Transportation facilities are not as adequate as in the south, and the northern region lacks an adequate port. The only sizeable port is at Cuihulngan where shallow-draft inter-island ships stop. The rest of the coast is lined with shallow inshore waters or offshore coral reefs.

Population densities are greater in the northern region with an average density of 289 persons per

The northwest part of Caticugan is still quite boggy. Along the base of the bluff runs a shallow stream which eventually joins the Caticugan Creek. To the west is the low bluff of Caticugan; Lucas Ege, founder of Caticugan, built canals here to drain the many springs. The hills are covered with bamboo groves, shrubs, and some cocoanuts. Taking the path up the bluff one emerges at Upper Naga. To the north a hill undulates down to a grassy shelf on which stand the houses of Upper Naga. Following the crest of the bluff southward one comes to the main settlement of Naga where a small bamboo school is located. The nearest house has several jars of bright-colored candies in the window sill to attract the few pennies of the children. To the west is Mantuyop River, a rockier and shallower stream than the Siaton River. Across the Mantuyop River the hills are covered with low-growing trees and shrubs.

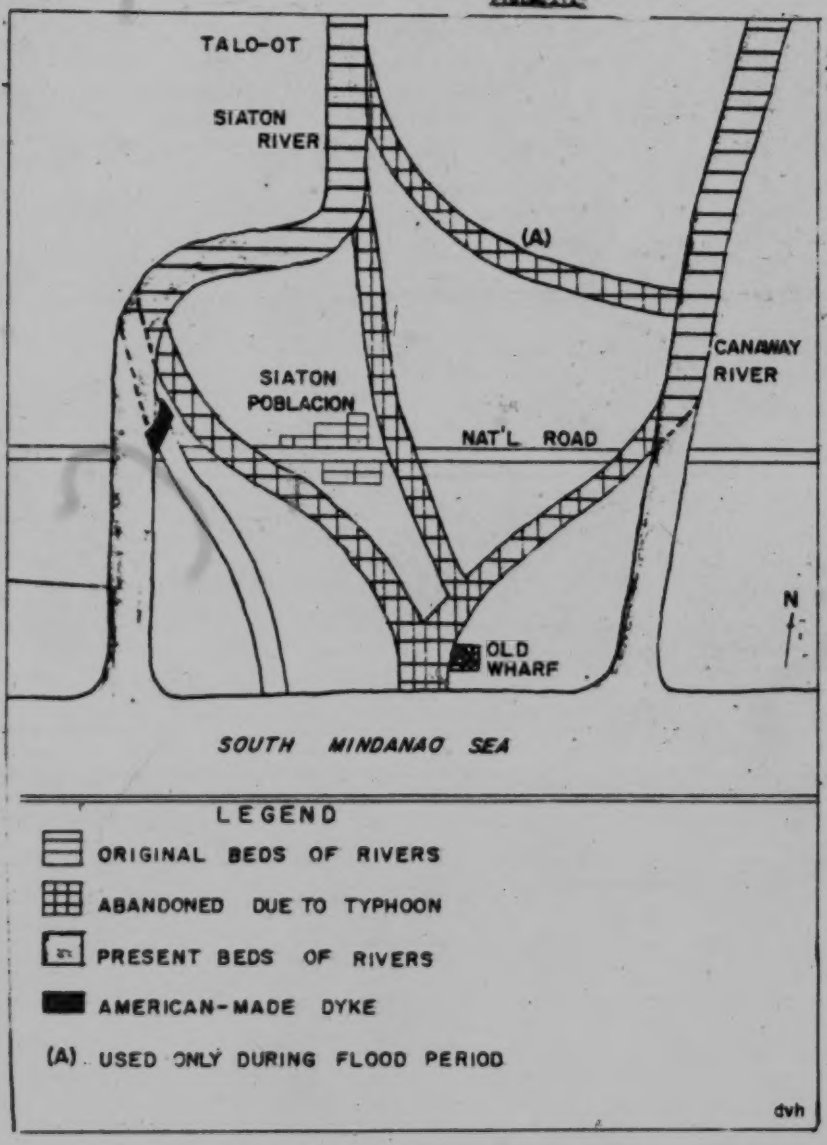
If the opposite direction had been taken on leaving Caticugan one would have ascended the small plateau of Dangola, rocky, grass-covered and with scattered fields. The southwestern part of Dangola is covered with grass and large wallow holes where carabaos roll happily in thick mud. To the northwest is the level riverine plain of Sandolot with fenced fields and residences. Descending toward the east from Dangola one arrives at Talo-ot, separated from Caticugan

proper by the muddy Caticugan Creek. This is a rocky sandy area where the Siaton River once flowed. 133

Walking through the community one speculates that few visible changes have occurred during the past several centuries. The houses are basically the same, bamboo and nipa and rattan. The wooden plow that lies in the field must have been similar to that used by the owner's great-grandparents. Many pigs still feed from hollow stone troughs. Spears and blow-guns are found in some houses and ancient rites precede a wild pig hunt. Yet the modest chapel with its tire rim "bell" and the houses with family altars of plaster saints betoken the Catholic Spaniards. The old bow and arrow, used to shoot fish in the river, have been modified, for boys now hunt their prey with arrows of steel umbrella rib, propelled by strips of inner tubing. The barrio and elementary schools with coeducational facilities and stress on "integration" bespeak American influence. As one talks with the people and studies their way of life, the pre-Hispanic cultural base emerges: beliefs in unseen sprites of shaded spring and wooded hill, in blonde-haired dwarfs that race happily in the drainage canals, in the placating of departed souls with food offerings and various modified pagan agricultural rites. The very language reflects Hindu contacts. The wooden handles 178 177 [176]

20: Hart E-5 (195.) 1954 OA1 Philippines
Central Bisayan OA14

Plate XIX

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SIATON - CANAWAY RIVER PATTERNS

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20: Hart E-5 (1951) 1954 OA1 Philippines
Central Bisayan OA14

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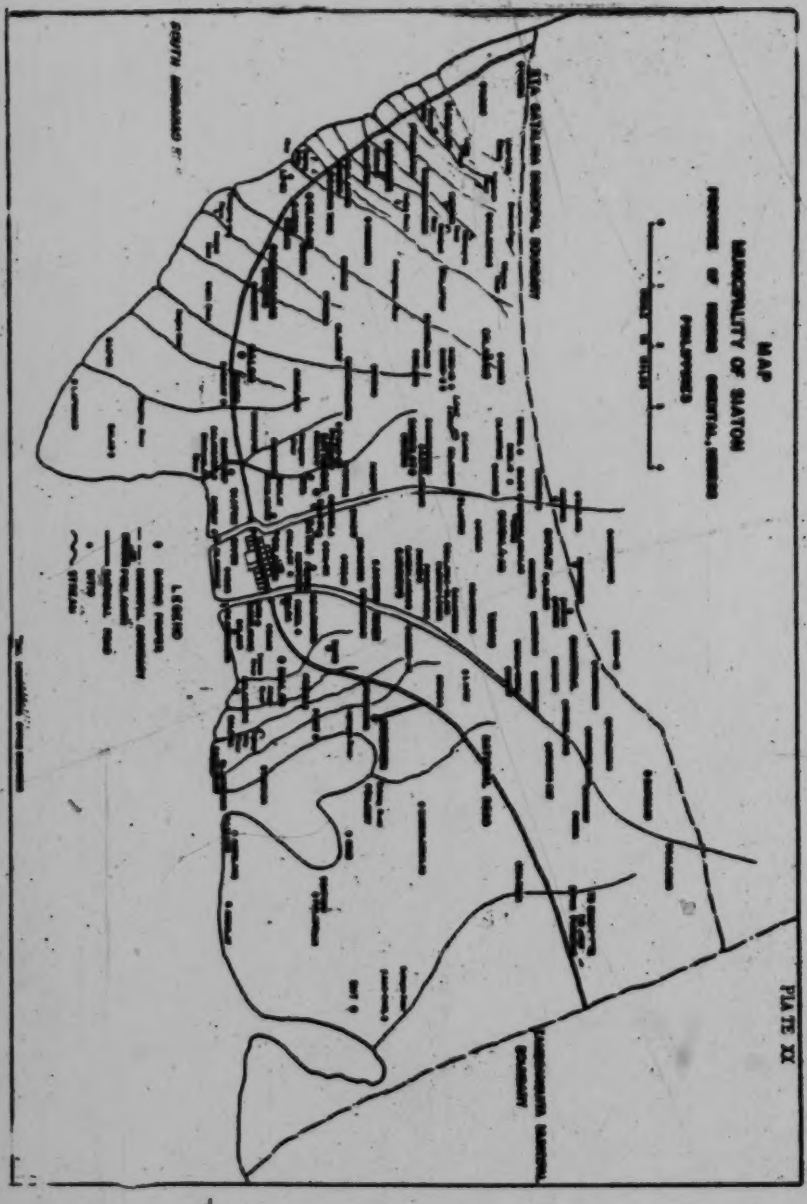


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Present day Barrio Caticugan's land was later purchased by Father Manuel Cabriada on Romero's transfer to Dumaguete. Later Cabriada was sent as the first missionary to Tolong. In 1872 Cabriada returned to Siaton. When Julio Adan replaced Cabriada he purchased the land and later sold it to Lucas Ege for fifteen dollars. Lucas Ege lived to be quite old; he died around 1898, according to his grandson. While the exact date is unknown, Ege's development of Caticugan must have begun after 1872 and before 1898. I estimate Ege began to drain the land and settle it with his relatives about 1885.

175*
312

Before its purchase by Ege, the pocket-size plain of Caticugan was a bog. Little of the land could be cultivated and planted with rice. The ground was so boggy that "carabaos could not walk on most of the land" and "a lighted cigar dropped on the earth would ignite it. The ground would burn, without smoke, just like ashes." Ege's friends warned him that the land was haunted for they saw mysterious torches there at night, the eerie handiwork of the <u>encantos</u> (unseen spirits). Lucas Ege, however, purchased the land and began to build a series of drainage canals in order to increase the cultivable area.

[784]

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361

Before the 1898 Siaton River flood, the river ran at the base of the Dangola bluff and turned southward along the present course of Caticugan Creek. After this flood, the Siaton changed its course to its present bed.

Until this time Talo-ot was separated from Barrio Caticugan. Dangola and Naga were settled later than Barrio Caticugan. Naga was first owned by Pablo Radoc and was inhabited by only two families in 1899. A typhoon in 1912 flooded Barrio Caticugan, covering the land with water waist-deep that left a thick blanket of mud on subsistence.

How Some of the Barrios Received Their Names

Barrio Caticugan received its name from the ticug reed that once grew in abundance in the swampy area. This reed is used today to make mats in many parts of the Philippines. Ca is a Cebuano prefix which means "the place where." Caticugan translates as "The Place where the Ticug Grow." With the draining of the swamps, and the increasing number of carabao kept in the barrio, the ticugs disappeared. Naga, Talo-ot, Casala-an, Bantolinao, and Dangola all received their names from trees that once grew in their locality.[68]

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[68] Naga is also called naga. Luis J. Reyes, Philippine Woods. Technical Bulletin No. 7. Manila, Department of Agriculture and Commerce, Bureau of Printing, 1938, p. 143. Bantolinao trees (Diospyros sp.) that grew in this area were said to have a black heartwood that made them valuable for decorating furniture; they were also called ebony. Juan Felix de la Encarnacion, Diccionario Bisaya-Espanol: Compuesto por el R. P. Fr. Juan Felix de las Encarnacion, provincial. que has sido dos veces de Agustinos Descalzos de la Provincia de S. Nicolas de Tolentino de Filipinas. Tercera Edicion. Manila, Tipografia de Amigos del Pais, 1885, p. 38. Vide Reyes, op. cit., pp. 407-11.

as the tidal effect is felt."[37] The mangrove-nipa area between the Siaton and Canaway Rivers is the source of most of the nipa used to thatch houses in this vicinity. 137 [314]

Soils

Two parent materials have played major roles in the origin and development of present day Negros' soils. First, the volcanic parent materials from the central mountains and, second, the limestone materials derived from coral depositions during periods of Negros' submergence. There are three major soil groups in Negros, based on factors of relief and the nature of the parent materials.[38] 134.

The three major soil groups of Negros are (1) flat lowland soils; (2) rolling uplands soils (subdivided into those of sedimentary and igneous derivation); and (3) hill and mountain soils. The most important agricultural soil group is the flat lowland soils. These are soils of recent alluvial deposition which are usually found on the level or slightly undulating lands of the coastal plains--the plains of western Negros, San Carlos, Bais, and the many small plains of the eastern and western coasts. The flat lowland soils are the best agricultural soils in Negros, covering about one-fifth of the island, and are

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[37] Wernstedt, op. cit., p.47.

[38] The soils of Negros are inadequately studied. The two major studies are M. M. Alicante and others, op. cit., and Alfredo Barrera and others, "Soil Survey of Negros Oriental Province, Philippines." Manila, Bureau of Soil Conservation, 1950. Typescript.

134.

planted mainly with sugar cane or rice. The most extensive and productive of these lowland soils, the Silay series, is not found in Siaton municipality, although the Zamboanguita, Isabela, and San Manuel soil series are represented. (See Plate X.)[1]

About 12 per cent of Negros is covered with rolling upland soils of a sedimentary parentage, usually found in the piedmont areas away from the coast. Because of the steep slopes on which they are located, drainage is often excessive and erosion is severe. Igneous-derived upland soils cover almost 25 per cent of Negros. The soils in this latter group have strong lateritic characteristics and due to the pronounced external drainage, gullying and sheet erosion are widespread.

The least important, economically, but the most extensive of all the soil groups of Negros, are the hill and mountain soils which occupy about 30 per cent of the island. This soil group is found mainly in the central mountains. Most of these soils are covered by tropical rain forests which are the watersheds for Negros' major rivers and very little of them have been cultivated. Where scattered caingins exist on these soils severe erosion has resulted.

[311]

Lack of contour planting on slopes, the clearing of steep slopes and hillsides, and faulty soil and crop management are a few reasons for soil erosion in Negros. In some areas the erosion is quite serious. In

1 [See p. 64, Cat. 134--Analyst]

20: Hart E-5 (1951) 1954 OA1 Philippines
Central Bisayan OA14

Plate X

pg. 64

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Vallehermoso (Negros Oriental) floods which were uncommon in the past occur frequently during the rainy season. The inhabitants state the major cause of these local floods is the destruction of the protective waterahed by cainginș. In Siaton shifting agriculture on hillsides near the barrios, particularly between Barrios Giliga-on and Maloh, has caused severe erosion. Often the level fields at the base of the hills are damaged by large boulders and rubble which have tumbled down from the cainginș-scarred slopes. The Northeastern Hill Lands are the most severely eroded area. 134 ●

> Extreme erosion has resulted from cultivation of the extremely steep slopes, in some cases up to one hundred percent, the use of corn which is an erosion-promoting crop, the shallow nature of the soil, and the complete lack of any soil conservation program by the farmers.[39]

The flat lowland soils have escaped serious erosion due to the slower velocities of streams and the topography of the areas.

In Siaton municipality the Zamboanguita soil series is the most extensive soil group. (See Plate X.)[1] Only one soil type is defined under this series, the Zamboanguita clay loam, which has good external with slow internal drainage. The surface soils are black clay loam, slightly plastic when wet but friable when dry. A considerable amount of lowland rice is grown on this soil near Barrios Canaway and Inalad.

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[39] Wernstedt, op. cit., p.60.

1 [See p. 64, cat. 134 -: Analyst]

[p. 66 is missing-- Analyst]

134

The next largest soil type represented in Siaton is the Isabela series of which two small enclaves of Isabela clay are located near Barrios Caticugan and Giliga-on. Because of the soil's heavy texture, both external and internal drainage are poor; this gives the soil its bluish-black color. Isabela clay, the most important soil type in this series, is also found in Isabela, Binalbagan, Kabankalan, and San Carlos, Negros Occidental. "One drawback... [of this soil type] ... [312] is its poor drainage condition. Sugar cane fields are provided with drainage canals at regular intervals to facilitate the drawing out of excess water."[40]

In Negros Occidental, where this clay soil appears, corn is often planted after the rice harvest, which is the reverse of the practice in Caticugan. While sugar cane and lowland rice are the two important crops raised on this soil, corn and coconuts also are grown as minor crops. The soil survey report on Negros Oriental states: "This series [Isabela] as defined in Siaton area [including Barrio Caticugan] is dissected by the destructive Siaton River. It is therefore to be expected that this series is of alluvial formation arising from the deposition of secondary soil-building material brought down by the flow of the Siaton River during the rainy season."

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[40] Alicante and others, op. cit., pp.53-4.

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The next most extensive soil type found in Siaton municipality is the San Manuel loam also present in the vicinities of Isabela and Sipalay, Negros Occidental.[41] This secondary soil type has been deposited along the river courses through alluvial action. The inadequate drainage of the San Manuel loam with a water table only three or four feet below the surface, favors rice cultivation. In Siaton the San Manuel soil area is one of the largest lowland rice producing areas.

The fourth major soil series in Siaton municipality is the Siaton series. The Siaton Sandy Loam type occupies the narrow coastal strip from Siaton poblacion to Sta. Catalina. The soil is a well drained loam with an internal drainage which permits water impounded in paddies to stand for some time before it percolates completely. The lower horizon of the subsoil is sandy clay to clay loam and the lack of stones on the surface aids in its care. Corn and coconuts are the major crops of this soil in Siaton, although some lowland rice is raised.

The enclave of Dauin clay west of Zamboanguita occupies a small, semi-circular valley devoted almost entirely to lowland rice. Many of the barriofolk in Sitio Mayabon specialize in making pottery. The bus to Siaton often stops here to load pottery for sale in Siaton poblacion. [438]

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[41] Ibid., p.46.

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[243]

Rice agriculture and soils correlate in Barrio Caticugan. The Zamboanguita clay area of the barrio corresponds almost precisely with the rice paddies. An oven-dried chemical analysis of a sample of this clay is given in Table IV.

TABLE IV

| pH Value | Total Nitrogen % | Available Constituents in Parts per Million[42] | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | $NH_3$ | $NO_3$ | P | K | Ca | Mg | Mn | Fe |
| 5.90 | 0.39 | 2 | 2 | 45 | 47 | 5300 | 190 | 26 | 1 |

The Zamboanguita clay of Caticugan's paddies, is high in nitrogen, fairly well supplied with calcium, but low in available phosphorus and potassium, especially the latter.

The remainder of the soils of Caticugan are sandy loams with the exception of areas of Mandawa Loam in small localities of Caticugan and Naga.[43] Along the east bank of the Mantuyop River, parts of the west bank of the Siaton River, and south of the main path from Caticugan to Talo-ot, the loams are quite stony, which hinders

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[42]The chemical analysis was made through the cooperation of Ricardo T. Marfori, Acting Chief, Division of Soil Laboratories, Bureau of Soil Conservation, Manila, and Marcos M. Alicante, Director of Soil Conservation Bureau. The soil sample sent weighed almost four pounds and was composed of 20 separate surface samples taken from different parts of the locality.

[43]Since no profile was taken in the field this classification is tentative.

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cultivation. This is due to the deposition action during the rainy season and the past courses of the Siaton River. A chemical analysis of the sandy loams of Naga and Talo-ot was made; the results are given in Table V.

TABLE V

Available Constituents in Parts per Million

| | pH Value | Total Nitrogen (%) | $NH_3$ | $NO_3$ | P | K | Ca | Mg | Mn | Fe |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Naga | 6.2 | 0.1 | 10 | 5 | 98 | 126 | 4400 | 750 | 11 | 1 |
| Talo-ot | (a) | 0.04 | 25 | 10 | 149 | 133 | 2500 | 460 | 8 | 1 |

(a) No pH value for Talo-ot soil sample was determined due to the inoperative condition of the Bureau's pH meter when the sample was sent for analysis.

The pH value tolerance for rice is from 4.8 to 6.9 with optimum at 5.5 to 6.1 while for corn the tolerance is 4.8 to 8.5 with an optimum from 6.2 to 7.0. The desirable chemical constituents, identical for both crops, (p.p.m.)[44] for rice and corn are:

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| Nitrogen | 12-25 (normal) | Calcium | 2000-6000 |
| Phosphorus | 30-40 | Magnesium | 600-1700 |
| Potassium | 100-150 | Manganese | 8-30 |
| | | Iron | 15-250 |

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[44] R. T. Marfori, "Interpretation of the Chemical Analysis." DSSC Form No. 4, Bureau of Soil Conservation, Manila, March 19, 1951. Mimeographed.

owing to firing difficulties. Most of my material on techniques of pottery was obtained from this cooperative Datag potter. 323 178

Most clay cooking pots now used in Caticugan are made in Dumaguete city. In this city there is a district, Daro, that specializes in the manufacture of cooking pots, clay stoves and large waterjars for drinking purpose. Some pots sold in Siaton poblacion are made in Mayabon, Zamboanguita, but are regarded as inferior to Daro's products. Mayabon is situated in a small enclave of Dauin clay that may explain the small pottery industry. (See Plate X, page 64.) A family came to Siaton from Daro in 1951 and started to make clay pots for sale in the poblacion; the business did not succeed and after several months they left. 323 369 438 [134]

The decline of pottery in Caticugan and environs is due largely to improvement of transportation facilities in southern Negros. The superior clay wares of Dumaguete became easier to buy in Siaton poblacion. Better transportation facilities increased both the number and frequency of visits to the city. The pots became so cheap that the barriofolk preferred to buy rather than make them. One old woman of Caticugan explained: "I stopped making pots because it is hard work. I would get sick always having my hands in the cold clay, squeezing it. And they are very cheap to buy." 323 369 438 178 489

As older women ceased their pottery activities, their daughters were not taught the technique. With a 323 [868] 178

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The cultivators do not announce when they plan to harvest their grain. So the harvesters keep a careful watch over paddy corn fields when harvest-time approaches. Some will take siestas or even sleep overnight by a field they believe may be harvested soon. They may wait in a friend's house near the field while the children play outside until the harvest begins.

Most cultivators of cornfields and paddies in Caticugan and environs could easily harvest their crops without the assistance of the manalabangs. Yet they rarely refuse the helpers. When questioned about this matter they often replied "The manalabangs have to live like us" or "They also have intestines." If a cultivator refuses their assistance, the harvesters will comment, "Well, I am going to help you anyway. It is up to you whether you pay me or not." Under the circumstances one can hardly refuse to give the manalabangs a share of the harvest.

While it is not customary to turn away the harvesters, some owners attempt to harvest their corn without having to share the crop. A few begin the harvest at dawn or even on a bright moonlight night. Since most fields can be harvested by a few persons in several hours, the harvest is over before the news reaches the manalabangs. Some helpers do not like dawn harvests, however, because of danger from centipedes or poisonous spiders. [136]

One man in Barrio Caticugan harvested his first paddy corn crop at dawn to avoid manalabangs. A man

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each. At the price copra was then selling, his crop would have brought around $160. Since the coconuts are harvested four times a year his income for 1951 may have been about $600.[67]

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Coconut trees in Caticugan and Siaton poblacion are free from the most destructive of coconut diseases, cadang-cadang. The greatest pest in this vicinity is the coconut beetle, bakokang, (Uang (Tag.): Oryctes rhinoceros Linn.)

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> The adult beetle bores into the cabbage of coconut and feeds on the more tender tissues. Holes in the trunk and coconut fronds of which the leaflets have been cut in bilaterally symmetrical pattern are telltale signs that the tree has been attacked by the pest. Standing dead trunks of coconuts are often attributed to its work. It is believed, however, that infestation by Oryctes alone does not kill a tree, but that it provides the entrance hole for the Asiatic palm weevil (Rhynchophorus ferrugineus Fabr) or the bud-rot organism [caused by Phytophthora palmivora Butler].[68]

[136]

Dead buri palms are important breeding places for the bakokang in Caticugan. When the buri dies from producing guhang, the interior rots until the trunk is a hollow shell filled with sawdust-like material. Bakokang eggs are laid in these rotting interiors where the grubs develop. Once the buris stop giving guhang, the trees are permitted to stand; very few of them are cut by the barriofolk.

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[67] Copra was loaded at the Dumaguete wharf in sacks of about 220 pounds and sold for $11-15 per 220 pounds (100 kilos).

[68] Uichanco and Sacay, op. cit., I, p. 268.

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## Fresh-Water Snails

Fresh-water snails are gathered for food; their thin shells are processed to make lime for tilad ("fixings" for betel nut chewing ). Table XXVII lists the snails gathered for food in the Siaton River.

TABLE XXVII

FRESH-WATER SNAILS GATHERED IN THE SIATON RIVER

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| LOCAL NAME (SIATON) | SCIENTIFIC NAME | EXTENT OF COLLECTION |
|---|---|---|
| Alipunti (Alapunte) | Balanocochlis gians (V. D. Bush) | Infrequently |
| White-mouth Alipunti | Balanocochlis inermis Lesson | Infrequently |
| Bokgay (White-mouth Ungka) | Neritina pulligera (Linn.) and Neritina squamipicta (Reeluz) | Infrequently |
| Boong-Boong | Thiara cancellata (Roding) | Infrequently |
| Kapia | Septaria porcellana (Linn.) | FREQUENTLY |
| Soso or Igalso | Genus Stenomelania, species crenulata (Deshayes); uniformis (Quoy and Gaimard); hastula (Lea); and tirouri (Deshayes) | Infrequently |
| Tibo-Tibo | Tarebia granifera (Lamarck) | FREQUENTLY |
| Ungka (Red-mouth) | Clithon bicolor (Reeluz) | FREQUENTLY |

Dr. James P. E. Morrison, Associate Curator, Division of Mollusks, Smithsonian Institution, writes regarding the species covered by the words used by the barriofolk:

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> As you will note, the mixture of species under two of the common names are mixtures of what we understand as biological species in the same genus; in other words, the people, in identifying these snails by common names, are pretty closely following the lines of their biological relationships. In the case of the 'Bokgay', the two species of Neritina are very closely related. Again, in the case of the snails called 'Soso', the four species mixed thereunder are very closely related.[2]

The most common snails in the Siaton River, and therefore those most frequently gathered, are the Red-Mouth Ungka, Kapia and Tibo-Tibo. The other less abundant types are collected when available. While most barriofolk insisted that Soso and Igalao were the same snail with different names, others said they were different--that the Soso was larger, blacker and had a different coloration around the orifice than the Igalao. The White-Mouth Ungka (Bokgay) was reported to be "most plentiful ~~when there are~~ many stars in the sky." Bokgay snails, rarely found in the vicinity of Caticugan, are more common in the Siaton River beyond Sandolot and Balanan, and "in mountain streams." Bong-Bong are uncommon in the river near Caticugan and disappear north of Sitio Lamtoc. One resident of Datag said when Bong-Bong are found in the Siaton River near his barrio it was a sign of a coming flood.

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[2]Personal communication to the writer from Dr. Morrison, August 6, 1951. Identification of these snails and other aquatic life was made possible through the courtesy of Dr. Morrison and Dr. Harold A. Rehder, Curator, Division of Mollusks, Smithsonian Institution.

panangkop; (6) by gamala ("drying the stream"); (7) with "fish guns" (pana sa isda); and (8) by hook and line and gaff (kao-it), and fish spears called togsad. These eight methods of obtaining fish from the Siaton River are described below. 226

TABLE XXIX

Varieties of Fish Caught in the Siaton River Negros Oriental 226 136

| Local Names Siaton | Tanjay[3] | Identification[4] |
|---|---|---|
| Anapan | Palangan[5] | Mugilidae sp.[6] |
| Bais or Kawo-Kawo | Bais | Anguilla mauritiana Benn. |
| Bogsikan | - | - |
| Bulan-Bulan | - | - |
| Capasapas | - | - |
| Gisao[7] | Gisao | Mugil dussumieri C. & V. |
| Halo-an[8] | - | - |
| Hilihol | Hilihol | Brachysomiophis (Aphiroph-ichthyhys) W. & P. Kampeni |
| Hipon[9] | - | - |
| Ilabo | Ilabo | Bunaka pinzuis Herre. |
| Inid[10] | - | - |
| Kaboykahoy | Koikog | Belonichthys fluviatilis Peters |
| Labongan | - | - |
| Mambot or Tibiw | Tibiw | Sicyopterus lacrymosus Herre. |
| Mangat | - | - |
| Oga-ot[11] | - | - |
| Ontangol | - | - |
| Palangan[12] | - | Ambassis nalua (Ham. Buch.) |
| Pili[13] | - | - |
| Pigot | - | - |
| Subadsubad | - | Caranx malabaricus Bloch and Schneider |
| Toghod | Bonog[14] | Chonophorous ocellaris Broussonet |
| Tokotoko | Lagnas | Biat luzonicus Seale |

[3]Prior to sending my Siaton collection to Manila a visiting fisherman from Tanjay (Negros Oriental) examined the preserved specimens and furnished the above local names. Some specimens were added after his visit to Siaton and others he did not recognize.

RIVER FISH NETS

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Three types of nets are used in river fishing; the ta-an, tangkop and salok. The salok is a butterfly-like net, infrequently seen, used to catch shrimp that cling to the muddy banks of the river during the rainy season. The tangkop net is used for panangkop to be described later. The ta-an is the net most widely used for Hipon. (See Plate XXXV.)

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[4]Identification was made with specimens preserved in a 70 per cent solution of alcohol through the cooperation of Dr. D. V. Villadolid, Director, I. Ronquillo and A. Sarenas, Bureau of Fisheries, Manila.

[5]The Anapan of Siaton is the Palangan of Tanjay. Palangan in Herre and Umali, op. cit., is said to be the "Slipmouth" (Family Leiognathidae) which is not the same fish identified as the Anapan or Palangan of Siaton.

[6]The Anapan specimen in the collection was a juvenile mullet. Differential characteristics of the different genera are not only difficult to see at such a stage but may overlap. Dr. Villadolid thinks possibly that the Anapan and Gisao may be the same fish.

[7]Gisao in Herre and Umali, op. cit., is called "Mullet Fingerling" (Family Mugilidae).

[8]Some Filipinos said the Halo-an is the "Mudfish" called Dalag (Tag.)

[9]Hipon are Family Gobiidae according to Herre and Umali, op. cit.

[10]Inid and Bulan-Bulan are also caught in the sea.

[11]Oga-oi is normally caught in river traps only during the rainy season.

[12]See Nos. 5 and 6.

[13]Pili, Labongan and Bogsikan are usually found farther north than Caticugan "where the river is swifter and deeper."

[14]Bonog in Herre and Umali, op. cit., is "Goby" (Chonophorus melanocephalus or Glossogobius giurus.)

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Hipon, according to the barriofolk, are the young of the Tibiw, Manbot, Toghod and Ontangol.[15] Their eggs allegedly are washed to the sea during river floods or they may be laid near the river's mouth; when hatched the fingerlings swim upstream. Tibiw eggs are laid on river stones for the boys see them when fishing with goggles.

There are two types of Hipon: (1) a "fine type" (translucent) that average perhaps one-half an inch and (2) a "big type" that may be several inches long and is blacker than the "fine type." Barriofolk say the former type of Hipon start upstream first, "maybe they are guards" and the "big type" follows. The upstream migration begins about 45 days after Hipon appear at the river mouth. They run most plentifully during the latter part of the rainy season, especially from August to January. During the dry season the Hipon are said to run but they are very few in number. The first ta-an net seen in the Siaton River during my residence appeared in the latter part of July.

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From August to December the Hipon are reported to run twice a month, a statement that I verified. Each month they run three or four days after the "noon moon"

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[15] Herre and Umali, op. cit., p. 115, state Hipon are Goby fry (Family Gobiidae).

(i.e., the last quarter of the moon, often seen in the sky at noon), several days after the "dying moon" (himatayon) and two or three days after the full moon (subang). During the full moon, however, only the "fine type" are said to be caught. Examination of the types of Hipon caught during these runs did not bear out this folk-statement. Others said that in years when mushrooms are scarce Hipon are most plentiful. During a Hipon run several hundred people, from the poblacion and the barrios, can be seen catching the fish in the river; Caticugan is almost deserted during these runs.

Ta-an Nets

Ta-an nets are placed in shallow water near the banks or on sand bars of the Siaton River. Usually low walls of stone and palm leaves are built to make a channel that leads the water into the net. The net, tied to stakes driven into the river bed, is usually four or five feet long and two or three feet wide. The net opening faces downstream since the Hipon swim upstream. Fish pass into the first section of the net, over the front flap that is weighted with stones or sticks. This flap is weighted so it is only partly submerged, not touching the net bottom, but tied by strings at a five or ten degree angle. (See Plate XXXV, Detail B.)[1] This makes it impossible for fish, once they swim over the flap and into the first section of the net, to escape. Eventually they swim from the first section through the two small openings (galao) into the second section of the net;

[1] [this plate (p. 544) is missing -- Analyst]

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fish are caught by hook and line than by other methods since most of the river fish are small.

Eels are caught in the Siaton River; my assistant caught an eel as thick as his forearm. A hook baited with a Tibiw or a small frog is thrown into the river, and the line is tied to a stump or tree. Another method of catching eels is called pangao-it. A young man dives into a deep hole, usually near the bank, locates a large eel. The diver gently pets the eel until he is able to gaff it with the kao-it; they say the eel remains motionless while its back is being rubbed. The togsad (see Plate XLI)[1] of which only one was seen in Caticugan, is a spear with a number of barbs attached to the tip. It is used mainly to spear small fish--sometimes at night with the aid of a torch. I saw only one togsad in Caticugan.

FRESH-WATER SHRIMP AND CRABS

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These crustaceans occur in the river all year although they are easier to catch during the dry season. Table XXX[2] gives local and identification names.

1 [See p. 565, cat. 116 -- Analyst]

2 [See p. 566, cat. 226 -- Analyst]

TABLE XXX

Shrimp and Crabs Caught in the Siaton River[29]

| Local Names | | Identification |
|---|---|---|
| Caticugan | Tanjay | |
| SHRIMP | | |
| Analsalon | Mangoyod | Palaemon lanceifrous (?) |
| Magus | Mayes | Atya serrata Spence Bate |
| Naturale | Mistersa | Caranx malabaricus Bloch and Schneider |
| Olang | - | Macrobrachium australe (Guerin-Meneville) |
| CRABS | | |
| Kalampay | - | Varuna litterata (Fabricius) |
| Katang | - | Pseudograpsus crassus A. Milne Edwards |
| Tolo | - | Varuna spinicarpa (Ortmann) and Ptychognathus riedelii A. Milne Edwards |

Concerning the Olang Dr. Chace writes:

This species ranges from Madagascar to Oceania and is widespread over this area, although it has apparently not previously been recorded from the Philippines. It is always somewhat dangerous to assign a definite specific name to a single female of this genus, inasmuch as most of the diagnostic characters are found only in males. However, this specimen appears to fit the description of M. australe fairly well and there is no reason to believe that such a widespread species should not be found in the Philippines.

In regard to the Katang crab, Dr. Chace reports:

This species has been recorded from fresh water in the Celebes, Flores, Halmahera, Ceram, and possibly Japan. It has also been found on coral reefs of the Talaud Islands...and it has not been recorded in the literature from the Philippines... Your remarks on the migration of this species to and from the sea are very interesting. I am quite

[29] Identification made from specimens I furnished the Bureau of Fisheries, Manila, and the Division of Marine Invertebrates, Smithsonian Institution.

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sure that no such observations have been made previously regarding this species. Such a migration readily explains the presence of the Talaud specimens in a marine habitat.

Dr. Chace wrote concerning the Tolo crab:

> This species has been recorded in the literature from Celebes, Flores, Ceram, northern Sumatra, and the Andamans. There are specimens in our collection from Uki Island in the Dutch East Indies and the Baganga River, Mindanao. I do not believe that this species has been recorded in the literature from the Philippines.[30]

Shrimp

The reddish-black Analsalon is the smallest of the four types of shrimp in the river and creeks. The blackish Magus has an indistinct white stripe on its back; the female is said to have no pincers. The Naturale, a whitish-grey shrimp, is not found as frequently as other types in Caticugan Creek. Shrimp are frequently boiled with vegetables to give a better flavor.

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The shrimp caught are small, from one to three inches. However, during the rainy season in the river and creeks near Caticugan shrimp are caught from four to six inches long. The people say these bigger shrimp are washed down from the upper reaches of the Siaton River and its tributaries by the swift currents of the rainy season. I have seen shrimp from eight to nine inches long that had been caught in creeks near Balanan.

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[30] Personal communications to the writer from Dr. Fenner A. Chace, Jr., April 15 and November 6, 1952.

Crabs

When the brown shrike begins to sing in September or October the Katang, Kalampay and Tolo crabs are said to begin their migration down river. The crabs spawn at the mouth of the river; they begin late in September and continue until early in November. October is the chief month of migration for these crabs.

The mature Katang and Kalampay are about the same size; the Tolo is smaller. A mature Katang is as large as the back of one's hand; a Tolo rarely grows larger than a fifty-cent coin. The Katang receives its name from a C-like mark on its back. When Katang and Kalampay migrate the barriofolk turn out in force to obtain them with traps, nets and by hand. Some young men stand in the river and feel with their feet for the crabs on the bottom. When a crab is felt (or bites their foot) they duck under the surface to grab it. Female Katang are prized because they carry good-sized bunches of orange-colored eggs; the male Katang, however, has large pincers and more meat than the female.

In December or January the Katang young (Lavagay) begin their migration upstream. They move by thousands along the river edges, over the stones in the shallow water, marching like well-drilled cadets. The barriofolk catch the Lavagay, sometimes with blankets, then pound and salt them to make a variety of ginamos. Some people

say Lavagay that escape will not return to the sea for seven years. 226

The Tolo crab is usually found around rocks in shallow water; more live in the river than in Caticugan Creek. They are caught in the balantak, ta-an and asag along with the Hipon, shrimp and fish. 226 136

The Alimango is a large crab, growing to the size of a small coconut, that lives in nipa and mangrove swamps or in the tidal reaches of the river. They are caught by digging them from their holes in the sand or mud. Another method is to put a fish trap baited with chicken guts or fish in the swamp. One man living in Baybay caught eight good-sized Alimangos in two days with such a baited trap.

River fish, shrimp and crabs form a considerable part of the aquatic food. Caticugan barriofolk eat more aquatic food from the river and creek than from the sea. As one travels to barrios farther from the sea, the importance of the sea as a source of food diminishes. The sea food eaten in Casala-an, for example, consists mainly of dried fish or canned sardines bought in the poblacion. Caticugan people do not prefer river to marine aquatic food; they often lack money to buy sea fish in the marketplace. During the rainy season the supply is often inadequate for the demand, whereas prices are higher. Although the people of Caticugan live only a mile from the sea they lack the necessary equipment to 226 262 433 435 226 471

TABLE XXVIII

Varieties of Marine Clams and Snails Gathered in Siaton

| Local Name | Scientific Name | Frequency Gathered | Location | Clam or Snail |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Balisala | Cafrarium equivoca (Dillwyn) | Infrequently | Beach | Clam |
| Baloso[76] | Conus muriculatus Sowerby | Infrequently | Beach[85] | Snail |
| Bogatan[77] | Trachycardium roguosum (Lamarck) | Infrequently | Beach | Clam |
| Dahikdahik[78] | Nassarius ? sordidus (A. Ad.) | Infrequently | Beach | Snail |
| Dalodalo | ? | Infrequently | Nipa swamp | Snail |
| Hagonipa | Neritina ziczac (Gmelin) | Infrequently | Nipa swamp | Snail |
| Hiloghilog[79] | Lunella porphyrites (Gmelin) and Turbo (Marmorostomas) ticaonicus Rve | Infrequently | Beach | Snail |
| KALAYKAY | Venerupis (Ruditapes) variegata (Sowerby) | FREQUENTLY | Beach | Clam |
| Kapinan | Cona planulata (Lamarck) | Infrequently | Beach | Clam |
| Langoli and Tagimtin[80] | ? | Infrequently | (86) | Clam |
| Libodbod | Cerithidea ornata A. Adams | Infrequently | Nipa swamp | Snail |
| Lagang[81] | Nautilus pompilius Linne | Rarely | Deep sea | Snail |
| Manilail | Faunus nitidus (V. D. Busch) and Stenomelania haastula (Lea)[84] | Infrequently | Beach[85] | Snail |
| Matamata[82] | Thais intermedia (Kiener) | Infrequently | Beach | Snail |
| Poki | Cypraea tigris Linne | Rarely | Deep sea | Snail |
| Ponan | Pahia (Trotanes) tristis (Lamarck) | Infrequently | Beach | Clam |
| Sali-ot | Tridacna noae Roding | Rarely | Deep sea | Clam |
| Sigay | Erosaria erosa (Linne) and Monetaria annulus (Linne) | Rarely | Beach | Snail |
| Sihi | Nerita umdata Linne | Infrequently | Beach[85] | Snail |
| Tabag sa Dagat | Phinoclavis sinensis (Gmelin) | Infrequently | Beach | Clam |
| TABONO[83] | Cerithium morus Lamarck | FREQUENTLY | Beach | Snail |



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TABLE XXVIII (Continued)

| Local Name | Scientific Name | Frequency Gathered | Location | Clam or Snail |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Taboysoy | ? | Infrequently | Nipa swamp | Snail |
| Tahong | Mactra (Mactrotoma) depressa/Spengler | Infrequently | Beach[85] | Clam |
| Talaba | Ostrea glomerata Gould | Infrequently | Beach[86] | Clam |
| TAPDAGAY | Nerita patula Recluz | FREQUENTLY | Beach[85] | Snail |
| Torong-Torong | (See Bogatan) | Infrequently | Beach | Snail |
| TOWAY | Geloina papua (Lesson) (?) | FREQUENTLY | Nipa swamp | Clam |

[76]Baloso are sometimes called Kibol.

[77]Bogatan are sometimes called Torong-Torong and Litob.

[78]Dahikdahik is sometimes called Darodaro.

[79]Mixture of two different genera although informants identified both as Hiloghilog.

[80]Smaller Langoli are called Tagimtin; they are found attached to the fish corral poles and traps and often are washed ashore.

[81]Lagang are rarely gathered because they are found in the deep water but sometimes they are caught in the fish traps.

[82]Matamata are sometimes called Mata sa Baboy ("Pig's eye").

[83]Large Tabono are called Tapaktapak.

[84]Mixture of species for Stenomelania are more slender, acuminate, and less glossy than the Fauunus.

[85]Also found at the mouths of the Siaton and Canaway Rivers within the tidal reaches of the sea.

[86]Larger varieties are obtained by diving in deep water.



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I obtained a collection of shells from Siquijor Island through the kindness of a fisherman of Enrique Villanueva municipality. With few exceptions the mollusks were gathered at the seashore in the shallow water; Tamboli and Samong were found in the deep water and Tagongon and Dalodalo were collected in nipa swamps. The following identification was made by the Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D. C.

| Local Name (Siquijor) | Scientific Name |
|---|---|
| Tamboli | Cassis cornuta Linne |
| Tagongon | Telescopium telescopium Linne |
| Poki | Cypraea tigris Linne |
| Kahingtong | Ovula ovum Linne |
| Lisway | Strombus luhuanus Linne |
| Kibol | Melongena galeodes Lamarck |
| Samong | Trochus niloticus Linne |
| Tagmanok | Strombus aurisdianae Linne |
| Taobtaob | Auliçina vespertilio Linne |
| Lumban | Calcar calcar Linne |
| Botabota | Angaria distorta Linne |
| Baloso | Conus ebraeus Linne and Conus nigropunctatus Sowerby |
| Tuigtuig | Vesica ampulla Linne |
| "Thorn" of the Sanay | Spine of Slate-pencil sea urchin |
| Aninikad | Strombus urceus Linne |
| Bulanbulan | Polinices flemingiana Recluz |
| Hanlasan | Oliva duclois Reeve |
| Dalodalo | Terebralia sulcatus Born |
| Sigay | Monetaria (Ornamentaria) annulus Linne |
| Tibo-Tibo | Nassarius bimaculosa H. Adams |
| Tabagsoy | Cerithium morus Lamarck and Cerithium cerallinum Dufresne |
| Corzaon | Corculum cardissa Linne |

Cross-comparison between Siquijor and Siaton marine mollusk collection illustrates the need for scientific identification of this type of material due to variations of local names. For example, the Tibo-Tibo of Siaton is a fresh-water snail, whereas the Tibo-Tibo of Siquijor is a completely different mollusk. The Tabono and Tabagsay

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of Siaton and Siquijor are the same mollusk with different names. The Balogo of Siaton and Siquijor are of the same genera but different species, whereas the Sigay of Siaton and Siquijor are entirely different mollusks and the Poki of these two areas are identical. This information regarding the variation of local names for marine mollusks might be considered as evidence, slim as it is, that early settlers of the Siaton area were probably not emigrants from this part of Siquijor Island.

TABLE XXXIV

Local, English and Scientific Names of Fish[87] Caught in the Fish Corrals of Siaton

(Alphabetized according to medium-size names.)

| Local Names (Different Sizes) | | | English Names | Scientific Identification |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Small | Medium | Large | | |
| Hasahasa | Andohao (Anduhau) | Bolaobolao | Japan mackerel; short-bodied chub | Pneumatophorus japonicus: Rastrelliger brachysomus |
| Pisog[88] | | | | |
| Badlon | Badlon | - | Golden Pampano | Gnathanodon speciosus |
| - | Bakay | - | Nemipterid:Bisugo | Nemipterus sp. |
| Tugnos | Balangawan | Bolinao | Anchovy | Family Engraulidae |
| - | Balantiong (Balunabid)[89] | - | Dwarf round herring (Hasselt's round herring (?) | Dussumieria acuta (D. Hasselti) (?) |
| - | Balangikol; Pakan[90] (Bansiko) | - | Runner | Elagatis bipinnulatus |
| Ngising-isi or Dangit | Balawis | Kitong | Java siganid | Teuthis javus |
| - | Baloh (Balo) | - | Gar | Family Belonidae |
| Barongoy[91] | Bangsi | - | Flying fish | Family Exocoetidae, Cypselurus oligolepis and C. poecilopterus |
| - | Bangkolisan (Bankulis) | - | Skipjack;striped tuna | Katsuwomus pelamis |
| - | Bogkanon[92] | - | ? | ? |
| - | Bongkokan or Mampahan | - | ? | ? |



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TABLE XXXIV (Continued)

| Local Names (Different Sizes) | | | English Names | Scientific Identification |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Small | Medium | Large | | |
| Borogkanon | Budlisan | - | ? | ? |
| - | Dalangdang (Dalanglan) | - | Golden-striped snapper | Lutianus flavolineatus |
| - | Dalapugan (Dalipugan) or Kambil-kambil | - | Leaf fish | Plataz orbicularis |
| Tanusok | Dogso[93] | - | ? | ? |
| - | Guno | - | Silverside | Atherina sp. |
| - | Haolhaol | - | Sardine or herring | Family Clupeidae, sardinella sp.; harengula sp. |
| - | Iho | - | Shark | All Families: Order Euselachii |
| - | Indangan | - | Surgeon or Nosefish | Surgeon (Acanthurus sp.) Nosefish (Naso sp.) |
| Inid[94] | Kugtong or Badiangon | - | Large grouper | Family Serranidae; Ephinephelus and Auvina; promicrops lanceolatus |
| - | Kume | - | Sergeant fish | Rachycentron canaduum |
| - | Lalagan[95] | - | ? | ? |
| - | Lamugan | - | ? | ? |
| - | Lanohan | - | ? | ? |
| - | Lapis | - | Golden leatherjacket | Scatophagus argus |
| - | Lawayan | - | Slipmouth | Leiognathus equulus |
| - | Liplipan[96] | - | Sailfish | Istiophorus orientalis |
| - | Lombalomba[96] | - | Dolphin | - |
| - | Lumod[96] | - | Swordfish | Xiphias gladius |
| Tamarong | Malapati (Aguma-a) | Haguma-a | Silverside | Atherina sp. |



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TABLE XXXIV (Continued)

| Local Names (Different Sizes) | | | English Names | Scientific Identification |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Small | Medium | Large | | |
| - | Malasugi[96] | - | Swordfish and spearfish | Makaira mitsukurii Xiphias gladius |
| - | Mamsa (Momsa) | - | Jack; Pampano; Cavalla | Caranx sp. |
| - | Manolsog | - | ? | ? |
| Tostos[97] | Nukos | - | ? | ? |
| Tiampao | Pag-i, salanga and Mantihang | - | Rays and Manta | All Families, Order Batoidei. Manta (Mobula eregoodoo); devil ray (Family Mobulidae). |
| - | Panit | Mantala-an | Yellowfin tuna | Neothunnus macropterus |
| - | Pawikan | - | Turtle | ? |
| Pudlos | Pulag Ikog | - | ? | ? |
| Hulokihok | Sulid | Borak | Caesio | Caesio sp. |
| - | Tamban[98] | - | ? | ? |
| - | Tangigi | - | Spanish mackerel | Scomberomo rus Commerson |
| - | Tulakhang | - | Anchovy | ? |
| - | Tulingan (Turingan) | Ihalason | Tuna | Family Thunnidae |
| - | Tuloy | - | Indian sardine | Sardinella longiceps |
| - | Ulan-Ulan | - | Blue Coral beauties or Sapphire fish | All blue colored Pomacentridae or pomacenthus pavo. |

[97] Names of fish in () are given when local Siaton names differ slightly from Visayan names given in Herre and Umali. This publication merely gives the Visayan name; where these names differ from Siaton names it means the name is not correct according to the people in this municipality. Identification was made solely on the basis of this publication that lists Visayan, English and scientific names for various fish.



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Footnotes for Table XXXIV (Continued)

88 Piso means "chick" or "young ones" whereas Pisog means "immature" or "baby fish" and is often prefixed to fish names to distinguish them from their mature types.

89 Herre and Umali, op. cit., state Balumabid is the same as Balantiong; this is not the case in Siaton.

90 Pakan, according to Herre and Umali, is "Mackerel scad: Hardtail"; this is not the case in Siaton.

91 Herre and Umali state Bangsi are flying fish "eight inches long"; Barongoy are medium-size Bangsi.

92 Bogkanon is not a well-known fish in Siaton but it is not the small size Budlisan.

93 Dogso is not the name for spearfish or sailfish in Siaton as given in Herre and Umali; it is a different fish.

94 Probably the same Inid that the people catch in Siaton River.

95 Herre and Umali state Lalagan are small size Balangian; this is not the case in Siaton for it is a different fish.

TABLE XXXVII

Fish Caught in Siaton
Bobos at Different Depths

| Local Names (Different Sizes) | | | English Names | Scientific Identification[103] |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Small | Medium | Large | | |
| | 30 to 45 Feet | | | |
| Ngisingis | Balawis (Bulawis) | Kitong | Java Signid | Table XXXIV |
| - | Tanosuk[104] | - | ? | ? |
| - | Dalangdiang | - | Golden striped snapper | Table XXXIV |
| Hulokihok | Sulid | Burak | Cassio | Table XXXIV |
| Managat | Laob[105] | - | Red snapper ? | Lutianus malabaricus ? |
| - | Poskan | - | - | ? |
| - | Palangan[106] | - | ? | ? |
| Inid | Badiangon | - | Large grouper (?) | Family Serranidae |
| - | Tobotobo (Tubotubo)[107] | - | Trumpet fish | Family Aulostomidae |
| - | Panangitan (Panangli tan)[108] | - | Moray | Gymnothorax sp. |
| - | Lipi | - | ? | ? |
| - | Hinok | - | ? | ? |

[103] When identification is made elsewhere, names are not repeated in this table.
[104] Herre and Umali state Tanosak are the young of the Dogso; this is not the case in Siaton.
[105] Some informants said another name for Laob is Aha-an that Herre and Umali state is the Red Snapper.
[106] Some informants said Poskan is also called Palangan.
[107] This fish has a trumpet-like nose or mouth.
[108] This eel-like fish is very mean "especially when the female has young."

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TABLE XXXVII (Continued)

| Local Names (Different Sizes) | | | English Names | Scientific Identification |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Small | Medium | Large | | |
| Tikong | Botiti[109] | Panabugan | ? | ? |
| - | Tandan[110] | - | ? | ? |
| - | Bayabay | - | ? | ? |
| - | Lubaylubay | - | ? | ? |
| - | Dalapugan | - | Leaf fish | Table XXXIV |
| Tiampao | Salanga, Pag-i | - | Rays and manta | Table XXXIV |
| - | Tangka | - | ? | ? |
| | 45 to 60 Feet | | | |
| - | Mamsa | - | Cavalla: Jack | Table XXXIV |
| - | Baliling | - | ? | ? |
| - | Laob | - | Red snapper | Table XXXIV |
| - | Kagdon[111] | - | ? | ? |
| - | Tangka | - | ? | ? |

[109]The following notice appeared in The Philippines Free Press, XLIII, No. 42 (October 19, 1952), p. 60. "Fifty-year-old Ciriaco Bacor of Bacuag, Surigao, and his only son, Irenio Bacor, age nine, died of botete poisoning on September 23. Ciriaco caught a fish called 'botete' and had it cooked. They then ate the fish. One hour after Irenio died and twelve hours after the father expired. Incidentally, it should be mentioned that the wife of Ciriaco died of botete poisoning last year." This is, no doubt, the Botiti of Siaton that is also said to be poisonous.

[110]Tandan are a small thorny fish "with a big liver and tasty meat"; certain parts of this fish are poisonous and must be removed before it is eaten.

[111]Kagdon are identical in shape with the blackish Indangan except the latter has yellowish-red scales.



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TABLE XXXVII (Continued)

| Local Names (Different Sizes) | | | English Names | Scientific Identification |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Small | Medium | Large | | |
| - | Timbungan | - | Goat fish (?) | ? |
| Tanusok | Dogso | - | ? | ? |
| Pigot | Olibalay | - | Grunt | Pomadasys sp. |
| - | Abohon (Abo?) | - | Croaker (?) | Family Sciaenidae |
| - | Badiangon | - | Large grouper | Table XXXIV |
| Pagapa[112] | Baulo (Balo) | - | Gar (?) | Family Belonidae |
| | | | Lactarius | Lactarius lactarius |
| - | Mambihing[113] | - | ? | ? |
| - | Galot | - | ? | ? |
| - | Botiti | - | ? | ? |
| - | Kanulo | - | Snapper | Lutianus sp. |
| - | Tandan | - | ? | ? |
| - | Banagan | - | Cow-nosed ray | Rhinoptera javanica |
| | 60 to 120 feet | | | |
| - | Indangan | - | Surgeon or nosefish | Table XXXIV |
| - | Mamsa | - | Jack or Pampano | Table XXXIV |
| - | Ganting | - | Soldier fish | Family Holocentridae |
| - | Dalangdang | - | Golden-striped snapper | Table XXXIV |
| Tostos | Bukos | - | ? | ? |
| - | Halo-an Tasik[114] | - | Murrel: Dalag (Mudfish) | Ophicephalus striatus |

[112] Pagapa are said to be Jack or Pompano, according to Herre and Umali.

[113] A few informants thought Mambihing might be another name for Lisnggag.

[114] Halon-an Tasik are said to be like Halo-an (mudfish) caught in the rivers; Tasik means "salty." The fish is so called because when caught in the sea it tastes salty.



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TABLE XXXVII (Continued)

| Local Names (Different Sizes) | | | English Names | Scientific Identification |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Small | Medium | Large | | |
| - | Badlon | - | Golden pampano | Table XXXIV |
| Pagapa | Baulo | - | Gar (?) | - |
| | Pag-i, etc. | - | Rays and manta | Table XXXIV |
| - | Pakolo (Pakol) | - | Trigger fish: Black Oldwife | Black Oldwife (Melichthys radula) |
| - | Kawayanon | - | ? | ? |
| - | Bilaobilao | - | ? | ? |
| | 120 to 240 Feet | | | |
| - | Mamsa | - | See elsewhere | Table XXXIV |
| - | Kalamuhoy | - | ? | ? |
| | Iho tike[115] | - | Shark | ? |
| Inid[116] | Badiangon | - | Large grouper | Table XXXIV |
| - | Indangan | - | Surgeon or nosefish | Table XXXIV |
| - | Balabawan | - | ? | ? |
| - | Mayamaya | - | ? | ? |
| - | Mukos | - | ? | ? |
| - | Dogso | - | ? | ? |
| - | Banagan | - | ? | ? |
| - | Tambuli | - | Large sea-snail | ? |
| - | Halo-an Tasik | - | ? | ? |
| Fish Caught in Bobo But at Unknown Depths | | | | |
| - | Dapat | - | ? | ? |
| - | Dapak | - | Red snapper | Litianus equulus |
| - | Lalong | - | Zebra or scorpion fish | Dendrochirus sp. and Pterois sp. |

[115] A shark with skin and eyes similar to that of the Tike, a house lizard.
[116] Some informants said Badiangon are mature Inid; others disagreed.



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entire year while most of the centrals in the first regime are limited to a 6-month processing period.[30]

## Vegetation

Most of Negros originally was covered with forests. Today about 66 per cent of the land surface of the Philippines is still forested.[31] Older residents of Barrio Bonbonon (Siaton) remember when the forests, which then abounded with deer, covered large areas of Bondo. Today the typical tree of this grassy plateau is the stubby talongon (Ginelina philippensis Cham.) The forests were once nearer to Caticugan where rattan could be gathered without long walks to the mountains. The western and eastern plains of Negros also were once forested. As the population of the island increased the most desirable land for cultivation was cleared of trees and planted with rice, corn, sugar cane and other crops.

Approximately 50 per cent of Negros' primary forests have been alienated by the people in their centuries of

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[30] The average monthly precipitation (in inches) for Hacienda Bilbao, Manapla, located in the third precipitation regime, for a 19-year period, is: January (7.9); February (4.8); March (4.8); April (3.); May (7.1); June (6.3); July (7.3); August (6.1); September (6.9); October (11.9); November (14.6); and December (9.2). Total annual precipitation: 90.0 inches. Wernstedt, op. cit., p.36.

[31] Reginald G. Hainsworth and Raymont T. Moyer, Agricultural Geography of the Philippine Islands: A Graphic Survey. Washington, D.C., United States Department of Agriculture, Office of Foreign Agricultural Relations, December, 1945, p.12.

assault on the land. Of the land alienated in Negros, which represents either open or agricultural land, only 80 per cent is now cultivated. The remainder of this land is idle, in pasture, or covered with various grasses, principally the coarse cogons (Imperata exaltata) or the wild cane (Saccharum spontaneum), the latter called tigbao in the Visayas and talahib in Tagalog. 137 311

The commercial forests of Negros represent some of the best timber lands in the Philippines (See Plate IX.)[2] Covering about 38 per cent of the island, nearly 70 per cent of the commercial forests are of the Dipterocarpaceae family, large trees usually more than 100 feet in height.[32] 137 313

The Insular Lumber Company located at Fabrica (Negros Occidental) with a daily output of 125,000 board-feet is the world's largest hardwood lumber mill. Other lumber mills are located at Victorias, Himamaylan, Cauayan, San Carlos, Tanjay and Tolong.[33] These mills 313

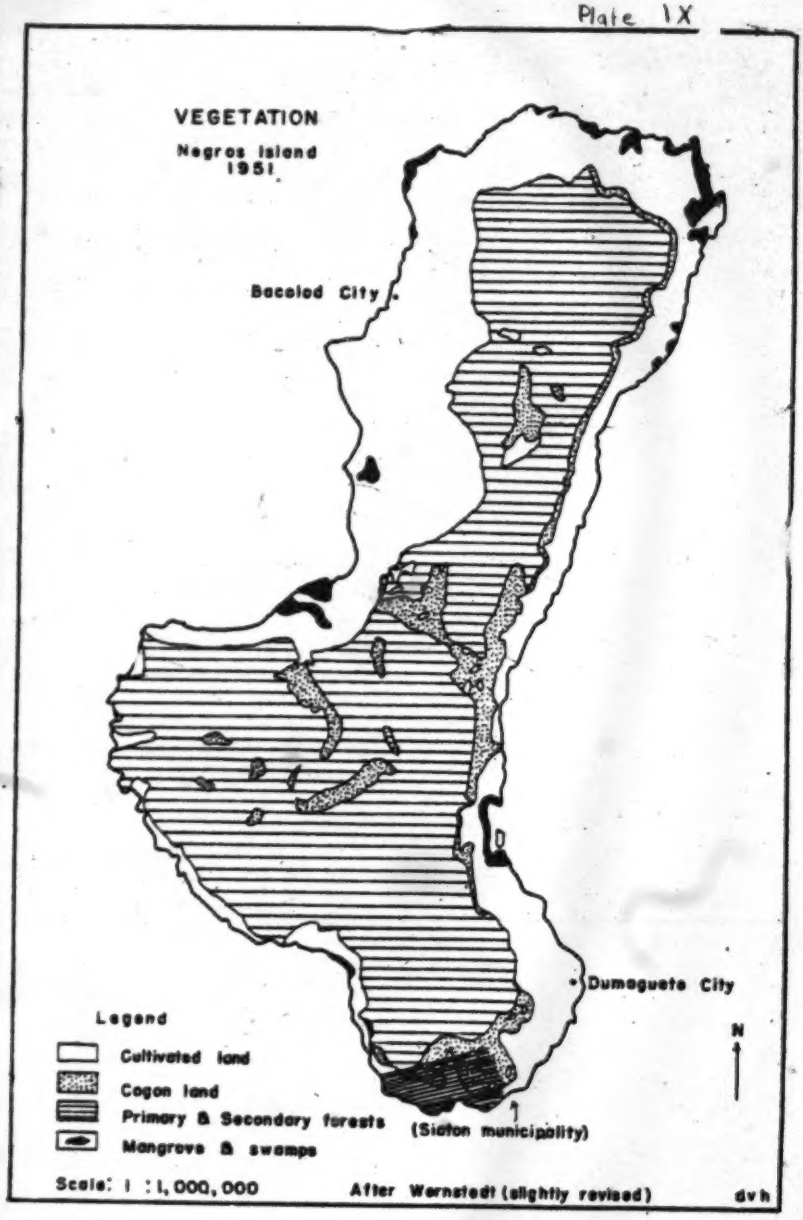
[32] Florencio Tamesis and Luis Aguilar, Important Commercial Timbers of the Philippines: Their Properties and Uses. Popular Bulletin No. 32. Manila, Department of Agriculture and Natural Resources, Bureau of Printing, 1951, p.15. While there are more than 3,000 arborescent species in the Philippines, 75 per cent of the standing timber belongs to the lauan family (Dipterocarpaceae).

[33] M. M. Alicante and others, Soil Survey of Negros Occidental Province, Philippines. Soil Report No. 14. Manila, Department of Agriculture and Natural Resources, Bureau of Printing, 1951, p.13.

2 [See p.59, cat. 137 --ANALYST]

20: Hart E-5 (1951) 1954 OA1 Philippines
Central Bisayan OA14

Plate IX

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have a daily output ranging from 20,000 to several thousand board-feet daily. There were six saw mills in Tolong in 1951; recently a plywood factory and another large saw mill (the latter owned by the American Rubber Company) have been established in this municipality. Most saw mills in Tolong are located in the mountains; the cut timber is hauled out by trucks during the dry season.

The trees most frequently cut for these mills are white lauan (Pentacme contorta Merr. & Rolfe), red lauan (Shorea negrosensis Foxw.) and tangile (Shorea polysperma Merr.) The latter two trees are known as Philippine red mahoganies in the timber trade, although they are not true mahoganies.[34] The lumber cut in Tolong is trucked to Dumaguete or shipped in small boats to Cebu, Bacolod and Iloilo. Just prior to my visit to Tolong one boat-load of lumber had been sent to Japan. While Negros has abundant timber resources, the barriofolk use only small quantities in building their houses. Inadequate development of Negros' timber resources, high prices, and poor transportation facilities are a few reasons why so little lumber is used by the rural people.

Brush, shrubs, and immature forest growth compose the secondary forest areas of Negros, resulting from the destruction of the primary or tropical rain forest by caingin or lumbering activities. The secondary forests are, for the most part, in the municipalities of Cadiz,

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[34] Tamesis and Aguilar, op. cit., pp. 45, 47, and 49.

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Cauayan, Kabankalan, Himamaylan, Bais, and Tolong. Negros does not have the expansive grasslands (cogonales) that occupy about 20 per cent of the land surface of the Philippines. Most of the island's cogonales are found in Negros Oriental, fringing the forested edges of the Central Mountain range.

> The [cogon] grass grows from a few feet to as much as 8 feet high and forms a very thick cover. A large part of these grasslands are 'man-made' and result from shifting cultivation, or caingin culture.[35]

Wernstedt states: "The two important vegetation associations, the secondary forests and the grasslands, are the real problem areas of Negros. They represent regions of abuse or negative occupance."[36] Much of Bondo in Siaton is covered with cogon and other grasses that are burned during the dry season so the cattle may forage on the new green shoots. Some cogonales are found in the rolling uplands east and west of the narrow Siaton valley south of Sitio Dolog.

The majority of Negros' swamps and mangroves are found in the northern part of the island. Bordering the mangroves are nipa palm areas whose fronds are used extensively for roofing. "The nipa palm does not thrive on either fresh or salt water, but requires an in-between condition. Often it borders tidal streams, extending inland as far

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[35]Hainsworth and Moyer, op. cit., p. 12.

[36]Wernstedt, op. cit., p. 48.

as the tidal effect is felt."[37] The mangrove-nipa area between the Siaton and Canaway Rivers is the source of most of the nipa used to thatch houses in this vicinity. 137 [314]

Soils

Two parent materials have played major roles in the origin and development of present day Negros' soils. First, the volcanic parent materials from the central mountains and, second, the limestone materials derived from coral depositions during periods of Negros' submergence. There are three major soil groups in Negros, based on factors of relief and the nature of the parent materials.[38] 134

The three major soil groups of Negros are (1) flat lowland soils; (2) rolling uplands soils (subdivided into those of sedimentary and igneous derivation); and (3) hill and mountain soils. The most important agricultural soil group is the flat lowland soils. These are soils of recent alluvial deposition which are usually found on the level or slightly undulating lands of the coastal plains--the plains of western Negros, San Carlos, Bais, and the many small plains of the eastern and western coasts. The flat lowland soils are the best agricultural soils in Negros, covering about one-fifth of the island, and are

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[37] Wernstedt, op. cit., p.47.

[38] The soils of Negros are inadequately studied. The two major studies are M. M. Alicante and others, op. cit., and Alfredo Barrera and others, "Soil Survey of Negros Oriental Province, Philippines." Manila, Bureau of Soil Conservation, 1950. Typescript.

The northwest part of Caticugan is still quite boggy. Along the base of the bluff runs a shallow stream which eventually joins the Caticugan Creek. To the west is the low bluff of Caticugan; Lucas Ege, founder of Caticugan, built canals here to drain the many springs. The hills are covered with bamboo groves, shrubs, and some coconuts. Taking the path up the bluff one emerges at Upper Naga. To the north a hill undulates down to a grassy shelf on which stand the houses of Upper Naga. Following the crest of the bluff southward one comes to the main settlement of Naga where a small bamboo school is located. The nearest house has several jars of bright-colored candies in the window sill to attract the few pennies of the children. To the west is Mantuyop River, a rockier and shallower stream than the Siaton River. Across the Mantuyop River the hills are covered with low-growing trees and shrubs.

If the opposite direction had been taken on leaving Caticugan one would have ascended the small plateau of Dangola, rocky, grass-covered and with scattered fields. The southwestern part of Dangola is covered with grass and large wallow holes where carabaos roll happily in thick mud. To the northwest is the level riverine plain of Sandolot with fenced fields and residences. Descending toward the east from Dangola one arrives at Talo-ot, separated from Caticugan

GUHANG

Of all the "cash crops" of Caticugan guhang is probably the major source of cash income for the largest number of families. The fermented sap of the buri palm (Corypha elata Roxb.) is the source of guhang. Though much as been written about making tuba (from the sap of the coconut tree) there are fewer accounts of making guhang. One poblacion wit said the name of the drink came from the desire, after excessive drinking, "to go hang yourself." Brown states:

> This [the buri] is the largest and most stately palm found in the Philippines. Its straight trunk attains a diameter of one meter and height of 20 meters...The plant grows 25 to 30 or more years, during which time large quantities of starch collect in the trunk. It then flowers once and dies...[54]

Besides being the source of guhang the buri has many other uses in the Philippines. The palm is the source of alcohol, vinegar and sugar, all made from the sap while the trunk yields large quantities of starch. The edible kernels of the fruit are used to make sweetmeats. The immature unopened frond is utilized in many parts of the archipelago to manufacture mats, sails, bags, while the buri's petiole yields the so-called Buntal fiber from which the famous hats of Baliuag and Lucban are woven.[55] Barriofolk in Caticugan do not make sugar from the buri's sap, although flour was extracted from the

[54] Brown, op. cit., I, p. 284.

[55] Brown, op. cit., I, pp. 286-95.

the sap begins to flow or the task abandoned as hopeless. 273 245
A deep hole may be bored into the "eye" to increase the diminishing flow of sap.

As one travels up the Siaton River valley the buri 184 245 palms decrease; at Dolog they disappear. The sap of the [137] ● ediok palm (Cabo Negros: Arenga pinnata Wurmb (Miller)) is [824] used to make a mildly alcoholic drink called habyob. The ediok produces large bunches of dates that hang on slender stalks from the top of the palm. A stalk is selected and then violently shaken and hit with a stick each morning until it flowers. Then the stalk's tip is cut and a bamboo container is attached at the end to collect the sap. The ediok's sap flows about the same length of time as the buri; tan-bark is also added to habyob for the same reason it is [824] put in guhang.

MINOR SINGLE CROPS OF CATICUGAN

Spencer lists twenty-one different cropping combina- 241 311 tions for the Philippines. Of these combinations six are chiefly lowland, eight chiefly upland, and seven are combined upland-lowland crop combinations.[59] The intercropping type typical of Caticugan is the "corn and minor crop" combination listed by Spencer under the combined upland-lowland category. The various cropping combinations in Caticugan are: (1) corn-peanuts; (2) corn-camotes; (3) corn-balatong [824] (Cow peas: Vigna sinensis Linn.); (4) corn-balatong-cassava;

[59] Spencer, op. cit., pp. 11-12.

Calendars with pictures of the Holy Family or religious scenes are common in the dwellings; these calendars are distributed free by Dumaguete Chinese merchants. Photographs are fairly typical--pictures of weddings, funerals, relatives, school graduations, etc. A few houses had an aparado, a chest cupboard, often with glass doors.

Every Caticugan dwelling had a family or domestic altar. In some cases the altar was merely a religious picture or a cheap plaster figure of a saint placed on a small shelf or, in one case, on the top of a trunk. A few altars were quite elaborate with two or three religious figures and pictures, vases (often beer bottles) for flowers, and paper cut-out or tinfoil decorations. Some altars have a small tin container filled with coconut oil with a wick made from a twist of kapok or native cotton.[5] The most elaborate altar in Caticugan belonged to two unmarried brothers who lived together; both young men were considered to be bayutes, highly feminine-acting men.

Little care is given most altars; they are often dirty and disarranged. During a novena or the fiesta, however, the altars are cleaned, rearranged and fresh flowers put in the vases.

4 (Continued) and several pages of current events. Personal communication to the writer from Mr. B. Canete, Circulation Manager, Liwayway Publications, Inc., Manila, April 3, 1954. Typescript.

5 There are two varieties of tree cotton in Caticugan, gapas gamay and gapas dako; both were identified as Gossypium brasiliense Macf. Also see Brown, op. cit., II, pp. 401-3.

Whether
certain groups of small, dark-skinned people in the Philippines are true Negritos is still a controversial issue. Negritos have been reported in Negros, Palawan, Panay, Luzon, Mindanao, Guimaras, Samar and Polillo. Estel, however, is able to find "no good metrical or photographic evidence for...Negrito groups in any area other than the provinces of Bataan and Zambales on the island of Luzon."[9] Beyer has separated the alleged Negritos of Panay and Negros from the main Negrito group as "non-Negroid or only partially Negroid people who are difficult to classify."[10]

The next racial group to arrive in the archipelago were Indonesians or Proto-Malays (Estel calls them Early Asiatics). Following this group came the Malaysians who may have originated in Central Asia and moved slowly into Southeast Asia and eventually the Philippines. The Malaysians, called Southern Mongoloid by Estel, are found mainly in the coastal regions of the archipelago and compose the bulk of the present population of the Philippines. The Malaysians settled as far north as Luzon; early Iron Age pottery has been found in Rizal and Bulacan provinces and Taboso, Escalante

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[9] Leo A. Estel, "Racial Origin in Northern Indonesia," Journal of East Asiatic Studies, II, No. 3 (April, 1953), p.1.

[10] H. Otley Beyer, Population of the Philippines in 1916; (Población de las Islas Filipinas en 1916). Manila, Philippine Education Company, 1917, p.60.

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greyish color and are usually very fibrous. Boiled camotes stuck on small bamboo sticks are often sold in Siaton's marketplace and small stores.

Cassava

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The so-called native cassava (balanghoy) was brought to the Philippines from Mexico during the early days of the Spanish regime. Varieties of cassava with commercial possibilities were not introduced into the Philippines until the American period. In some localities, like the Sulu archipelago, cassava is the staple food; in Siaton, however it is merely a supplementary seasonal food. The plant is cultivated by Filipinos for the tubers which store from 15 to 40 per cent starch. [146]

Only 32 acres of cassava were planted in Siaton municipality in 1951; very little was grown in Caticugan. [311] While three types of cassava are known and planted in the area--Visaya, Java and Australia--most of the cassava in Caticugan is Visaya. The Visaya variety grown in Caticugan may be Mandioca Sao Pedro Preto. The barriofolk report that Visaya cassava tastes better than the Java variety and contains more starch. [262] Australia cassava is reported to be grown mainly in Nasi-id and Bantolinao, sitios of Caticugan. Visaya cassava takes from ten to twelve months to mature, although the barriofolk of Caticugan dig immature roots after six months.

Two small patches planted solely to cassava in Caticugan were both in Naga. These patches were too

March and April, tangkong sells for more than when a larger supply of kalamongay and other vegetables are for sale in the marketplace. When the price is high a small bunch of tangkong sells for five centavos (two and a half cents). When other vegetables are available one may buy three bunches of tangkong for that price.

Sometimes people will come to Barrio Caticugan from the poblacion or nearby barrios to buy tangkong. If they pick the vegetable they are given a cheaper price than if they purchase it from the owner. Normally the owners take their tangkong to the poblacion to sell; but three women and one man sold tangkong from their patches in Barrio Caticugan; the male vendor was a bayute. Vendors do not have much trouble selling tangkong, especially during the hot season when most vegetables are scarce. Tangkong is a good source of vitamins B and C and an excellent source of vitamin C; the leaves are said to have a mild purgative effect.[74]

Owners of tangkong patches sometimes let other vendors sell their greens in the poblacion and split the profits. This is done when the woman owning the tangkong cannot take her vegetables to the market. For example, one young mother, with a new baby, was unable to take her tangkong to the poblacion. She made an arrangement with a neighbor to sell her greens; the owner received a net

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[74] Brown, op. cit., III, p. 258.

# CHAPTER VI

## HUNTING AND FOOD GATHERING

### INTRODUCTION

This chapter describes the hunting and food gathering activities in Catiengan.[1] The largest and most frequently hunted animal is the wild pig. Plants gathered are edible wild tubers, mushrooms, a few vegetables and various fruits. Some people trap pigeons, quail, doves and other wild birds. In emergencies the pith of several varieties of palms is processed into an edible flour. 22

Since most of the barriofolk exist at a dietary level which seems barely adequate, the food obtained by hunting and gathering, though usually small in amount, is relatively important. Between the harvests of the wet and dry season corn--the "starvation months"--most barriofolk spend more time gathering wild plants than in any other season. When the first corn harvest begins, the gathering activities decrease. The wild plants and tubers [511] [146]

[1] Gathering of aquatic snails and mollusks is included in Chapter VII, SECURING AQUATIC PRODUCTS.

It is a frequent saingin volunteer and one could see plants growing in poblacion vacant lots. Igao has been studied so there is some information on its nutritional value.[11] The igao's petioles are boiled and fed to the pigs (but never eaten by the people in Caticugan) while the corms are gathered for food.

All wild corms are dug during the dry or hot season. When the rainy season appears the roots become very fibrous and less agreeable to eat. It is fortunate for the barriofolk that the corms are most palatable during the period when they are most needed. With the coming of the rains the igao leafs out and the corms turn black. They may still be dug to feed to pigs but this is not a common practice in Caticugan. Barriofolk regard the corms as most palatable in March and April.

Both men and women dig for wild roots. However, when the roots are shallow and easily dug, women and children normally dig them. If the vines are very thorny

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[11] Brown, op. cit., I, p. 344. The Tagalog name for igao is puñgapung. R. F. Bacon, "Starch Production in the Philippines," Phil. Journal of Science, A 3 (1908), states the highest yield of starch obtainable from the igao corms is 4.5 per cent; this study cited in Brown, ibid. More recent studies by Wester and Hermano give the following data on the constituents of the igao corm: moisture 77.8 (74.8) per cent; ash 1.3 (0.7); fat 0.13 (0.6); protein 1.4 (5.1); and giving 574 (1,000) calories per 2.2 pounds. Hermano's study is cited in Brown, op. cit., I, pp. 344-348. Hermano's figures are enclosed in (). P. J. Wester, The Food Plants of the Philippines. 3rd revised edition. Manila, Bureau of Agriculture Bulletin No. 39, Bureau of Printing, 1925, p. 218.

paddies) and a few use the leaves of the dapdap (Erythrina variegata L. var. orientalis (L.) Merr.) tree as greens. Sometimes the blossoms of wild bananas are gathered, boiled, and eaten. 222 262

MUSHROOMS

Wild mushrooms, though not very plentiful, are gathered by the barriofolk. Most people are fond of mushrooms, and consider them a delicacy. Individuals rarely make special searches for mushrooms; they watch for them when traveling in the mountains. Mushrooms are usually collected during the rainy season; they are found growing in bamboo groves, on dead logs, rotting banana or abaca stalks (often in caingins) and other shady places.[14] 222

Eleven different types of edible mushrooms (ohong) are gathered by the barriofolk: amamakol, libgos, kolakdop, lavat, saha-an, kotmava, ohong (a poisonous type is also known by the same name), talope, tangogtangog, lavalava and songadsongad. The most common varieties that grow near Caticugan

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[14] Few cases of fatal mushroom poisoning occur in the Philippines since the poisonous species rarely grow in the lowlands; they thrive best in cool places in the mountains. "It is a common belief in the Philippines that thunder and lightning have something to do with the spontaneous appearance of mushrooms. When thunder begins to rumble, especially during May or early June, at the start of the rainy season, young and old in rural communities rush out to the open fields and meadows to search for mushrooms." The general name for edible mushrooms in Tagalog is kabute, in Negros and Panay, ohong, and Leyte ulaping. Jose M. Mendoza, "Philippine Mushrooms." The Philippines Journal of Science, LXV, Nos. 1-2, (January-February, 1938), pp. 13-15. My collection of mushrooms for identification spoiled: for this reason the English or scientific names are not given. Mendoza's study did not list the Cebuano names for these mushrooms. [811] [146]

are libgos, kolakdop, layat and tangogtangog. Amamakol is said to be available throughout the year while the layat, songadsongad and lavalava are gathered mostly in May and June. 222

Sometimes a lucky person finds a lot of mushrooms and sells them in the marketplace; they are quickly purchased. One day a young man came to Siaton poblacion with a half a gunny sack of libgos that he sold for five cents a hatful. Mushrooms are normally sliced and mixed with vegetables or fried in lard. 438 [435] 252

WILD FRUITS

Certain wild fruits are eaten in season. One popular fruit, somewhat similar to a cherry, is the lumboy (Tag: duhat; Syzygium cumini (Linn.) Skeels).[15] Lumboys ripen in April and May; children often gather large quantities and sell them in the poblacion. In Sitio Katogasan (Barrio Datag), lumboy trees are said to be very plentiful. 222

Wild guavas (bayabas) are fairly plentiful in Caticugan; they occur mostly in the nearby hills.[16]

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[15] An analysis of the mineral content and food value of fresh and oven-dried lumboy samples has been made. The analyses indicate that lumboy is a good source of calcium and fair in iron. Brown, op. cit., III, pp. 156-9. [146]

[16] Guavas are one of the commonest and best known fruits in the Philippines, a native of tropical America that has become thoroughly naturalized. Brown, op. cit., III, pp. 152-3.

one in the barrio owned a boat. One man had a partnership with a resident of a seaside barrio; the former made the bobo, the latter furnished the boat and they shared the catch equally. This was the only such partnership discovered in Caticugan. The barriofolk of Caticugan depend largely on products of the creek and river for their proteins. Data of diet indicate that pelagic products are not common in the daily diet. The small fish, eels, shrimp, crabs and snails obtained from the creek and river compose the bulk of aquatic foods eaten in Caticugan. The importance of this source of food for rural Filipinos has been overlooked almost entirely.[75]

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433
471

262
146

As with agricultural and food-gathering activities, pre-Hispanic animism appears in aquatic techniques. The ceremonies related to the construction of boats, fish corrals and the rituals connected with the installation of these devices, reflect deep-rooted beliefs in unseen spirits who are the titular owners of sea products. While some poblacion residents who finance fish corrals are sceptical of these concepts, they usually are tolerant of their workers' attitudes. Perhaps these more sophisticated individuals, not thoroughly convinced of the falsity of these beliefs, take the attitude that "most superstitious practices do no harm and may do some good," a Cebuano saying. These attitudes and customs associated with securing

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781

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[75] The Rivera-McMillan report includes several pages of "typical menus of rural households" (Appendix C) that make no mention of fresh-water shrimp or snails. However, one picture is included (p. 162) that shows a small family eating "rice, small shrimp, and snail for supper." The lack of this information in the typical menus may be due to the barriofolk's hesitation to admit eating snails. Rivera-McMillan, op. cit., pp. 212-3.

'Visayan' only for the areas just mentioned, while the people of Cebu, Bohol, and Leyte were for a long time known only as Pintados. The name 'Visayan' was later extended to them because...their languages are closely allied to the Visayan dialect of Panay.[15] 101

In 1942 there were about 7,200,000 Visayan Filipinos living in more than twenty major islands and several hundred smaller ones. In addition to the coastal regions of Mindanao, six large islands inhabited almost exclusively by Visayans are Cebu, Bohol, Negros, Panay, Leyte and Samar. (See Plate IV.)[1] The largest group of Visayans are the Cebuanos (3,940,000) who occupy Negros Oriental province, Cebu, Bohol and other Visayan islands. The barriofolk of Caticugan are almost entirely Cebuanos. The Panayanos (2,085,000) inhabit most of Negros Occidental province, Panay, Guimaras, and other Visayan islands. In 1942 the population of eastern Leyte and Samar island totalled 995,000, the people (most of whom) speaking a modified Cebuano dialect called Wari-Wari. A small enclave of people living in the Aklan River valley of Panay (about 180,000) may have migrated to the Philippines before the arrival of the Borneo emigrants who settled the island in the 13th century.[16] 161 162

The Cebuanos and Panayanos (the latter are often called Ilongos) speak different dialects. Beyer believes that Cebuano is probably the least modified of the 197 174

[15] G. Nye Steiger, H. Otley Beyer and Conrado Benitez, A History of the Orient. New York, Ginn and Company, 1926, pp.122-3.

[16] H. Otley Beyer, "The People of the Philippines." Unpublished book manuscript. Manila, 1943, p.173.

1 [See p.36, Cat.162--Analyst]

133
311

economic regions of Negros, is devoted almost entirely to sugar cane except for a fringe of lowland rice along the southwestern coast. The land is relatively level along the coast but undulation occurs as the plain approaches the mountains. Only the northern and southern subdivisions of the plain have drainage problems.

The southern division of the west Negros plain has the greatest amount of acreage devoted to lowland rice, although it is also a sugar cane area. Here flows the Ilog, the longest river in Negros, navigable for five miles by lightdraft ships. The west Negros plain is the most important area in the island from an agricultural point of view. Associated are large towns, adequate roads, narrow-gauge railways (for transporting cane to the mills), and a dense population.

The Tablas plateau in southwestern Negros, a thinly inhabited and little known area, is relatively isolated from the rest of the island. Here occurs the only break in the national road system encircling Negros. While once a plateau surface, the Tablas area is now a hilly upland, deeply dissected. Perhaps with the exception of the central mountains, the Tablas plateau is the most undeveloped area in Negros. The few settlements are located along the coast. [161]

The Southwest Coastal lowlands, extending westward from Tolong to the southern part of the plain of west Negros are a series of disconnected flood plains created where the rivers deposit their sediments on reaching the

Population of Negros

Negros is the fourth most populous island in the Philippines, Negros Occidental the second most populous province. 161

TABLE VIII

Five Most Populous Islands and Provinces in the Philippines (1948)[63]

| Islands | Population | Provinces | Population |
|---|---|---|---|
| Luzon | 9,185,826 | Cebu | 1,123,107 |
| Mindanao | 2,702,498 | Negros Occidental | 1,038,758 |
| Panay | 1,491,759 | Leyte | 1,006,891 |
| Negros | 1,424,961 | Pangasinan (Luzon) | 982,906 |
| Cebu | 1,123,107 | Iloilo (Panay | 816,382 |

Bacolod (101,432) is the eighth largest city in the Philippines with only 65,000 fewer persons than the second largest city, Cebu. Negros Oriental is the thirteenth most populous province in the Philippines; its capital, Dumaguete (24,838), is one of 792 cities in the Philippines with a population over 5,000 and under 25,000. Nearly 75 per cent of the people of Negros lives in Negros Occidental; its sister province, composing about 40 per cent of the island's total land area, is relative thinly populated.

Philippine Social Trends reports that in 1939 23 per cent of the Filipinos "lived in cities and 162

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[63] 1948 Philippine Census (Population), p. 9 and passim. The population of Siquijor Island is omitted from the population of Negros. In 1948 the population of this sub-province of Negros Oriental was 57,258.

90

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Two large population movements are observed in the Philippines; one is from rural to urban areas and the other from areas of high population density to areas of lower density. The low ratio of males to females (ages 15 to 34 years) in the barrios surveyed by the Rivera-McMillan study suggests that rural to urban migration is selective of young males.

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Since Chapter III discusses the historical growth of Negros' population, this section is concerned with present demographic patterns. (See Plate XIII.)[1] The population of Negros is concentrated in plains and lowlands; the rugged Central Mountain range and the isolated Tablas plateau are relatively blank on the population map. Large areas in southwestern Negros have less than 100 persons per square mile.

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The increase in population densities of Negros between 1903 and 1948 are given in Table IX.[69]

TABLE IX

Population Densities in Negros (Persons Per Square Mile)

| Province (Island) | 1903 | 1918 | 1939 | 1948 |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Negros (Total) | 91 | 120 | 222 | 270 |
| Negros Occidental | 104 | 133 | 277 | 349 |
| Negros Oriental (Excluding Siquijor) | 77 | 107 | 166 | 191 |

1 [See p. 91, cat. 162--Analyst]

[69] The population densities differ in various sources due to the varying areas given Negros and its provinces and whether or not Siquijor is included in Negros Oriental. Census of the Philippine Islands: Taken under the Direction of the Philippine Commission in the Year 1903. Washington, D.C., U.S. Bureau of Census, 1905, II, p.28. Census of the Philippine Islands: 1918. Washington, D.C., Bureau of Printing, 1921, II, "Population and Mortality," p.28. Commission of the Census: Census of the Philippine Islands: 1939. Washington, D.C., Bureau of Printing, 1940, I, "Reports of Provinces, Part 3," page 4 of section on Negros Oriental and page 3 of section on Negros Occidental.

161

Negros (excluding Siquijor) is one of the most densely populated islands in the Philippines. The average population density was 270 persons per square mile in 1948 in comparison with the Republic's average of 167. Since large areas of Negros are uninhabited or thinly populated, these figures are less meaningful than the physiologic densities. The physiologic density is the ratio of population to cultivated land. According to Spencer in 1948 the physiologic density of Negros Oriental was 1,378 persons which was slightly higher than that of Negros Occidental which was 1,328. In 1948 the physiologic density for the Philippines was 1,186 while the four provinces with the highest physiologic densities were: Ilocos Sur (2,120), Mountain (2,118), Pangasinan (2,066) and Cebu (2,051).[70] Spencer believes that Negros, along with Cebu, Bohol and Leyte, in the Visayas, "are reaching their saturation point."[71] For all of Negros Oriental south of Dumaguete with the possible exception of Tolong municipality, this statement would appear correct.

The rapid increase in the population of Negros, particularly Negros Occidental, between 1903 and 1948, was stimulated by the development of the sugar industry, mainly after the passage of the Payne-Aldrich Act in

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[70] Spencer, op. cit., p.44, Table 3. This source states: "Since the cultivated area is not precisely determined, the density figures can only be considered as approximate estimates."

[71] Spencer, op. cit., p.41.

161 ●

1903 which established duty-free sugar quotas for the Philippines and the amendment of this Act in 1913 by the Underwood Tariff Act. "The passage of these two Acts of preferential treatment resulted in tremendous increases in the amount of land planted to commercial agricultural crops, especially sugar cane, hemp, and coconuts."[72] With greater acreage devoted to sugar cane and the conversion from the primitive muscovado sugar mills to the modern sugar centrals, the need for field and factory workers increased rapidly. With the exception of the Bais area and some parts of northern Vallehermoso, Negros Oriental lacked the broad plains which would attract individual farmers, and did not undergo this development of sugar production.

Negros population growth graph from 1845 to 1948 vivifies this trend. (See Plate XIV.)[1] The population growth of Negros resembles that of the Philippines but by the beginning of 1918 there was a rapid increase in the population of Negros Occidental while Negros Oriental lagged behind. In 1887 the population of the two provinces was almost the same; by 1948 Negros Occidental had nearly four times the number of people of its sister province.

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[72] Wernstedt, op. cit., p.86.

1 [See p.94, cat. 161 Ansyst]

20: Hart E-5 (1951) 1954 OA1 Philippines
Central Bisayan OA14

~~PLATE XIV~~

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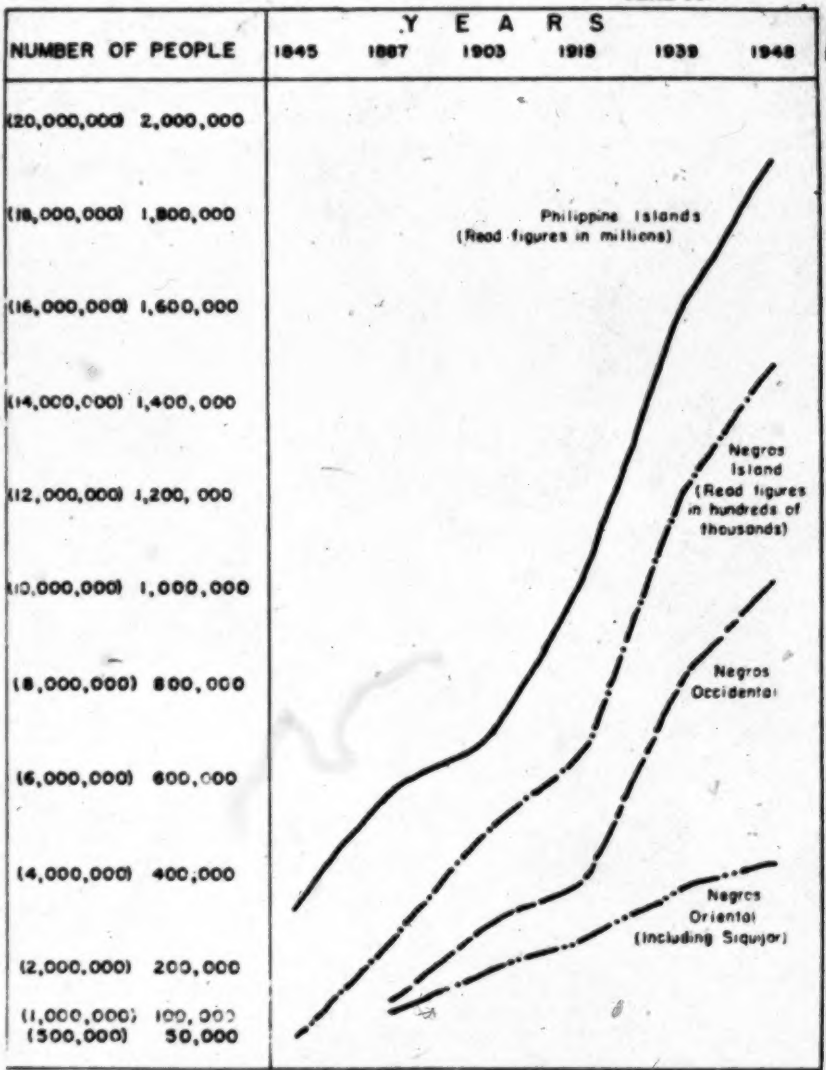



COMPARATIVE POPULATION GROWTH CHART
PHILIPPINE ISLANDS AND NEGROS ISLAND
1845 - 1948

Sources: Buzeta, Zuniga A. Censuses from 1903 to 1948

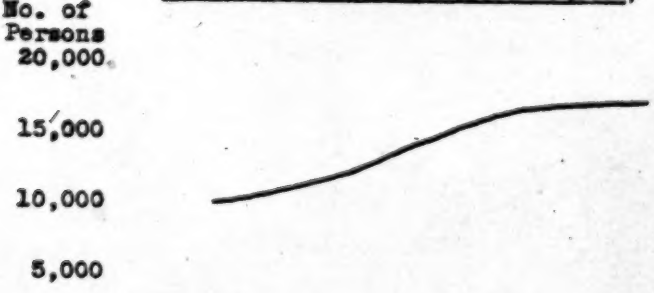
dvh

P. 94

161.

The population of Siaton municipality increased from 10,074 in 1903 to 17,926 in 1948, and appears to have leveled off after 1939, lagging behind the island as a whole and Negros Oriental.[73] Over the same 45-year period (1903-1948) Negros' population increased 207 per cent; that of Siaton increased only 78 per cent. The percentage increase of Siaton's population between 1939 and 1948 was 6 per cent as compared with 15 per cent for Negros Oriental. A large part of this increase was due to World War II when people came to Siaton from Cebu, Bohol and Siquijor. Many of them did not return to their homes after the end of the war. It would seem that Siaton's saturation point has been reached under existing conditions.[74] Siaton's population growth from 1903 to 1948 is shown in Graph I. [166]

GRAPH I
POPULATION GROWTH
SIATON MUNICIPALITY (1903 - 1948)




Sources: Censuses of the Philippines

[73] The 1918 and 1939 census figures for Siaton were, respectively, 13,183 and 16,968.

[74] Improved sanitation and medical facilities would influence this statement but there appears to be no justification for expecting drastic improvements within the near future.

Caticugan, Dangola, Naga, and Talo-ot, was 878 according to my census made in 1951. However, there was no way to determine the population of the other sitios except by additional censuses, and time did not permit. Barrio or sitio locations are also indicated on the map, the majority being near the coast, rivers, or the National Road.[76]

The census figures are misleading if one attempts to analyse the decline or rise of the population of individual barrios in Siaton. Even though the inhabitants state and all evidence indicates that the population of Caticugan (including Naga, Talo-ot and Dangola) has increased considerably since 1900, the census figures show a decrease. Sitios often are transferred from one barrio district to another between censuses and no records are made of these changes. This is the explanation for the very rapid increase of population of Barrio Sumaliring between 1918 and 1939, from 360 persons to 1,273. Some sitios counted in 1918 as part of the poblacion were transferred to Sumaliring before 1939.

I tried to untangle this situation for Siaton municipality but abandoned it as hopeless. However, to

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[76] The locations of many barrios and sitios were made by questioning informants. The writer did not visit all of them. There is no certainty that all of them are shown and the location of many is approximate on Plate XVI. Some settlements are shown north of Siaton's municipal boundary for the people consider them part of their municipality. The barrios in the region along the Siaton River valley to Apoloy and the strip through which the National Road passes are the most accurately located communities on this map.

illustrate the complexities of the changes and to offer partial explanations, Camboay and Napacao were once sitios of Canaway; Cabangahan and Bonawon sitios of Giliga-on; Maloh and Datag sitios of the poblacion; Mantiquil, Sandolot, and Calanan sitios of Casala-an; and Tayak a sitio of Bonbonon. The dates of the various transfers were unknown by the inhabitants.

The census figures indicate that the poblacion and barrios Bonbonon, Caticugan, Giliga-on, Inalad, and Mantuyop--all bordering the present National Road--are the oldest settlements. The census data also suggest strongly that the Siaton River valley was relatively thickly settled at an early date; in 1903 there were nearly 1,000 persons in the somewhat isolated vicinity of Casala-an. The history of this area, presented in Chapter III, supports this tentative conclusion.

Barrio Bonawon's population increased more rapidly than any other locality in Siaton municipality. From 824 inhabitants in 1918 the Bonawon vicinity grew to 2,393 persons by 1948. Between 1939 and 1948, for example, the population doubled. As a case study special attention was given to this vicinity. Once a sitio of Barrio Giliga-on, Bonawon was relatively isolated from the eastern part of the municipality due to inadequate transportation. Probably not until 1930 did busses reach Bonawon. Bonawon has fertile soils and, being

p. 100

near the sea, the people can both farm and fish. Improved road conditions and the desire for land probably led many to move to this "frontier" before the last war. 161

During the war and Japanese occupation of Negros, Bonawon was ideally situated. It was too far from either Tolong or Siaton to be patrolled. People from Zamboanguita, Bacong and Cebu (particularly Bato and Santander) came to Bonawon. As the new persons settled in Bonawon, they prospered. Many who arrived as tenants are now small landowners. They attracted relatives and friends from Negros and Cebu. Others married and decided to settle permanently in the locality after the war. These factors appear to be the primary reasons for the increase in the population of Bonawon. According to local informants, no new territory was added to Bonawon between 1939 and 1948.[78] 166 161

Table X[1] illustrates the relation of Siaton municipality to the remainder of the province in regard to barrio district and poblacion population sizes. The average population of the 21 municipalities of Negros Oriental in 1948 was 18,390 which is almost the same as that of Siaton. The chart indicates that the average 161

[78] In 1952 a proposal was approved by the municipal council of Siaton to create a new barrio, Tambo, within Bonawon district. The proposal was prompted because "Bonawon is over-populated and one barrio lieutenant cannot attend properly to his duties." [632]

1 [See p. 101, Cht. 161 - - Analyst]

barrio district population for the province is close to that of Siaton, although the latter's poblacion is about one-third smaller than the average provincial poblacion. Siaton's poblacion is more a large barrio than a poblacion.

TABLE I

| | Barrio District Population (1948) | | Poblacion Size (1948) | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Location | Population | Location | Population |
| NEGROS ORIENTAL | | | | |
| Average | - | 1010 | - | 3378 |
| Largest | Calamba (Guihulngan) | 19097 | Tanjay | 12503 |
| Smallest | Kaidiocan (Valencia) | 112 | Valencia | 806 |
| SIATON | | | | |
| Average | | 943 | - | 2364 |
| Largest | Bonawon | 2393 | - | - |
| Smallest | Mantiquil | 239 | - | - |

Agricultural Regions of Negros

The preceding material has presented some of the major aspects of Negros' cultural landscape. This section will be devoted to the agricultural regions. Greater emphasis will be given to corn and rice areas since this information will better place Siaton in proper perspective.

Southern and eastern Negros, mainly Negros Oriental, is a region of corn and coconuts; western Negros' major crops are sugar cane and rice. While the

The Southern Corn-Coconut region is one of the most sparsely settled areas in Negros, with the exception of the Tablas plateau and the Central Mountain range. Dumaguete has over 1,000 persons per square mile while Bacong has between 250 and 499 persons. The remainder of this region has a population density between 100-249 persons per square mile with most of the Filipinos crowded along the narrow littoral. The western and northern parts of this region, reaching back to the Central Mountain range, are even less sparsely inhabited.

The Southern Corn-Coconut region's cultivated land extends from the southern municipality of Sta. Catalina to Pamplona. From the steep cogon-grass slopes of the Central Mountain range to the coconut-lined beaches, corn fields are the most typical sight. Rice paddies usually occur as isolated patches in a carpet of corn with a coconut fringe.

Five varieties of corn are grown in the Philippines: pop corn, sweet corn, dent corn, glutinous corn (*lagkitan*) and flint corn.[86] Flint corn is the most widely grown variety in the Philippines, as a whole, and in the Southern and Northern Corn-Coconut regions. Flint corn is better suited to grinding into meal--the staple food in these two regions.

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[86] Leopoldo B. Uichanco and Francisco M. Sacay, Philippine Agriculture: Field Crops. Manila, College of Agriculture, University of the Philippines, 1949, I, p. 112.

when copra prices fall school enrollments decrease. For the most part, the Chinese control the buying and selling of copra. Their trucks come from Dumaguete to pick up copra from stores where Filipinos sell their small crops.

The Northern Corn-Coconut region begins in the south with Manjuyod municipality and continues to the north to Canlaon and Vallehermoso municipalities. A northern extension of this region includes Negros Occidental's eastern littoral. Both the southern and northern municipalities of this region are transitional to sugar cane agriculture. This northern region is larger than the Southern Corn-Coconut area; the former has about 743 square miles of which 239 square miles (32 per cent) are actively cultivated.

Many geographic factors typical of the southern region also characterize the Northern Corn-Coconut region. There is less level land in the northern region; the small riverine floodplains and narrow littoral account for most of it. While annual precipitation is greater than in the southern region, the northern area also is subject to droughts. Transportation facilities are not as adequate as in the south, and the northern region lacks an adequate port. The only sizeable port is at Guihulngan where shallow-draft inter-island ships stop. The rest of the coast is lined with shallow inshore waters or offshore coral reefs.

Population densities are greater in the northern region with an average density of 289 persons per

112

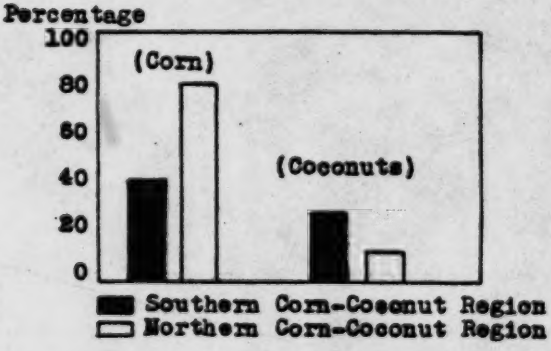
square mile,(in the south, 196 persons). The heavy pressure on the land has resulted in a constant westward push of the people, who cleared the steep slopes of their natural vegetation and planted the cleared land. This has resulted in a larger proportion of submarginal agricultural land than in the southern region. A greater proportion of the cultivated land is devoted to corn and a much smaller area is occupied by the principal cash crop, coconuts. Lacking an easy access to outside food sources and adequate transportation facilities for selling copra, the barriofolk of this region rely upon subsistence agriculture.

161 ● 311 433

The difference between the Southern and Northern Corn-Coconut regions in regard to land occupied by both corn and coconuts is illustrated in Graph II.

GRAPH II

Percentage of Cultivated Land Devoted to Corn and Coconuts 1950 — 51




Percentage of cultivated land in the northern region devoted to various crops is shown in Table XII.[1]

1 [See p. 113, cat. 311 -- Analyst]

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> means to defend themselves, as they used to do when there were no Spaniards in the country. Therefore many towns of peaceful and subjected Indians revolted and withdrew to the tingues [mountains], and refused to descend to their houses, magistrates, and encomanderos...[30]

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721

Christianity seems to have made many Visayans more passive, for prior to the arrival of the Spaniards they were known as brave warriors. Mirandola states that the people of Cebu, for example, were "very warlike and vicious." Christianity also made the Visayans the bitter enemies of the Moros, who in turn regarded them as the children of the Spaniards who sacked towns in Mindanao and Sulu and sold Moro slaves in Manila. The history of Siaton reflects the fear and terror these Moro raids held for the early settlers of southern Negros.

175*
161 ●

Negros remained a relatively unknown and undeveloped island until the middle of the 19th century. Varona states that in the middle of the 16th century many Spanish writers were so badly informed that they thought Negros was inhabited solely by Negritos. A study of the sources in Blair and Robertson yields a meager number of references to Negros and even fewer detailed accounts. Negros during these centuries was overshadowed by Cebu and Panay. It was not until the development of the sugar industry, destined to make the island the "Sugar Bowl of the Philippines," that Negros' development and population began a rapid increase.

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30 Najeeb M. Saleeby, The History of Sulu. Bureau of Science, Division of Ethnology, IV, Part 2. Manila, Bureau of Printing, 1908, p. 281.

20: Hart E-5 (1951) 1954 OA1 Philippines
Central Bisayan OA14



In 1838 the Spaniards in Siaton told all the Filipinos to stay inside their homes on an appointed day. Poblacion officials visited each residence on this day with an alphabetical list of names. Each family was given a family name.[50] The administration of Siaton, the tax accounts and other official records, were complicated by the lack of the people having a family name. There were many men known simply as Francisco, nicknamed Esco or Escong, often making it necessary for double nicknames to distinguish all the Escongs--such as Escongyawa. There are still communities in the Philippines where the people have family names that appear to have come from the same page of an alphabetical list.[51]

175* 659 551 177

## FROM 1845 TO THE PHILIPPINE REVOLUTION

In 1849 Tomas Mezquita succeeded Omedillas as the parish priest of Siaton. At this time the Siaton parish covered about 60 miles, from Zamboanguita to the Sicopon

175* 161

[50] In this matter Cadiane is inconsistent for family names are given for capitans beginning in 1831. After Francisco Sugboanon came capitans Alejandro (1821-22); Felix (1823-24); Clemente (1825-26); Francisco Sugboanon (1827-28), re-elected; Etib (1829-30); Cayetano Cadingan (1831-32), first capitan with a family name; Celestino Makagig (1833-34); Etib (1835-36), re-elected; and Juan Jarnaes (1837-38).

[51] Most of the family names of the later leaders of Bonbonon cluster: Cajigan, Capoli, Carnaes, Janala, Jandug, Jangar, Japoli, Padunar, Pagulas, Paladar, Palagar, Palalomas, and Palalon. Since C and J are often interchangeable in Cebuano, such names as Capoli and Japoli were once probably identical.

175*
161

River, and had 714 tributos (taxpayers). Using the ratio 1:4 this would mean by the middle of the 19th century there were about 2,800 people in the Siaton parish. This figure includes only the Christian Filipinos, not the pagans who lived in the mountains; there were many in the parish. For example, when Mezquita made his first visit to Bawayan (Tolong) he baptized 100 monteses (hill or pagan people). Visits to Basay (west of Tolong) by Mezquita resulted in eighty baptized pagans and another visit gained the Church an additional thirty converts.

The Population of Negros in 1845

Negros' population had not grown very rapidly since the Spaniards' arrival. In 1845-50 the island had its first fairly detailed census based upon the municipal unit. Using the tribute ratio 1:5 Negros was estimated to have a population of 58,720 persons in 1845.[52] There were two major population centers, the Bais lowland and the vicinity of Bacolod. In western Negros the population concentration had been steadily moving north probably due to the availability of excellent land and the proximity of overcrowded Panay. On the other hand, both Echauz and Marco state that in 1850 there were only 30,000 inhabitants in Negros which had seventeen towns (pueblos).[53] It is difficult to determine which estimate

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[52] Buzeta and Bravo, op. cit., pp. 555-9.

[53] Echauz, op. cit., p. 33 and Marco, op. cit., p. 99. Marco probably used Echauz and Echauz gives no indication of his source for this population estimate.

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is the more accurate; the writer is inclined to accept the more detailed estimate of Buzeta and Bravo. Even the larger population estimate would have meant that in 1850 Negros had a population density of only twelve persons per square mile. By 1850 six Recollect fathers and eleven curas insulares (Filipino lay assistants) lived in Negros.

In 1851 Basilio Kirit, nicknamed Baroro, was elected capitan and some roads were built in the poblacion. In 1861 a severe cholera epidemic hit Siaton and killed many of the inhabitants. Marco gives a vivid account of this epidemic that swept Negros.[54] It appears to have been introduced to Negros from Panay and later spread throughout the archipelago.[55]

The Non-Christians of Siaton

During the Spanish period there were an estimated 300 Negritos (or Atas) living in the mountains near Siaton. The last Negrito group to visit the poblacion was in the 1930's who told the people originally they had come from Panay (Antique province). Informants in Siaton are still living who remember the Negritos and reported that "they were not very black but we could tell they were Atas by their hair." The Negritos came to the lowlands to barter medicinal roots, honey, rattan, and similar items, for rice corn and clothing.

[54]Marco, op. cit., pp. 99-100.

[55]Frederic H. Sawyer, The Inhabitants of the Philippines. London, Marston S. Low, 1900, p. 398.

occurred in Negros until 1873.[72] To this day, however, fear of the Moros exists among the people of the area; many of them believe that the only "good Moro is a dead one." 175* [563]

The Growth of the Population of Negros: 1877

175* 161

The development of the sugar industry in Negros had two results. First, it became more important to establish law and order in the island for protection of the mills and growing wealth of the hacenderos. The Spanish officials in Manila began to take more interest in Negros and an attempt was made to stamp out outlaws. It was mainly the hacenderos who wished the protection of the American flag during the Philippine revolution, not because they were unsympathetic to the revolt against the United States but because they wished to protect their investments.

175* 161 464

Second, the development of the sugar-producing areas in Bais, San Carlos, and northern and western Negros made a larger labor force necessary. These workers were obtained, for the most part, from Panay, Cebu and Bohol. Echauz gives an interesting account of the recruiting of workers for the haciendas.[73] He writes of employers sending thirty or forty thousand pesos (one peso = fifty cents, U.S.A.) to Panay to requisition laborers.

[72] Galang and Osias, op. cit., p. 405.

[73] Echauz, op. cit., pp. 83-5.

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> Twenty or thirty men come and apply for jobs during the milling season and talk with the 'capatas' or foreman, and express their willingness to work because the hacendero treats his men well. After a long talk the hacendero agrees to give seven or ten pesos for each laborer for fifteen days...The hacendero, then thinks that his problems are solved, but the next morning he wakes without the laborers who he has already paid because they fled during the night.[74]

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The expansion of Negros' sugar industry, the press of the people on the cultivable land of Cebu, Bohol, and Panay, and natural increase swelled the population of Negros from 58,000 in 1845 to 204,669 in 1877. The population of the major Visayan islands in 1877 is given in Table XIV.

TABLE XIV

Population of the Six Major[75] Visayan Islands - 1877

| Islands | Population |
|---|---|
| Panay | 777,777 |
| Cebu | 403,296 |
| Bohol | 226, 546 |
| Leyte | 220,515 |
| NEGROS | 204,669 |
| Samar | 178,890 |

In 1884 there were thirty-six *cabezas* in Siaton; each was responsible for about one hundred Filipinos[76] or

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[74]Echauz, *op. cit.*, p. 84.

[75]Sawyer, *op. cit.*, p. 296. Sawyer states he obtained these figures from "a Spanish record" that he does not fully cite. In 1880 Echauz writes there were 200,000 inhabitants in Negros with thirty *pueblos*. Echauz, *op. cit.*, p. 35 and Ruiz, *op. cit.*, p. 131.

[76]This information was given me by Santiago Tayko who had been appointed a *cabeza* when eighteen years old and still lives in Barrio Bonawon.

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161

a total estimate of 3,600 Christian Filipinos. Nine cabezas lived in Bonbonon, three in Giliga-on and the remainder in the general vicinity of the poblacion. The Recollect fathers in Negros had increased from six in 1850 to thirty in 1880, another sign of the growing population of the island.

The Local Spanish Administration in Siaton

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Gadiane's manuscript gives one insight into the local Spanish administration of Siaton during the latter part of the 19th century. In many ways the present administration of Siaton municipality is patterned on the Spanish system, with a mayor instead of a capitan and barrio lieutenant for the cabeza de barangay.

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The cabezas de barangays were the agents or representatives of the capitan in the various barrios under the latter's jurisdiction. Gadiane writes that the cabeza originally served for only one year in Siaton, then for two, and finally their term was lengthened to three years. Zaide describes the office and functions of the cabeza.

> The pueblos [poblacions in the sense municipality is used today] were divided into barangays [barrios], each under a chief called cabeza de barangay. Originally the office of the cabeza was hereditary, then eventually elective. All cabezas paid no tribute and, after serving for some time, they became members of the town aristocracy--the principalia. The chief duty of the cabeza was to collect taxes in his barangay.[77]

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[77]Zaide, The Philippines Since Pre-Spanish Times, p. 176.

20: Hart E-5 (1951) 1954 OA1 Philippines
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grammar translated into Visayan and also a big Spanish-Visayan dictionary. If you asked your teacher questions while the class was in session he might pull your ears or scold you. If you failed to answer questions on the lesson given you in the morning that afternoon you were given five lashes.[108]

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The school was mainly for the sons of the better-to-do Filipino who lived in the poblacion. Children from the nearby barrios rarely attended this school.

## THE PHILIPPINE REVOLUTIONS AND THE REPUBLIC OF NEGROS

175* 635

In 1856 Negros was raised to the status of a military-political province; in 1890 it was divided into the provinces of Negros Occidental and Negros Oriental. In 1887 Negros' population was estimated to be 270,891, an increase of more than 65,000 in ten years.[109] Gadiane mentions this administrative division of Negros and reports that a "military government was organized at Dumaguete under Governor Joaquin Tavira."[110] Negros' new provinces were still classified as corregimientos (military provinces) and governed by army officers.

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[108] The stress on teaching Spanish in Siaton is interesting since this was not typical of most of the schools during the Spanish period. In 1885 a Franciscan friar wrote a pamphlet which ridiculed the Filipinos' efforts to learn Spanish and stated: "All a Filipino needed to enable him to go to heaven was to learn how to pray, to plow, and to be obedient to his superiors, especially to the parish priests." Encarnacion Alzona, A History of Education in the Philippines: 1565-1930. Manila, University of the Philippines Press, 1932, pp. 96-7.

[109] Galang and Osias, op. cit., pp. 405-6. In 1893 Echauz states Negros had a population of 320,606 with 42 towns and that the number of Recollect priests in the island had increased to 47. Echauz, op. cit., p. 37.

[110] This statement is from Gadiane's manuscript and is supported by Pedro Teves, "Una Breve Historia de Dumaguete," The Official Program of Dumaguete City. Dumaguete, Negros Oriental, November 24, 1948, p. 46.

limited amount (300,000 tons) of duty-free Philippine sugar; there were immediate increases in sugar production in the archipelago.[162] By 1921 the exporting of sugar had exceeded that of the Spanish period. With the inauguration of the quota system the output of Negros' sugar declined somewhat, but remained relatively stable until World War II.

Negros' population expansion was directly connected with the growth of the sugar industry. However, Panay, Cebu, and Bohol were becoming more overcrowded and Filipinos from these islands emigrated to Negros' less densely populared plains. Negros' population (excluding Siquijor) increased from 270,891 in 1887 to 509,766 in 1903.[163] In sixteen years the population of western Negros (approximately Negros Occidental province) had grown from 148,137 (1887) to 308,272 persons (1903) while the population of the eastern part of the island (approximately Negros Oriental) had expanded from 122,754 (probably including Siquijor) to 201,494 (155,471 excluding Siquijor). More people were settling in western than eastern Negros. With passing decades western Negros' population was to become nearly triple that of the eastern part of the island. An election

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[162] The 1913 Underwood Tariff Act, amending the Payne-Aldrich Act, permitting duty free entry of all Philippine products into the United States, irrespective of quantity, provided that not more than 20 per cent of the final product was of foreign origin or manufacture.

[163] Census of the Philippines: 1903, I, p. 87.

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cities and 18,859 barrios in the Republic of the Philippines.[4] Some basic statistics on Negros are given in Table I. (See Plate III.)[1]

TABLE I

| Province | Square Miles | Population (1948) | Number of Municipalities (1952) | Number[5] of Barrios (1952) |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Negros Occidental | 2977 | 1,038,758 | 30 | 314 |
| Negros Oriental | 2020 | 386,203 | 21 | 330 |
| Siquijor Island Sub-province | 129 | 57,258 | 6 | 133 |
| | 5126 | 1,482,219 | 57 | 777 |

The most important function of provincial governments is supervision of the various municipal governments within a province.[6] The provincial governor and board are elected by the people of the province as are mayors and many of the municipal officials. The municipal

[4] Ibid., p.8. Since the 1948 census Mindoro Island has been divided into two provinces, Mindoro Oriental and Mindoro Occidental.

[5] Ibid., pp.169-78. Since the 1948 census four new municipalities have been established in Negros: Asia, Sipalay, Magallon and Pamplona. The new barrios which were also created in these municipalities have been added to the abovr chart.

[6] Joseph R. Hayden, The Philippines: A Study in National Development. New York, Macmillan Company, 1945, p.266.

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'Visayan' only for the areas just mentioned, while the people of Cebu, Bohol, and Leyte were for a long time known only as Pintados. The name 'Visayan' was later extended to them because...their languages are closely allied to the Visayan dialect of Panay.[15] 101

In 1942 there were about 7,200,000 Visayan Filipinos living in more than twenty major islands and several hundred smaller ones. In addition to the coastal regions of Mindanao, six large islands inhabited almost exclusively by Visayans are Cebu, Bohol, Negros, Panay, Leyte and Samar. (See Plate IV.)[1] The largest group of Visayans are the Cebuanos (3,940,000) who occupy Negros Oriental province, Cebu, Bohol and other Visayan islands. The barriofolk of Caticugan are almost entirely Cebuanos. The Panayanos (2,085,000) inhabit most of Negros Occidental province, Panay, Guimaras, and other Visayan islands. In 1942 the population of eastern Leyte and Samar island totalled 995,000, the people (most of whom) speaking a modified Cebuano dialect called Wari-Wari. A small enclave of people living in the Aklan River valley of Panay (about 180,000) may have migrated to the Philippines before the arrival of the Borneo emigrants who settled the island in the 13th century.[16] 161 162

The Cebuanos and Panayanos (the latter are often called Ilongos) speak different dialects. Beyer believes that Cebuano is probably the least modified of the 197 174

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[15] G. Nye Steiger, H. Otley Beyer and Conrado Benitez, A History of the Orient. New York, Ginn and Company, 1926, pp.122-3.

[16] H. Otley Beyer, "The People of the Philippines." Unpublished book manuscript. Manila, 1943, p.173.

[See p.36, Cat. 162--Analyst]

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## Population of Negros

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Negros is the fourth most populous island in the Philippines, Negros Occidental the second most populous province.

TABLE VIII

Five Most Populous Islands and Provinces in the Philippines (1948)[63]

| Islands | Population | Provinces | Population |
|---|---|---|---|
| Luzon | 9,185,826 | Cebu | 1,123,107 |
| Mindanao | 2,702,498 | Negros Occidental | 1,038,758 |
| Panay | 1,491,759 | Leyte | 1,006,891 |
| Negros | 1,424,961 | Pangasinan (Luzon) | 982,906 |
| Cebu | 1,123,107 | Iloilo (Panay | 816,382 |

Bacolod (101,432) is the eighth largest city in the Philippines with only 65,000 fewer persons than the second largest city, Cebu. Negros Oriental is the thirteenth most populous province in the Philippines; its capital, Dumaguete (24,838), is one of 792 cities in the Philippines with a population over 5,000 and under 25,000. Nearly 75 per cent of the people of Negros lives in Negros Occidental; its sister province, composing about 40 per cent of the island's total land area, is relative thinly populated.

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Philippine Social Trends reports that in 1939 23 per cent of the Filipinos "lived in cities and

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[63] 1948 Philippine Census (Population), p. 9 and passim. The population of Siquijor Island is omitted from the population of Negros. In 1948 the population of this sub-province of Negros Oriental was 57,258.

'poblaciones'" and 77 per cent lived in barrios. This study states that "from partial tabulated figures of the 1948 census, it is estimated that ... 25 per cent of the population ... lived in barrios and ... 75 per cent lived in cities and 'poblaciones.'"[64] This alleged shift in the composition of the population of the Philippines, from 23 percent urban to 75 per cent, between the two censuses, is misleading. The recent Rivera-McMillan barrio study states that "from 67 to 70 per cent [of the population] resides in places with fewer than 2,500 inhabitants."[65] A barrio in the census is often several sitios, scattered over an area of several square miles. Barrio Caticugan is an excellent example of this condition. The census population figures for these settlements, however, are given under the name of one barrio according to the enumerators' boundaries. There are many barrios which have a larger population than the poblacion of their municipality. One example is the population of "Barrio Ma-ao" (Bago, Negros Occidental) with 24,089 persons (1948) while only 2,335 inhabitants lived in the municipality's poblacion.[66] Under the

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[64] Philippine Social Trends: Basic Documents Pertinent to Long-Range Social Welfare Planning in the Philippines. Manila, published by the President's Action Committee on Social Amelioration, assisted by the United Nations consultants, Bureau of Printing, 1950, p.32.

[65] Rivera and McMillan, op. cit., p.3. The rural population of the Philippines, as defined by the Bureau of Census, refers to all persons living in barrios regardless of size; the urban population includes those residing in large cities and poblacions, the latter often having only a few hundred residents.

[66] 1948 Philippine Census (Population), pp.169 and 175.

Bureau of Census method Barrio-Ma-ao would be classified as rural and Bago poblacion would be considered an urban center.[67] 162

To use the classification employed by the United States Census which defines settlements of more than 2,500 persons as urban is unrealistic in the Philippines. A community of 2,500 persons in the United States may be an urban center, but a settlement with the same number in the Philippines would be rural. The data available make any attempt to divide the population of the Philippines into rural, rurban, and urban exceedingly difficult. No one method will satisfy all. For Negros the writer has arbitrarily doubled the usual urban population figure to 5,000, and has classified persons living in smaller settlements as rural. By this method the urban population of the island as a whole is 39.5 per cent; the urban population in Negros Occidental is 48 per cent and in Negros Oriental 31 per cent. One factor which partially explains the higher urban population percentage in Negros Occidental is the concentration of people in the many sugar centrals of this province.[68]

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[67] Philippine Social Trends states that the population shift from rural or urban "...may have been conditioned by the fact that pacification operations [against the Hukbalahaps] were active in the rural areas in October and that enumerators, therefore, called rural persons to the nearest poblacion for enumeration." This is probably true yet it would not affect all of Luzon and other islands where the Huk forces were weak or did not exist. p.32.

[68] Siquijor has no communities over 5,000 people.

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Two large population movements are observed in the Philippines; one is from rural to urban areas and the other from areas of high population density to areas of lower density. The low ratio of males to females (ages 15 to 34 years) in the barrios surveyed by the Rivera-McMillan study suggests that rural to urban migration is selective of young males.

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Since Chapter III discusses the historical growth of Negros' population, this section is concerned with present demographic patterns. (See Plate XIII.)[1] The population of Negros is concentrated in plains and lowlands; the rugged Central Mountain range and the isolated Tablas plateau are relatively blank on the population map. Large areas in southwestern Negros have less than 100 persons per square mile.

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The increase in population densities of Negros between 1903 and 1948 are given in Table IX.[69]

TABLE IX

Population Densities in Negros (Persons Per Square Mile)

| Province (Island) | 1903 | 1918 | 1939 | 1948 |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Negros (Total) | 91 | 120 | 222 | 270 |
| Negros Occidental | 104 | 133 | 277 | 349 |
| Negros Oriental (Excluding Siquijor) | 77 | 107 | 166 | 191 |

1 [See p. 91, cat. 162--Analyst]

[69] The population densities differ in various sources due to the varying areas given Negros and its provinces and whether or not Siquijor is included in Negros Oriental. Census of the Philippine Islands: Taken under the Direction of the Philippine Commission in the Year 1903. Washington, D.C., U.S. Bureau of Census, 1905, II, p.28. Census of the Philippine Islands: 1918. Washington, D.C., Bureau of Printing, 1921, II, "Population and Mortality," p.28. Commission of the Census: Census of the Philippine Islands: 1939. Washington, D.C., Bureau of Printing, 1940, I, "Reports of Provinces, Part 3," page 4 of section on Negros Oriental and page 3 of section on Negros Occidental.

20: Hart E-5 (1951)'1954 OA1 Philippine.
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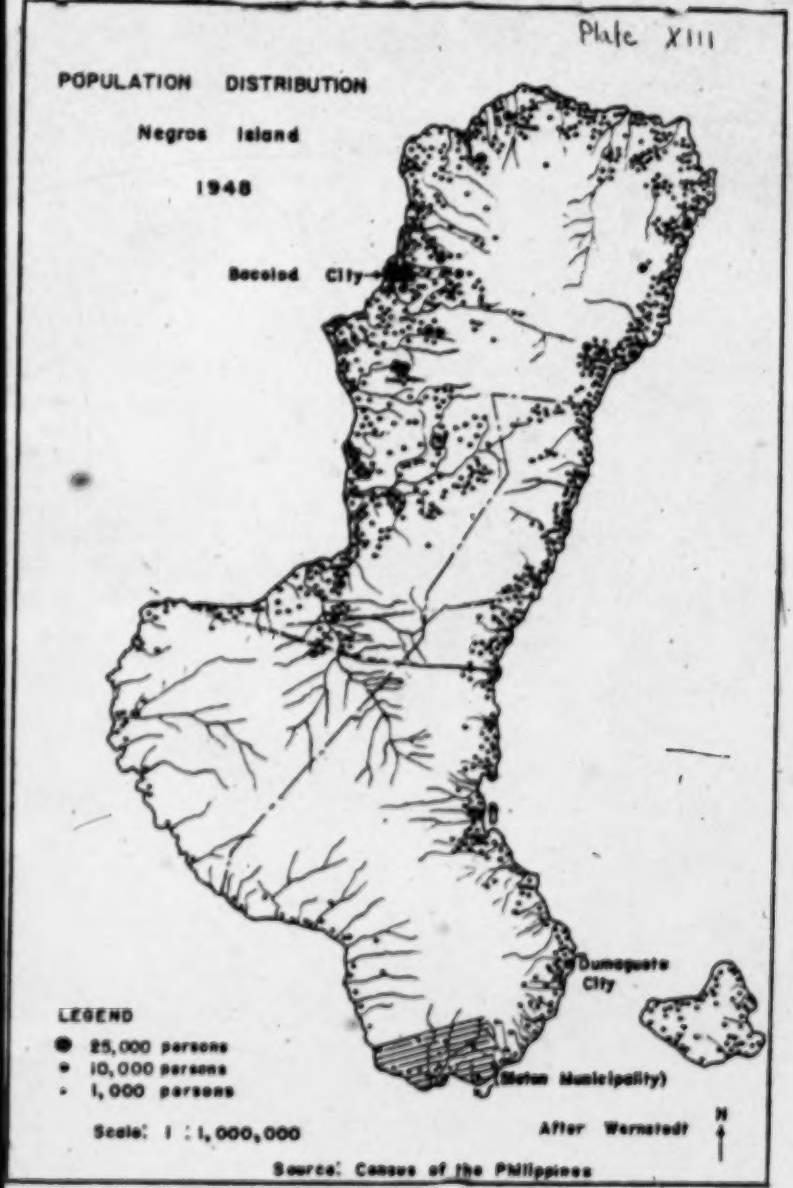
Plate XIII

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The Barrio Population map shows the distribution of Siaton municipality's population according to barrio districts established for the 1948 census.[75] (See Plate XV.)[1] There are many problems in working with the census figures. First, the individual population of each sitio is not given. For example, in 1948 the population of Barrio Caticugan was 676 persons, all listed is the census report under "Barrio Caticugan." Actually the people lived in ten other settlements besides Caticugan. The population of Caticugan, including

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[75] Population of the various settlements in Siaton municipality from 1903 to 1948:

| Name | 1903 | 1918 | 1939 | 1948 |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Poblacion | 2113 | 2468 | 2618 | 2364 |
| Apoloy | — | 291 | 358 | 356 |
| Bonawon | — | 824 | 1364 | 2393 |
| Bonbonon | 1283 | 1383 | 1117 | 1200 |
| Camboay | 445 | — | — | — |
| Cabangahan | — | 236 | 642 | 874 |
| Calanan | — | 334 | 344 | 350 |
| Canaway | 600 | 1063 | 1167 | 789 |
| Casala-an | 988 | 736 | 898 | 625 |
| CATICUGAN | 1076 | 618 | 733 | 676 |
| Datag | — | — | 559 | 529 |
| Giliga-on | 1002 | 692 | 1099 | 1066 |
| Inalad | 1181 | 1074 | 948 | 1026 |
| Maloh | — | 388 | 697 | 686 |
| Mantiquil | — | 240 | 220 | 239 |
| Mantuyop | 1209 | 1153 | 1125 | 1089 |
| Napacao | — | 56 | 368 | 260 |
| Sandolot | — | 714 | 457 | 568 |
| Siit | — | 84 | 571 | 854 |
| Sumaliring | 177 | 360 | 1273 | 1224 |
| Tayak | — | 307 | 322 | 658 |

Sources: Census of the Philippines. The 1918 census lists a barrio called Tayne which, according to informants, never existed. It is presumed Tayne was a misspelling of Tayak and the figures are included under this latter barrio.

1 [See p. 97, cat. 162 -- Analyst]

20: Part E-5 (.95.) 1954 OA: Philippines
Central Mindanao OA14
PLATE XV p.97

Caticugan, Dangola, Naga, and Talo-ot, was 578 according to my census made in 1951. However, there was no way to determine the population of the other sitios except by additional censuses, and time did not permit. Barrio or sitio locations are also indicated on the map, the majority being near the coast, rivers, or the National Road.[76]

The census figures are misleading if one attempts to analyse the decline or rise of the population of individual barrios in Siaton. Even though the inhabitants state and all evidence indicates that the population of Caticugan (including Naga, Talo-ot and Dangola) has increased considerably since 1900, the census figures show a decrease. Sitios often are transferred from one barrio district to another between censuses and no records are made of these changes. This is the explanation for the very rapid increase of population of Barrio Sumaliring between 1918 and 1939, from 360 persons to 1,273. Some sitios counted in 1918 as part of the poblacion were transferred to Sumaliring before 1939.

I tried to untangle this situation for Siaton municipality but abandoned it as hopeless. However, to

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[76] The locations of many barrios and sitios were made by questioning informants. The writer did not visit all of them. There is no certainty that all of them are shown and the location of many is approximate on Plate XVI. Some settlements are shown north of Siaton's municipal boundary for the people consider them part of their municipality. The barrios in the region along the Siaton River valley to Apoloy and the strip through which the National Road passes are the most accurately located communities on this map.

illustrate the complexities of the changes and to offer partial explanations, Camboay and Napacao were once sitios of Canaway; Cabangahan and Bonawon sitios of Giliga-on; Maloh and Datag sitios of the poblacion; Mantiquil, Sandolot, and Calanan sitios of Casala-an; and Tayak a sitio of Bonbonon. The dates of the various transfers were unknown by the inhabitants.

The census figures indicate that the poblacion and barrios Bonbonon, Caticugan, Giliga-on, Inalad, and Mantuyop--all bordering the present National Road--are the oldest settlements. The census data also suggest strongly that the Siaton River valley was relatively thickly settled at an early date; in 1903 there were nearly 1,000 persons in the somewhat isolated vicinity of Casala-an. The history of this area, presented in Chapter III, supports this tentative conclusion.

Barrio Bonawon's population increased more rapidly than any other locality in Siaton municipality. From 824 inhabitants in 1918 the Bonawon vicinity grew to 2,393 persons by 1948. Between 1939 and 1948, for example, the population doubled. As a case study special attention was given to this vicinity. Once a sitio of Barrio Giliga-on, Bonawon was relatively isolated from the eastern part of the municipality due to inadequate transportation. Probably not until 1930 did busses reach Bonawon. Bonawon has fertile soils and, being

20: Hart E-5 (1951) 1954 OA1 Philippines
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In June, 1565, Father Andres de Urdaneta, the "immortal partner of Legaspi," and some companions landed near Escalante where the Danaw (Danao) River debouches into the sea. They explored the locality, saw some Negritos, and left several wooden crosses as a sign of Spanish possession.[5] At this period Negros appears to have been relatively uninhabited except for roving bands of Negritos and several villages on the eastern and western coasts of the island, in the general vicinity of Ilog and Tanjay. It is most probable these were Panayano and Cebuano settlements of emigrants to Negros from Panay, Bohol, and Cebu. Another small group of Spaniards, under Mateo del Saez and Martin de Goiti, landed near Tanjay in September, 1565, to obtain supplies and gain the friendship of the natives. The Filipinos fled from the village when the Spaniards approached so they were unable to secure much food or win the villagers' friendship.[6]

175* [162]

In October, 1565, Captain Miguel de Loarca, a member of Legaspi's expedition, sent the first Spanish mission to take possession of Negros. The mission consisted

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[5] Marco, op. cit., p. 16. Marco gives 1569 as the date of this landing on Negros. However, Urdaneta left Cebu on the ship San Pedro June 1, 1565, reaching Mexico in October of the same year. He died in Mexico City in 1568 and never returned to the Philippines.

[6] Edward J. McCarthy, Spanish Beginnings in the Philippines: 1564-1572. Studies in Hispanic-American History, III. Washington, D.C., The Catholic University of America Press, 1943, pp. 43-4. The following year Goiti headed another expedition to Negros that was also a failure. Ibid., p. 46.

20: Hart E-5 (1954) 1954 OA1 Philippines
Central Bisayan OA14.



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The first map of Negros was made by Diego Lopez Povedano, a Negros landowner, who made an exploratory trip of the island in 1572. He found that the Tanjay-Dumaguete area was the major center of population in eastern Negros. In western Negros another population center existed from Ilo (Ilog) in the south to Canadaguite (Candaguit, near La Carlota) in the north. Varona states this general area was "la cuna primitiva de Negros" (the original cradle of Negros). Another settled region called Tecgaguan, now Saravia, was located in the extreme north of the island. At this time the population of Negros was estimated roughly at 7,000 persons, excluding the Negritos.[10]

An early description of Negros was made by Loarca in 1582.

> West of the island of Cubu [Cebu] lies another island called by the Spanish--Negros, because its mountain districts are inhabited by some blacks [Negritos]. The Indians [Filipinos] have given it various names, such as Mayon, Mamaylan [Himamaylan], and others, all taken from the names of villages in different parts of the island. It contains some six or seven thousand Indians; but the number of blacks has not been ascertained, because of their hostility. The side of the island facing Cubu is sparsely populated; for it has only one settlement worthy of the name, which is situated on the river Tanay [Tanjay], and half of the Indians on that river are natives of Bohol. The southern side [from Panay actually the western and northern regions of Negros] and the town of Arevalo, is thickly settled; for it contains the rivers Ylo [Ilog], Ynabogan, Binalbagan, Carobcop, and Tecgaguan [Saravia],--all fertile districts, rich in foods,

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[10] Varona, op. cit., pp. 2-3.

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> such as rice, swine, and fowls; and abounding in medrinque [a cloth woven from banana fibers], although there is no cotton...The side toward Cubu has three encomiendas; and that toward Panay and the town of Arevalo has eight. All other encomienderos hold encomiendas in other parts of the island...None of its villages belong to his Majesty.[11]

The Bais lowland where Tanjay is located was probably the most attractive locality in eastern Negros. Here was the largest single area of level land with adequate water supplies, fertile soils, and the best natural harbor in Negros.[12] Its proximity to Cebu City, at this period the entrepot of the Visayas, had many advantages. Andres de Mirandola, the nephew of Urdaneta, reported to Philip II that in 1565 "The entire island [of Cebu] was densely populated and settled."[13] While this was, no doubt, an exaggeration, an attractive lowland separated by a little more than 2 miles of water must have been enticing to many Cebuanos and Boholanes. At the time of Legaspi's arrival, the southwestern part of Bohol was reported to be a well-populated region.[14]

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[11] Miguel de Loarca, "Relación de las Yslas Filipinas," (Relation of the Filipinas Islands), Panay, June, 1582. Translation in Blair and Robertson, op. cit., V, p. 47.

[12] Herbert S. Walker, La Industria Azucarera en la Isla de Negros. Manila, Departamento de Instrucción Pública, Oficina de Agricultura, Bureau of Printing, 1911, p. 63.

[13] "Letter from Andres de Mirandola to Felipe the Second," Blair and Robertson, op. cit., XXXIV, pp. 200-6.

[14] Conrado Benitez, History of the Philippines: Economic, Social, Political. New York, Ginn and Company, 1940, p. 175.

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By 1591 the population of Negros was estimated at 15,000, including both the converted Filipinos and infieles (infidels), the latter being Filipinos who had not accepted the Catholic religion.[15] This figure can be accepted as only a gross estimate. It does not include the primitive groups living in the mountains, such as the Negritos, and, doubtlessly, only part of the infieles of the island. The early population estimates of Negros were based upon tributes paid by the head of each Filipino family to their encomendero. Each tribute was usually estimated to represent a family of four persons.[16] The infieles and primitive groups were rarely included in these estimates since they did not pay tribute and it was only the "saved souls" who were counted.[17]

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[15] This first Philippine "census" was made in 1591 at the order of Governor Gomez Dasmarinas. This report stated that Negros had no encomiendas except in the extreme north "which seems to be due to the fact that its early population was almost entirely Negrito whom the Spaniards were unable to capture and control." The latter comment is by Benitez, op. cit., p. 177, also the source for the census.

[16] Most writers state that one tribute equals four individuals; Dasmarinas, Gomez Perez, "Account of the Encomiendas in the Philippines," Manila, 1591, Blair and Robertson, op. cit., VIII, p. 110 and Benitez, op. cit., p. 218. However, Manuel Buzeta and Felip Bravo, Diccionario Geográfico, Estadistico, Histórico de las Islas Filipinas, Madrid, 1851, pp. 555-9, in their 1845 population estimate of Negros used the ratio of one tribute equals five persons. In this chapter, if the ratio is other than four to one, it will be so noted.

[17] These early population estimates must be considered as only rough estimates. First, only tributes-paying Christians normally were counted; second, the ratio used to determine the population may have been faulty; third, errors of addition occur in some of the sources (such as Buzeta and Bravo, corrected in this study); fourth, Moro raids disturbed the population patterns, encouraging many Christian Filipinos to flee to the mountains where they may not have been counted. See Marco, op. cit., pp. 35-6.

later left Tanjay. It is reported that when Sanchez returned to Tanjay his converts, who had been under the charge of a secular priest, had remained steadfast in their faith. 175*

In 1591 a Spaniard named Ossorio collected 160 tributes (representing 640 persons) from the Tanjay settlement while Juan Martin collected from both Tanjay and Negros (probably just eastern Negros) 557 tributes (representing 2,228 persons). At this time the region was said to be pacified. There are some scattered references to specific populations in western Negros at this period. Albaro Perez reportedly collected 350 tributes (1,400 persons) from the Bago River locality while Francisco de Herrera collected 500 tributes (2,000 persons) from along the Ynavaga River (Binalbagan).[23] 175* 162

It was not until 1620 that Dumaguete was created as a parish independent of Tanjay under the first curate of the present capital, Juan de Rosa y Herrera. Father Herrera later organized churches in Iliga-on or Hiliga-on (Giliga-on, Siaton) and Cauitan (Sta. Catalina?). On the eastern coast of Negros the settlement moved both north and south from the Bais lowland. Tayasan was founded in 1790, Jimalalud in 1797, and Guihulngan in 175* 166 175*

[23] Dammarinas in Blair and Robertson, op. cit., VIII, pp. 131 and 136. Jesus states that when the Binalbagan convent was turned over to the Jesuits, there were 1,500 families living in the vicinity. Luis de Jesus "Historia General de Los Religiosos Descalzos" (Early Recollect Missions in the Philippines), Madrid, 1681. Partial translation in Blair and Robertson, op. cit., XXI, p. 244.

Until 1734 Negros was divided between Panay and Cebu for administrative purposes. In this year, Negros was unified as a military province. During this period of Spanish rule, there were two types of provinces, civil and military. Civil provinces were pacified areas called alcaldias while corregimientos were regions not completely pacified and governed by army officers.[31] Negros did not become a civil province until 1901.

175* 635

Nascent Siaton

The date of the first settlement of Siaton is probably lost forever in the unchronicled past. This small riverine valley on the coast of southern Negros would have been attractive to settlers. Here were two sizeable rivers, the sea with its abundant resources, and level land for cultivation. Bonbonon Bay was an excellent harbor for small boats and the region was near Cebu and Bohol, which in the 16th century were sending out emigrants in search of new farm land. In 1620 Siaton is reported to have been under the jurisdiction of the Dumaguete parish.[32] This would indicate that during the first part of the 17th century Siaton was known, and that there probably was a settlement in the area and a sufficient number of people to interest the Church. On the other hand, southern Negros was located

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[31] Arturo M. Tolentino and Gregorio F. Zaide, The Government of the Philippines: Origin, Development, Organization and Function. Manila, R. P. Garcia Publishing Company, 1948, p. 55.

[32] Ruiz, op. cit., p. 151.

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along one of the main sea routes of the Moros to Panay and Cebu; this fact probably retarded the region's development. It seems plausible to believe that Visayans were living in this locality during the first part of the 17th century, if not earlier.

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Siaton is said to have obtained its name from Aton, the paternal uncle of Apak, an 18th century capitan of the locality.[33] The exact date of Apak's office is not known but Cadiane's manuscript states that he was succeeded by Capitan Buroganibong in 1779. Aton lived near the present site of the Catholic church in the poblacion. Then the Siaton River had a different course and when the tide was high, fair-sized boats could navigate the river from its mouth almost to the location of the present church, a distance of nearly a mile. Aton was said to be more than eighty years old, quite poor, and on friendly terms with the Moros when the people and the thirteen capitans pasados (former capitans) decided to name the place Siaton in his honor. Si is the Cebuano article used with proper nouns and titles of respect. For example, the "kings" of Bohol when Legaspi arrived

[33] At this period local government in the Philippines was under the direction of the capitan or gobernadorcillo (little governor) who administered the poblacions, assisted by a teniente mayor (chief lieutenant) and other officials. For administrative purposes the poblacion (sometimes called pueblo) was divided into barangays (barrio districts) in charge of the cabeza de barangay who was appointed by the capitan. Zaide, The Philippines Since the British Invasion, pp. 161-2.

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in the Philippines were called either Katuna or Sikatuna and Gala or Sigala.[34]

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The major settlement in the Siaton locality was Barrio Bokoboko which was situated on the west bank of the Canaway River. The Gadiane manuscript states that a Spanish priest named Suniga visited Bokoboko sometime before 1777 and found the barrio inhabited by 27 persons. He is reported to have gone as far west as the present location of Tolong.[35] Here he found seven persons with the family name of Magsumanay. Suniga was probably a Dumaguete priest making an inspection trip through southern Negros.

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[34]Aton was believed to have a powerful anting-anting (amulet that protected him from the Moros). Another version of how this area received its name is that a man named Agaton had a surface well near the river bank where one could obtain unusually pure and cool water. When visitors drank this water, they inquired of its source. The people would say: "It comes from Siagaton's well" which was eventually shortened to Siaton.

[35]Tolong has had a number of names in the past. The original site was said to have been at Omod about 3 miles inland from the present poblacion. One Sunday an enraged Filipino murdered the priest during mass as the latter was in the act of raising the chalice called "bayaw." From this incident the settlement became known as Bayawan. This story is told by Lilia Quindo, "A Brief History of Tolong," Tolong Fiesta Program, 1952, pp. 3-4--a source not beyond suspicion but probably reporting what many residents believe today. Sta. Catalina was then known as Old Tolong. Bayawan later was called New Tolong and finally shortened to Tolong while Old Tolong assumed its present name, Sta. Catalina. Ruiz states that Tolong was once known as Cauitan. It is not certain if he refers to New Tolong (now Tolong) or Old Tolong (now Sta. Catalina). Ruiz, op. cit., p. 151.

20: Hart E-5 (1951) 1954 OA1 Philippines
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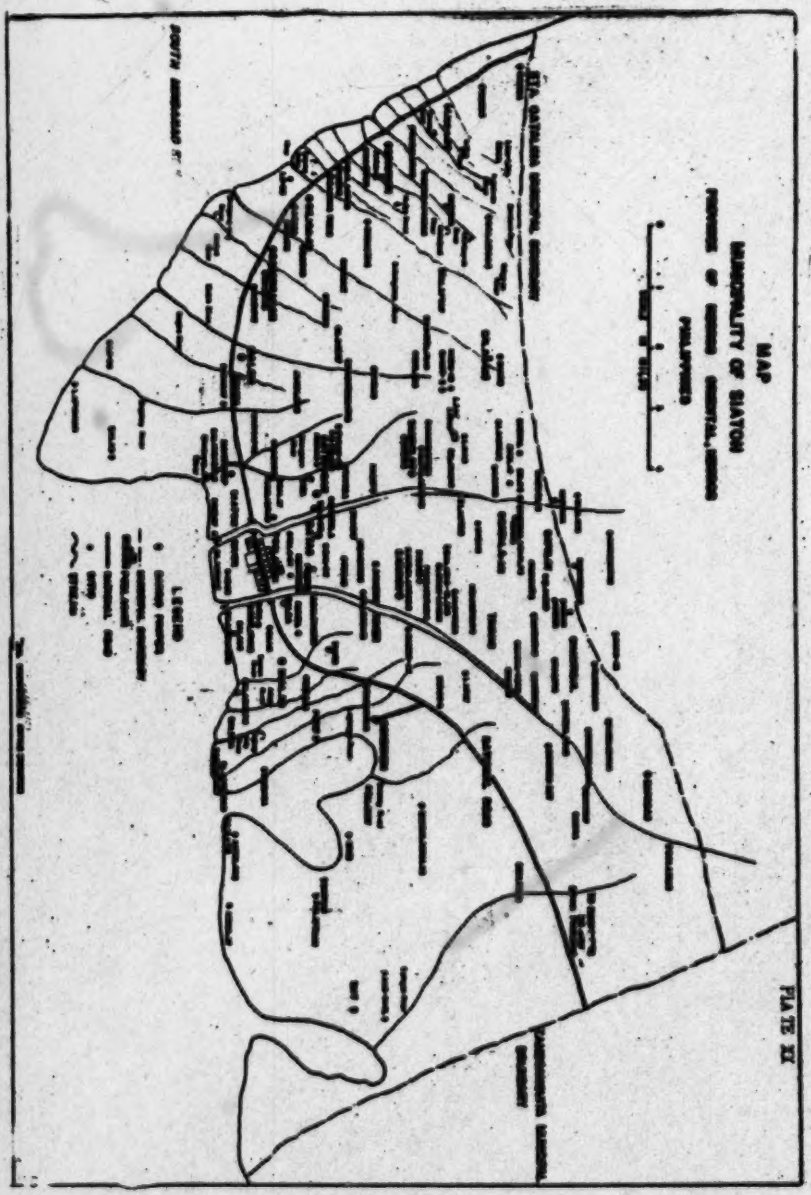


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River, and had 714 tributos (taxpayers). Using the ratio 1:4 this would mean by the middle of the 19th century there were about 2,800 people in the Siaton parish. This figure includes only the Christian Filipinos, not the pagans who lived in the mountains; there were many in the parish. For example, when Mezquita made his first visit to Bawayan (Tolong) he baptized 100 monteses (hill or pagan people). Visits to Basay (west of Tolong) by Mezquita resulted in eighty baptized pagans and another visit gained the Church an additional thirty converts.

The Population of Negros in 1845

Negros' population had not grown very rapidly since the Spaniards' arrival. In 1845-50 the island had its first fairly detailed census based upon the municipal unit. Using the tribute ratio 1:5 Negros was estimated to have a population of 58,720 persons in 1845.[52] There were two major population centers, the Bais lowland and the vicinity of Bacolod. In western Negros the population concentration had been steadily moving north probably due to the availability of excellent land and the proximity of overcrowded Panay. On the other hand, both Echauz and Marco state that in 1850 there were only 30,000 inhabitants in Negros which had seventeen towns (pueblos).[53] It is difficult to determine which estimate

[52] Buzeta and Bravo, op. cit., pp. 555-9.

[53] Echauz, op. cit., p. 33 and Marco, op. cit., p. 99. Marco probably used Echauz and Echauz gives no indication of his source for this population estimate.

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For the barriofolk of Caticugan and the residents of Siaton poblacion today the Negritos and Bukidnons are people who are seldom discussed and rarely seen.

Siaton's first Chinese settled in the poblacion during the Spanish period, two unrelated bachelors who had been born in Amoy. Opening stores in the poblacion, they soon married local girls. By 1932 there were reported to be six "full-blooded" Chinese storekeepers in the poblacion while in 1953 there were only four Chinese merchants. Two of these Chinese were mestizos and the other two were born in Canton.

In 1951, under the Alien Registration Act, 850 Chinese living in Negros Oriental registered at Dumaguete. This figure did not include Chinese mestizos or Chinese who are naturalized citizens of the Republic. Of the 850 Chinese who registered, less than 10 per cent were Cantonese, the rest emigrants from southern Fukien. Cheng writes: "In the case of Dumaguete, most of the Fukienese came from the island of Amoy in the southern part of the province, with a smaller number coming from neighboring villages and hsiens [towns or administrative districts] of Lungki and Tsinkiang in sharp contrast with Manila where the reverse is true."[62] At present the

[62] Thomas S. Cheng, "A Cultural Study of the Chinese Community," Silliman University, Dumaguete City, Negros Oriental, March 26, 1951, p. 3. Unpublished student report; typescript. Cheng calls Lungki by its former name, Changchow, and refers to Chuanchow now better known as Tsinkiang. Webster's Geographical Dictionary. Springfield, Massachusetts, G. & C. Merriam Company, 1949, pp. 641 and 1163.

Two large population movements are observed in the Philippines; one is from rural to urban areas and the other from areas of high population density to areas of lower density. The low ratio of males to females (ages 15 to 34 years) in the barrios surveyed by the Rivera-McMillan study suggests that rural to urban migration is selective of young males.

Since Chapter III discusses the historical growth of Negros' population, this section is concerned with present demographic patterns. (See Plate XIII.)[1] The population of Negros is concentrated in plains and lowlands; the rugged Central Mountain range and the isolated Tablas plateau are relatively blank on the population map. Large areas in southwestern Negros have less than 100 persons per square mile.

The increase in population densities of Negros between 1903 and 1948 are given in Table IX.[69]

TABLE IX

Population Densities in Negros (Persons Per Square Mile)

| Province (Island) | 1903 | 1918 | 1939 | 1948 |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Negros (Total) | 91 | 120 | 222 | 270 |
| Negros Occidental | 104 | 133 | 277 | 349 |
| Negros Oriental (Excluding Siquijor) | 77 | 107 | 166 | 191 |

1 [See p. 91, cat. 162--Analyst]

[69] The population densities differ in various sources due to the varying areas given Negros and its provinces and whether or not Siquijor is included in Negros Oriental. Census of the Philippine Islands: Taken under the Direction of the Philippine Commission in the Year 1903. Washington, D.C., U.S. Bureau of Census, 1905, II, p.28. Census of the Philippine Islands: 1918. Washington, D.C., Bureau of Printing, 1921, II, "Population and Mortality," p.28. Commission of the Census: Census of the Philippine Islands: 1939. Washington, D.C., Bureau of Printing, 1940, I, "Reports of Provinces, Part 3," page 4 of section on Negros Oriental and page 3 of section on Negros Occidental.

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The population of Siaton municipality increased from 10,074 in 1903 to 17,925 in 1948, and appears to have leveled off after 1939, lagging behind the island as a whole and Negros Oriental.[73] Over the same 45-year period (1903-1948) Negros' population increased 207 per cent; that of Siaton increased only 78 per cent. The percentage increase of Siaton's population between 1939 and 1948 was 6 per cent as compared with 15 per cent for Negros Oriental. A large part of this increase was due to World War II when people came to Siaton from Cebu, Bohol and Siquijor. Many of them did not return to their homes after the end of the war. It would seem that Siaton's saturation point has been reached under existing conditions.[74] Siaton's population growth from 1903 to 1948 is shown in Graph I. [166]

GRAPH I
POPULATION GROWTH
SIATON MUNICIPALITY (1903 - 1948)

Sources: Censuses of the Philippines

[73] The 1918 and 1939 census figures for Siaton were, respectively, 13,183 and 16,968.

[74] Improved sanitation and medical facilities would influence this statement but there appears to be no justification for expecting drastic improvements within the near future.

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near the sea, the people can both farm and fish. Improved road conditions and the desire for land probably led many to move to this "frontier" before the last war. 161

During the war and Japanese occupation of Negros, Bonawon was ideally situated. It was too far from either Tolong or Siaton to be patrolled. People from Zamboanguita, Bacong and Cebu (particularly Bato and Santander) came to Bonawon. As the new persons settled in Bonawon, they prospered. Many who arrived as tenants are now small landowners. They attracted relatives and friends from Negros and Cebu. Others married and decided to settle permanently in the locality after the war. These factors appear to be the primary reasons for the increase in the population of Bonawon. According to local informants, no new territory was added to Bonawon between 1939 and 1948.[78] 166 161

Table X[1] illustrates the relation of Siaton municipality to the remainder of the province in regard to barrio district and poblacion population sizes. The average population of the 21 municipalities of Negros Oriental in 1948 was 18,390 which is almost the same as that of Siaton. The chart indicates that the average 161

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[78] In 1952 a proposal was approved by the municipal council of Siaton to create a new barrio, Tambo, within Bonawon district. The proposal was prompted because "Bonawon is over-populated and one barrio lieutenant cannot attend properly to his duties." [632]

1 [See p. 101, Cht. 161 - - Analyst]

later left Tanjay. It is reported that when Sanchez returned to Tanjay his converts, who had been under the charge of a secular priest, had remained steadfast in their faith. 175*

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[23] Dasmarinas in Blair and Robertson, op. cit., VIII, pp. 131 and 136. Jesus states that when the Binalbagan convent was turned over to the Jesuits, there were 1,500 families living in the vicinity. Luis de Jesus "Historia General de Los Religiosos Descalzos" (Early Recollect Missions in the Philippines), Madrid, 1681. Partial translation in Blair and Robertson, op. cit., XXI, p. 244.

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1800. South of Dumaguete Bacong was established in 1801 while Dauin was said to have existed since 1777. Siaton became a parish independent from Dumaguete in 1796 which is probably an indication of the increasing population in the region. In 1835 Dauin was separated from Siaton as an independent parish. After this separation the Siaton parish included the territory south of Zamboanguita and east of the Sicopon River, east of present day Tolong. Not until 1866 did Zamboanguita become an independent parish, being separated from Dauin. The creation of these independent parishes indicates a growing population in these localities, able to support a priest and a local church.[24]

In western Negros the settlement moved both south and north as in the other part of the island, although the expansion appears to have been somewhat slower. There was a movement south, with Augustinian missions founded in the small riverine plains of Cauayan, Isio, Inayauan and Sipalay. The lack of an attractive topography and the existence of hostile primitive groups in the region probably discouraged continued expansion in this direction.

Vallodolid, Saravia and Escalante are said to have been established in 1860, although for Saravia this was merely changing of its former name, Tecgaguan. San Carlos and Calatrava are reported to have been established

[24] Licinio Ruiz, Sinopsis Historica de la Provincia de San Nicolas de Tolentino de Las Islas Filipinas de la Orden de Agustino Descaizos. Manila, Tpi. Pont. de las Univ. de Sto. Tomas, 1925, pp. 142, 146-51.

during the office of Governor Saravia which began in 1856. The movement of the capital of western Negros is a rough indicator of the growth or shift of population in this part of the island. In the beginning the capital was located at Ilog, later it was moved to Himamaylan and finally in 1849 to Bacolod.[25] Bacolod became the capital at the start of the great expansion of population and development of western Negros, due to the sugar industry.

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The Beginning of the Moro Raids

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One factor which hindered the development of Negros and the expansion of its population was the Moro raids on the island and the other Visayas, that began in the last part of the 16th century. In 1276 Mohammedanism reached Malacca. In 1380 Mukdum, an Arab missionary-scholar, arrived in Sulu "and there laid the foundation of Mohammedanism in the Philippines."[26] The Mohammedan conquest of Mindanao was accomplished in the last part of the 16th century. When Legaspi began his conquest of Luzon in 1571, he found many Mohammedanized Filipinos in the island, some having trade relations with Borneo.[27] Filipinos who had been converted to Islam were called Moros by the Spaniards.

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[25]Galang and Osias, op. cit., VIII, pp. 400-406.

[26]Zaide, op. cit., pp. 41-2.

[27]Edward G. Bourne, "Historical Introduction," Blair and Robertson, op. cit., I, p. 34.

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Shortly after Suniga's visit, the Moros raided Bokoboko, burning the houses and chapel. Fearing their return, the people under Apak's leadership moved their settlement inland to Olambid. Today Olambid is an isolated sitio in the vicinity of Apoloy, about 6 miles from the coast.[36] Another Moro attack was made on southern Negros in 1792. In 1796 Siaton was declared a parish independent from Dumaguete. The parish priest for Siaton, however, lived in Dauin due to the frequency of Moro forays on southern Negros.

While at Olambid, Gadiane writes, "the people did not sleep for their fear of the Moros persisted." At this time a resident of Olambid was captured by the Moros when he was at the beach. He was taken to either Jolo or Borneo. As a slave he had to pound palay for his masters but each day stole a little rice for his escape. Later he obtained a boat and returned to Olambid. By 1797 there was about ninety people living in Olambid. They had built a chapel and a casareal (town hall). In 1781 Buroganibong was succeeded in office by Capitan Okol.

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[36] Ruiz writes that the settlement was originally at Olambit (Olambid) and later moved to Mauauas, near the present cemetery. Because of Moro raids of 1792, the people fled to the hills for safety where they remained until 1832. Ruiz, op. cit., p. 151.

[37] The capitans between Okol and Tondoy were: Bukol; Bindal; Enrique, nicknamed "Piro"; Tonio; Torino; Hantoy; and Uanti.

During the office of Capitan Tondoy (1797-1798) a fierce baguio (typhoon) raged over southern Negros for three days. 175* 731

> If the bananas were not broken, they were uprooted. The Siaton river overflowed its banks. After the third day, when the waters subsided, the branch of the Siaton river dried up and its waters mingled with the main river at Pangligiran hill. (See Plate XIX.)[1]

A swampy area was created along the coast where the branch of the river once flowed, a region which exists today, planted with nipa palms. Now it was impossible for boats to ascend the Siaton River to dock near the present site of the Catholic church as they had done in the past.

In 1797 or 1798 the people moved from Olambid southward near the present Sitio Nawakat. (See Plate XX.)[2] The only reason given for this move in the Cadiane manuscript was that the new location was more advantageous because it was elevated and the people could see if the Moros landed at the beach. Another Moro raid was made during the office of Capitan Pinamdo (nicknamed "Kilikot"), 1801-02.[38] The Moros landed near the base of Pangligiran hill which is located on the west bank of the Siaton River where it is now bridged by the National Road. In 1817 the people agreed to move from their present location to Mangudkod, now Sitio Ilongsoran, 175* 166

[38] Many of the names listed by Cadiane during this period are nicknames. The custom of giving a person a nickname is widespread in the Philippines today. For an interesting discussion of this practice see G. T. Ortiz, "Amusing Nicknames," Philippines Free Press, XLIV, No. 15 (April 11, 1953), p. 43.

1 [See p. 156, Cat. 116 Analyst]

2 [See p. 157 Cat. 116 -- Analyst]

Barrio Casala-an. This new site was south of Nawakat, about four or five miles from the coast. Just before they departed the people held an election and Stib was made capitan.

175 166 [623]

The subsidence of Moro raids during the first part of the 19th century was not the sole reason for this gradual southward migration of the community. In fact, Moro raids were to continue into the latter half of the 19th century.

> When the town was at Mangudkod the people were always ready for any eventualities, because even in this far place the Moros were always paying them a visit in order to make captives of the people.

Neither does exhaustion of the land nor overcrowding seem to have been the most important factors for this movement toward the sea. Famines were said to have been unknown. The crops were abundant--"even if they could plant only once a year the crops would last for three years." The attraction of the lowlands with perhaps more fertile soil and located near the sea, however, was strong.

One factor of considerable significance which helps to explain this southward migration of the original nucleus of Siaton poblacion was the desire of the priests to bring the Filipinos "under the bells." To have the people concentrated in more accessible lowland

settlements facilitated the tasks of governing, taxing and converting them.[39] Gadiane writes: 175* 166

> The priests in those days found it difficult to go to Mangudkod because the way was covered with trees. Therefore, they suggested that the people transfer their barrio from Mangudkod to Kalumpang which was near the present cemetery of the poblacion.

So the people moved south, within a mile of the coast. At this time it appears that more Filipinos lived in the Siaton River valley than on the small plain of Canaway; the 1903 census figures suggest this settlement pattern. The exposed nature of the plain to Moro attacks was one reason why it was less attractive to early settlers; as previously noted the barriofolk of Bokoboko abandoned their Canaway community because of Moro attacks and moved inland. This is only one example how Moro expeditions against the people of southern Negros influenced early population patterns in this area.

When the people lived at Mangudkod a priest called Valero (nicknamed Paring Gulang, i.e. "Old Priest") who resided in Dauin, made occasional visits to the community. By the 19th century the influence of the Catholic church was expanding in this community; Gadiane states about 1817 (during Capitan Etib's office) the position of cristan was first opened to the barriofolk of Mangudkod. 175* 794

> This was the first time Filipinos were made cristans to a white priest. The people appointed as cristans had to attend to various services at the church in Dauin. They were to serve the priest one week and then another group would replace them. But this was not really followed. Instead of serving by weeks they served by months.

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[39] James L. LeRoy, Philippine Life in Town and Country. New York, G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1905, p. 43.

While Siaton was an independent parish, including Dauin, the priest still lived in Dauin due to the danger of Moro raids in Siaton. 175*

The first tributes were collected in 1817 from the people of Mangudkod. Individuals over eighteen years had to pay twenty centavos (ten cents) to the government. The tribute (or tributo) was established during Legaspi's day and was a kind of head tax paid to Spain. The tribute was payable in money or kind to the encomenderos.[40] 175* 65

In 1817 or 1818 an earthquake occurred in southern Negros "which lasted for nearly three months", i.e., the after-shocks. 175* 731 252

> The earth was always moving, so the people had difficulties in cooking their food. They had to build a big fire and hang their pots over it. Or they cut one bamboo node, put rice inside, added water, and corked the end. They threw this node into the fire and when the bamboo was charred, the rice was cooked.

This was one of the many earthquakes which shook this region; some caused serious destruction.

During the office of Capitan Etib (1817-1818) the group decided to send a small colony from Mangudkod to begin a settlement which is today Barrio Bonbonon. Bonbonon is situated near the bluff of the southern 175* 166

[40] The payment made in Siaton, according to Gadiane, was not that common in the Philippines. At first the tributo was eight reales (about fifteen centavos), raised to ten in 1602 and twelve reales in 1851. Zaide, The Philippine Since Pre-Spanish Times, p. 171.

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part of the Bondo plateau overlooking the small bay which then was a favorite Moro landing place. Bonbonon was to serve as a warning post for the people of Mangudkod in case of Moro attack. A group of twenty-three persons was selected and put under the leadership of former Capitan Uanti.[41]

175* 166 ●

Life in Bonbonon was peaceful for several years. There were no Moro raids, although the people often could see their praos (boats) sailing off their coast. Then the raids began. During one raid the Moros sneaked into the sleeping barrio and captured Yngo, Bigas, Dalis, Ondoy, Oka and Takbo. The following morning Uanti and the people learned of the raid "but the Moros were already far out to sea, shouting because of their happiness."

175*

Uanti was credited with many miraculous powers. When the people began to build a church at Bonbonon, Uanti carried posts which would have taken fifty normal men to lift. Later another Moro raid was made on Bonbonon.

175* 539

> When the Moros came near Uanti, he became very big and tall. His body was about 12 feet wide and 36 feet tall. Then he suddenly became afire which shone brightly. When the Moros saw all these things, they ran back to their praos.

Uanti died at ninety-two years just when the Bonbonon church was completed.

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[41] The group was composed of Uanti, Eri, Solicy, Tacio (nicknamed Alimpolos, "whirlwind"), Salangsang, Silino, Olpos, Dalis and Ondoy and their wives. The bachelors were Bigas, Oka, Takbo and Yngo. This incident was verified by a few old inhabitants of present-day Bonbonon.

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Agustin Omedillas (Agustin Olmidillas in the Gadiane manuscript) was the first Recollect father assigned to the Siaton parish in September, 1848. In 1849 he was transferred to Himamaylan and succeeded by Tomas Mezquita. Omedillas appears also to be the first Siaton parish priest who made his permanent residence in Siaton. In 1848 Fr. Romauldo Gimeno (Ruiz - Romauldo Jimeno), Archbishop of Cebu, petitioned that the Recollects be given full possession of the administration of Negros. This request was granted a year later by Father Superior F. Joaquin Soriano.[46] The Recollects (Spanish, Recoletos), also known as the Descalzos (literally, barefooted) in Spain, were a reform branch of the Augustinians that came to the Philippines in 1606. Besides working in Negros, they established themselves in Luzon, Mindoro, Calamianes, Cebu, Bohol and Misamis, Mindanao. At the start of the 20th century there were 522 Recollects in the islands.[47]

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In 1819 or 1820, the people moved from Mangudkod to Kalumpang. Before leaving Mangudkod an election was

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[46] Zehaux, op. cit., p. 10, and Ruiz, op. cit., p.146.

[47] "Decrees Regarding Religious Orders. Felipe III and Others," (Valladolid, 1604). Blair and Robertson, op. cit., XIII, pp. 246-7, and Wilcox, Marrion (ed.) Harper's History of the War in the Philippines. New York, Harpers and Brothers, 1900, p. 362.

175*
166

held and Francisco Sugboanon, nicknamed Escongyawa ("Escong the Devil") was elected capitan. Francisco's last name, Sugboanon, means he was a Cebuano, which is the first indication in Gadiane's history of emigrants from Cebu in Siaton. About four hundred people are said to have moved from Mangudkod to Kalumpang. However, not all of the settlers left Mangudkod.[48]

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When the people settled at Kalumpang the office of cabeza de barangay was installed for the first time and the tribute was increased to seventy centavos (thirty-five cents) according to the Gadiane manuscript. A road was built from Kalumpang to the beach to replace the old footpath that followed the Canaway River bank. The present site of Siaton poblacion was then "covered with trees, tall grass, and swamps. Wild pigs, carabaos, and deer lived there."

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The fear of Moro raids continued among the people. A stone watch tower (called Bantayan or Baloarte) was built at the beach near the Canaway River mouth. The men from Kalumpang took turns watching for Moros from this tower. How disturbing a force the Moros must have been on the daily life of the people in this area is illustrated by the following paragraph from the Gadiane manuscript.

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[48] After Capitan Pinando came Intoy (1803-04); Monty (1805-06); Alfonso (1807-08); Senforoso (1809-10); Cruz (1811-12); Jantoy (1813-14); Abang (1815-16); Etib (1817-18); Francisco Sugboanon, nicknamed "Escongyawa" (1819-1820).

According to the gulang [old people] when the Moro boats were far out to sea there occurred a strong wind and rain. Maybe the Moros were baliw [supernaturally cursed with bad luck] because of the toko. 175* 787 825

This why today the gulang will say to a child who oversleeps: 'My God!, if it were like the old days when the Moros came to our place to make captives, children who overslept would find on awakening they would be sleeping in a Moro boat far out at sea.' The children today reply: 'I don't believe you.'

Founding of Siaton Poblacion

Kalumpang proved to be an unsatisfactory site because of its hilly nature and rocky soil. Capitan Francisco Sugboanon, who had been re-elected in 1827, and the former capitans met, discussed the matter, and brought it to the attention of the people. The barriofolk were divided on the selection of a new site. The people living in Bondo, Canaway, and Inalad wanted the new location to be on their (east) side of the Canaway River. The inhabitants of Mangudkod (who had not migrated to Kalumpang), Lingaton (a sitio of Sandolot), Dolog, Casala-an, Sandolot, Dateg, and Mantuyop desired the new community to be located on the Canaway's west bank. 175* 166

It was finally decided, due to the differences of opinion, to hold a paleo. A paleo was a method of voting, particularly well-suited for illiterate groups. Every individual, young and old, man and woman, had one vote, i.e., one stone. These stones were to be put in a certain spot on a designated day. 175* 623

River, and had 714 tributos (taxpayers). Using the ratio 1:4 this would mean by the middle of the 19th century there were about 2,800 people in the Siaton parish. This figure includes only the Christian Filipinos, not the pagans who lived in the mountains; there were many in the parish. For example, when Mezquita made his first visit to Bawayan (Tolong) he baptized 100 monteses (hill or pagan people). Visits to Basay (west of Tolong) by Mezquita resulted in eighty baptized pagans and another visit gained the Church an additional thirty converts.

The Population of Negros in 1845

Negros' population had not grown very rapidly since the Spaniards' arrival. In 1845-50 the island had its first fairly detailed census based upon the municipal unit. Using the tribute ratio 1:5 Negros was estimated to have a population of 58,720 persons in 1845.[52] There were two major population centers, the Bais lowland and the vicinity of Bacolod. In western Negros the population concentration had been steadily moving north probably due to the availability of excellent land and the proximity of overcrowded Panay. On the other hand, both Echauz and Marco state that in 1850 there were only 30,000 inhabitants in Negros which had seventeen towns (pueblos).[53] It is difficult to determine which estimate

[52] Buzeta and Bravo, op. cit., pp. 555-9.

[53] Echauz, op. cit., p. 33 and Marco, op. cit., p. 99. Marco probably used Echauz and Echauz gives no indication of his source for this population estimate.

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The Bais lowland, a sugar cane region, was created by the confluence of several large rivers, e.g., Panambalan, Lotan, Montenegro, and Tanjay. Small valley floors extend back into the mountains, up each river, making a many-fingered interior boundary for this lowland. This lowland was probably one of the areas first settled, and in 1845 had the densest population in Negros, according to Buzeta.[19] [67]

The Eastern Coastal plains are like a broken chain, linking the San Carlos and the Bais lowlands.

> Wherever a river breaches the mountain wall and debouches onto the coast, a small alluvial plain or delta is formed. On the larger of these plains are located the municipalities, such as Guihulngan, La Libertad, Tayasan, and Ayungon. Where there is limited level land, small barrios or sitios of only a few houses are found. Since many of these plains are relatively isolated from one another, the agriculture has tended to be mainly a subsistence economy.[20]

Guihulngan is a small interisland port with daily shipping connections with Cebu.

The San Carlos lowland extends about 30 miles along the eastern coast of Negros. To the lowland's west the mountains rise abruptly to elevations of four to six thousand feet. This alluvial lowland is almost entirely

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[19] Manuel Buzeta and Felipe Bravo, Diccionario Geográfico, Estadístico, Histórico, de las Islas Filipinas. Madrid, 1851, pp.555-9. Wernstedt, op. cit., p.91, Plate I, has an 1845 population map of Negros.

[20] Wernstedt, op. cit., p.19.

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For the barriofolk of Caticugan and the residents of Siaton poblacion today the Negritos and Bukidnons are people who are seldom discussed and rarely seen.

Siaton's first Chinese settled in the poblacion during the Spanish period, two unrelated bachelors who had been born in Amoy. Opening stores in the poblacion, they soon married local girls. By 1932 there were reported to be six "full-blooded" Chinese storekeepers in the poblacion while in 1953 there were only four Chinese merchants. Two of these Chinese were mestizos and the other two were born in Canton.

In 1951, under the Alien Registration Act, 850 Chinese living in Negros Oriental registered at Dumaguete. This figure did not include Chinese mestizos or Chinese who are naturalized citizens of the Republic. Of the 850 Chinese who registered, less than 10 per cent were Cantonese, the rest emigrants from southern Fukien. Cheng writes: "In the case of Dumaguete, most of the Fukienese came from the island of Amoy in the southern part of the province, with a smaller number coming from neighboring villages and hsiens [towns or administrative districts] of Lungki and Tsinkiang in sharp contrast with Manila where the reverse is true."[62] At present the

[62] Thomas S. Cheng, "A Cultural Study of the Chinese Community," Silliman University, Dumaguete City, Negros Oriental, March 26, 1951, p. 3. Unpublished student report; typescript. Cheng calls Lungki by its former name, Changchow, and refers to Chuanchow now better known as Tsinkiang. Webster's Geographical Dictionary. Springfield, Massachusetts, G. & C. Merriam Company, 1949, pp. 641 and 1163.

171, 197 Central Bisayan OA14

[For a discussion of Bisayan linguistic relationships, see 48: Finley and Churchill, OA1 Philippines, category 116, pp. 77-98.]

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The crosses are collected after the paddy has been harvested. Often one could see them in the tangkol (storehouse) or homes stuck into the wall until the next harvest. There is nothing sacred about these crosses; they are kept merely to save the trouble of making new ones next year. In Negros Occidental crosses are often put on the tops of the rice stacks--a custom never observed in Negros Oriental. [17].

This type of lihi is not limited to Caticugan or Negros. Lagrimas wrote in 1915 that when the rice is harvested in Samar the owner may request an old woman known as a "skilled harvest beginner" to start the harvest by going into the middle of the field and offering prayers to God and the harvest spirits.[30] To the best of my knowledge the prayers in Caticugan for this pre-harvest rice lihi are not addressed to the unseen spirits. However, it seems quite probable that the lihi originally was made to these unseen spirits as is done in the caingin rice loto. The conversion of the people to Catholicism led them to readdress their prayers to a new god and a new host of saints.

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Kchauz describes a pre-harvest rice ceremony held by nominally Catholic inhabitants of Negros. Their ceremony, quite similar to the caingin loto, reflects pre-Spanish beliefs more purely than does the lowland rice harvest lihi of Caticugan. One might suggest that the

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[30]Lagrimas, op. cit., p. 9.

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After the paddies are flooded, they are permitted to dry for one or two days. Any standing water is drained for the farmers state if the paddies are sowed when flooded a beetle (amawikan) eats the seed corn. The first plowing of the paddies, bongkag, is followed by their harrowing. The second plowing, okay, is done in the opposite direction the field was first plowed. The paddy is again harrowed. The third and final plowing, todling, makes the furrows in which the seed corn is planted. The furrows are about 2 feet apart. Furrows are made closer together than in the regular non-irrigated cornfields because the corn stalks do not grow so large in the paddies.

In some of the paddies which have a very clayey soil the land is not plowed and harrowed before the seed corn is planted. Furrows are made only where corn is to be planted; the rest of the paddy remains uncultivated. In Dolog the pay for a day's plowing is one basket of unhusked corn or three gantas of seed corn, specially selected for planting. [465]

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The Philippine plow is a rather crude implement made entirely of wood except for the iron share--the so-called "square" type with a horizontal foot, curved handle, short sheath, strongly curved beam, and single mould board. (See Plate XXIV.)[1] Both Jagor and Kroeber suggest that the Philippine plow is of Spanish origin. However, the same plow type is found in Java, Bali, and the Celebes as well as in China and Japan while there is

1 [See p 329 cat. 4/2 or 116 -- Analyst]

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nothing like it in Spain. Birket-Smith thinks that Leser is "probably right when he ascribes it [plow] to Chinese influence."[37]

The plow in Caticugan is called daro, less frequently tokod. Except for the iron share (punta or lita) the plow is made by the farmer. Molave wood (Vitex parviflora Juss.) is the most desirable since it neither rots as quickly as other woods on exposure nor splinters easily.[38] The share for the plow is purchased in the poblacion and the top portion is hollow so it can be wedged onto the wooden support (onay or sapates) of the plow. An occasional farmer had an all-iron plow called Vargas. The Vargas plow was not sold in Siaton poblacion stores and only a few were seen in Caticugan.

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A wooden yoke (yogo) for the carabao is made from a yoke-shaped limb that takes considerable time to find in the forests. The yoke is placed over the carabao's neck and its two ends are attached by ropes to the plow. The farmer guides the carabao by a rope tied to a small coconut-shell button or rattan ring in the animal's septum.

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[37] Kaj Birket-Smith, The Rice Cultivation and Rice-Harvest Feast of the Bontoc Igorot. København, Dan. Hist. Filol. Medd. 32, No. 8, 1952, p. 12.

[38] Molave timber is well-known in the Philippines for its excellent qualities and is of the same family (Verbenaceae) as teak. Molave is said "Rather difficult to split...extremely durable even when in contact with the ground..." Tamesis and Aguilar, op. cit., p. 40.

Twine nets are repaired with a bamboo shuttle-like device called sikbohan; sikbohan are made in several different sizes. (See Plate L.)[1] In repairing twine nets all loose or "false" threads are cut; "false" threads are those that if unravelled sufficiently are not fixed to an untorn part of the net. New twine is woven into the holes with the sikbohan. Net mending is a man's job, "especially if we cannot go to the sea"; women rarely mend nets.

227 286 [426]

Bobo Fish Traps

The bobo, a bamboo fish trap, is widely used in Siaton for obtaining pelagic fish; the trap is distributed throughout the Philippines. Victoria has written of the bobo of Cebu. He states that its fishermen bait the bobo;[68] however, Siaton bobos are not baited. Kangleon reported that Leyte fishermen put bobos in water as deep as 180 feet where they may stay for 3 months.

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[68] De la Victoria, op. cit., p. 46. Umali calls the bobo "a fish pot" and writes that recently they have been made of chicken wire. Umali, op. cit., p. 106.

[1] [this plate is missing -- Analyst]

Whether certain groups of small, dark-skinned people in the Philippines are true Negritos is still a controversial issue. Negritos have been reported in Negros, Palawan, Panay, Luzon, Mindanao, Guimaras, Samar and Polillo. Estel, however, is able to find "no good metrical or photographic evidence for...Negrito groups in any area other than the provinces of Bataan and Zambales on the island of Luzon."[9] Beyer has separated the alleged Negritos of Panay and Negros from the main Negrito group as "non-Negroid or only partially Negroid people who are difficult to classify."[10]

The next racial group to arrive in the archipelago were Indonesians or Proto-Malays (Estel calls them Early Asiatics). Following this group came the Malaysians who may have originated in Central Asia and moved slowly into Southeast Asia and eventually the Philippines. The Malaysians, called Southern Mongoloid by Estel, are found mainly in the coastal regions of the archipelago and compose the bulk of the present population of the Philippines. The Malaysians settled as far north as Luzon; early Iron Age pottery has been found in Rizal and Bulacan provinces and Taboso, Escalante

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[9]Leo A. Estel, "Racial Origin in Northern Indonesia," Journal of East Asiatic Studies, II, No. 3 (April, 1953), p.1.

[10]H. Otley Beyer, Population of the Philippines in 1916: (Población de las Islas Filipinas en 1916). Manila, Philippine Education Company, 1917, p.60.

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(Negros Occidental) which is remarkably like Malaysian finds in west-central Borneo.[11]

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The culture of the modern Visayan Filipinos represents more than Indonesian and Malaysian elements. During the 8th or 9th centuries, A.D., emigrants from the empire of Sri-Vishaya pushed into already settled areas of Borneo and southern Philippines. Sri-Vishaya first developed in Sumatra and flourished from the 5th to the 14th centuries, although not as a compact empire during its latter years. Sri-Vishaya was nominally Buddhist, considerably modified by Brahmanistic ideas. Hindu influences also may have entered Sulu from the empire of Champa in southern Annam, Indo-China. In the traditional history of Sulu there is some evidence of Champa settlements in this region between the 9th and 12th centuries, A.D.[12]

Settlers came to Sulu and Mindanao and later to the central and eastern Visayas from one of the chief Sri-Vishayan culture centers, Bandjarmasin (Borneo). Most of the emigrants that reached Panay and Negros, appear to have come from another Sri-Vishayan culture

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[11] H. Otley Beyer, "Outline Review of Philippine Archaeology by Islands and Provinces," The Philippine Journal of Science, LXXVII, Nos. 3-4 (July-August, 1947), p.292.

[12] H. Otley Beyer, "The Philippines Before Magellan. 1: The Hindus in Malaysia," Asia, XXI, No. 10 (October, 1921), p.862.

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treasurer, postmaster, agricultural and sanitary inspectors are appointive positions. The provinces are roughly similar to American states while the municipalities correspond in many aspects to American counties. The mayors of the chartered cities, Dumaguete and Bacolod, are appointed by the President of the Philippines. One municipal district, Bago, is located in Negros Oriental; all the officials of this district are appointed by the provincial governor.

The Visayans

101

This section is a brief introduction to the people of the Visayas with emphasis on the present inhabitants of Negros. The pre-Hispanic names for Negros were Buglas (Binglas), Nayon, and Mamaylan, the latter two probably derived from settlements in the vicinity of Himamaylan.[7]

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The Negritos or people of a mixed Indonesian-Papuan-Negrito stock were the first inhabitants of the Philippines.

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When the Spaniards first visited Buglas, they reported Negritos living on the island. "In one of the large islands there were so many of them [Negritos] that it is for that reason called the island of Negros."[8]

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Whether

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[7] Miguel de Loarca, "Relación de las Yslas Filipinas" (Relations of the Filipinas Islands), Iloilo City, Philippines, June, 1582. Emma H. Blair and James A. Robertson, The Philippine Islands, 1493-1898. Cleveland, Ohio, Arthur H. Clark, 1903-1909, V, p. 47.

[8] Francisco Colin, S.J., "Native Races and Their Customs" (Labor Evangelica). Madrid, 1663. Translation in Blair and Robertson, op. cit., XL, p. 45.

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[12] H. Otley Beyer, "The Philippines Before Magellan. 1: The Hindus in Malaysia," Asia, XXI, No. 10 (October, 1921), p.862.

'Visayan' only for the areas just mentioned, while the people of Cebu, Bohol, and Leyte were for a long time known only as Pintados. The name 'Visayan' was later extended to them because...their languages are closely allied to the Visayan dialect of Panay.[15] 101

In 1942 there were about 7,200,000 Visayan Filipinos 161 living in more than twenty major islands and several hundred smaller ones. In addition to the coastal regions of 162 Mindanao, six large islands inhabited almost exclusively by Visayans are Cebu, Bohol, Negros, Panay, Leyte and Samar. (See Plate IV.)[1] The largest group of Visayans are the Cebuanos (3,940,000) who occupy Negros Oriental province, Cebu, Bohol and other Visayan islands. The barriofolk of Caticugan are almost entirely Cebuanos. The Panayanos (2,085,000) inhabit most of Negros Occidental province, Panay, Guimaras, and other Visayan islands. In 1942 the population of eastern Leyte and Samar island totalled 995,000, the people (most of whom) speaking a modified Cebuano dialect called Wari-Wari. A small enclave of people living in the Aklan River valley of Panay (about 180,000) may have migrated to the Philippines before the arrival of the Borneo emigrants who settled the island in the 13th century.[16]

The Cebuanos and Panayanos (the latter are often called Ilongos) speak different dialects. Beyer believes 197 174 that Cebuano is probably the least modified of the

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[15] G. Nye Steiger, H. Otley Beyer and Conrado Benitez, A History of the Orient. New York, Ginn and Company, 1926, pp.122-3.

[16] H. Otley Beyer, "The People of the Philippines." Unpublished book manuscript. Manila, 1943, p.173.

[See p.36, Cat. 162--Analyst]

original Visayan tongue from which stem all other Visayan dialects. He states that prior to the arrival of Cebuano-speaking Filipinos, the dialect of eastern Leyte and Samar was basically Bicol and that of Panay was mainly Tagalog, the present national language of the Philippines. The Cebuano intrusion resulted in a blended Tagalog-Cebuano dialect in Panay and a Bicol-Cebuano blend in Leyte and Samar. The original dialects of Cebu, Bohol and Negros were displaced by the flood of emigrant Cebuanos.[17]

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Major Landform Regions of Negros

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The West Negros plain of Negros Occidental province is ranked among the larger plains of the Philippines and dominates an important part of the island's economy. (See Plate V.)[1] This moderately level plain is almost 100 miles in length and has a width of almost 30 miles in the locality of Bacolod. The plain has been subdivided into northern, west-central and southern sections.

The northern subdivision of this plain, with swampy coastal areas often covered with mangroves, is narrower than the southern or west-central subdivisions. Along the interior borders of the northern subdivision, the plain rises to join the central mountain system. The major crop, covering most of the land, is sugar cane. The west-central subdivision, one of the most important

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[17] Ibid., pp.174-8.

1 [See p.38, cat.133 -- ANALYST]

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constructed on the plaza to replace the building burnt by the Japanese. In 1948 a new concrete bridge was built (the pride of all the residents of the poblacion) over the Siaton River and a similar bridge over the Canaway River was finished in 1952. The Catholic church also was rebuilt in the same year. The former structure had been a temporary one since the 1925 earthquake. The fine two-story houses with ornate cement stairways that had been residences of the more affluent principalia and were burnt during the war have not been rebuilt. In parts of the poblacion one can see lonely cement stairways in weed-covered lots, leading upward to a house which no longer exists.

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Summary

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This historical survey of Caticugan and its larger milieu supports Kroeber's comments on stratificational aspects of Philippine culture.

> Layer after layer of culture is recognizable [in the Philippines], giving a complete transition from the most primitive condition to full participation in Western civilization...In the Philippines it is true that direct historical records...go back only four hundred years. But a constellation of circumstances has brought it about that the various ancient and modern influences that have reached the islands are often traceable to their sources...the contours

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> of the cultural events of the last two thousand years are substantially clear. We can peel off layer after layer of civilization [in the Philippines] and come to its original kernel with some assurance of certainty and without being forced to draw too heavily on imagination.[173]

While this chapter is not a definitive history of the larger setting of Caticugan--Negros Island--or the Visayas, the material highlights the origin and growth of Siaton and Caticugan.

Generally speaking, there have been seven major sources of contemporary Philippine culture: Negrito, Malaysian, Indian, Chinese, Arabic, Spanish and American. The Negritos are believed to have been the first inhabitants of the islands, although we can barely surmise the original contours of their culture. First in importance, from both a physical and cultural point of view, is the broad Malaysian base--the culture brought to the Philippines by emigrants from continental Asia. These people fixed, in so many ways, the general outline of Philippine culture that can still be seen today in Caticugan.

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During and after the Malaysians' arrival, new concepts of art, religion and technology came to the archipelago from China, India and the Middle East. These concepts largely were brought to the Philippines by Southeast Asians (Chinese excepted) Buddhist, Hindu, or Mohammedan Malaysians rather than Indians and Arabs.

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[173] Alfred L. Kroeber, Peoples of the Philippines. 2nd and revised edition. Handbook Series No. 8. New York, American Museum of Natural History, 1943. pp. 11-3.

Indian and Arabic concepts were reinterpreted by their bearers, in most cases, before the customs reached the Filipinos. The last two alien cultures to leave their imprint on the Filipinos were Spanish and American, often termed the western Christian strata. 177

Pre-Hispanic traditions and customs are still visible in Caticugan. Contacts with Negros' Negritos appear to have stopped in Siaton during the first part of the 20th century. Few people in Caticugan had ever seen a Negrito. Evidence of a slight Negrito imprint on the barriofolk's way of life exists, however, in the latter's agricultural rites, use of certain plants, and folklore. Yet the barriofolk of Caticugan took very little from the Negritos that remains today; the cultural interchange probably was in the opposite direction, from Filipinos to Negritos, as was typical in most of the Philippines. 174

Drastic reinterpretations of the pre-Hispanic Malaysian cultural base have occurred in Caticugan. However, animism is still a vital force in the community, perpetuating a major Filipino religious concept prior to the Spaniard's arrival. The resistance of the Malaysian stratum to Mohammedanism, Catholicism and Protestanism is remarkable. Few aspects of <u>barrio</u> life escape the influence of animism--hunting and gathering activities, fishing, agricultural practices, attitudes toward disease, and the concept of nature itself. Imitative magic, another Malaysian trait that spread as far west as Madagascar, also exists in Caticugan. 174 774 178 789

Influences that came from India, either through mainland Southeast Asia (Malaya or Champa) and directly to the Philippines, or indirectly from the southern islands of present-day Indonesia, are still apparent in Caticugan. The importance of astrology to determine the most opportune times for certain activities is typical of the Hinayana Buddhist countries of Burma and Thailand--and also China. Traces of art styles, first originating in India, can be seen in the Garuda-like heads on the bolos of Caticugan.

Beyer believes that the "principal phases" of Neolithic culture reached the Philippines directly from northern and southern China. From this period to the present, Chinese contacts with the Philippines have continued. If there is little visible Chinese content in Caticugan, this also is typical of the Philippines as a whole. Kroeber writes: "There is scarcely an institution, piece of knowledge, or religious belief current in the Philippines that can be derived with certainty from China."[174] The Chinese were rarely interested in meddling or interfering with Filipino ways of living; they came as merchants and their impact was largely economic.[175]

This is not to imply that the Chinese did not influence Philippine culture. Manuel documents the words

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[174] Kroeber, op. cit., p. 17.

[175] H. Otley Beyer, "Early History of Philippine Relations with Foreign Countries, Especially China" in Arsenio E. Manuel, Chinese Elements in the Tagalog Language. Manila, Filipiniana Publications, 1948, p. xvi.

LOWLAND RICE

Introduction

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When the Spaniards first visited Negros in the middle of the 16th century Filipinos were cultivating rice. Probably rice had been brought to the Philippines by nameless wanderers from Indo-China or south China in the late Neolithic period. The distribution of lowland rice in Negros and Siaton municipality has been described. As one travels up the Siaton River valley, the cultivation of lowland rice disappears north of Barrio Sandolot where there are only a few pilapils (rice paddies).

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The Agricultural Calendar (pages 273, 274, 275, and 276)[1] does not present a sharp picture of farming activities. Table XV presents a more detailed account of the planting and harvesting of rice and corn, the two major crops of Caticugan

TABLE XV

AGRICULTURAL CALENDAR FOR RICE AND CORN
CATICUGAN, 1951

| CROP | PLANTING BEGAN | PLANTING FINISHED | TRANSPLANTING BEGAN | TRANSPLANTING FINISHED |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Rice Seed Beds | | | |
| Lowland rice | June 19 | July 14 | August 22 | September 26 |

1 [Category 116 -- Analyst]

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The crosses are collected after the paddy has been harvested. Often one could see them in the tangkol (storehouse) or homes stuck into the wall until the next harvest. There is nothing sacred about these crosses; they are kept merely to save the trouble of making new ones next year. In Negros Occidental crosses are often put on the tops of the rice stacks--a custom never observed in Negros Oriental. [171]

This type of lihi is not limited to Caticugan or Negros. Lagrimas wrote in 1915 that when the rice is harvested in Samar the owner may request an old woman known as a "skilled harvest beginner" to start the harvest by going into the middle of the field and offering prayers to God and the harvest spirits.[30] To the best of my knowledge the prayers in Caticugan for this pre-harvest rice lihi are not addressed to the unseen spirits. However, it seems quite probable that the lihi originally was made to these unseen spirits as is done in the caingin rice loto. The conversion of the people to Catholicism led them to readdress their prayers to a new god and a new host of saints.

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Echauz describes a pre-harvest rice ceremony held by nominally Catholic inhabitants of Negros. Their ceremony, quite similar to the caingin loto, reflects pre-Spanish beliefs more purely than does the lowland rice harvest lihi of Caticugan. One might suggest that the

[30] Lagrimas, op. cit., p. 9.

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loto approximates the original form of this agricultural practice. The ceremony noted by Lagrimas may be one in which pagan and Christian beliefs are intermixed while the Caticugan lihi may be a final reinterpretation or modification.

Echauz writes that the night before the main harvest an owner would harvest seven gantas of rice from his paddy. Bayibayi--cooked new rice pounded and mixed with sugar and coconut--and Pilipig were made and then mixed and repounded into a mash. To this mixture was added ubas which appears to have been a roasted green rice concoction. The babaylan (priest) who had been engaged by the cultivator made a fire in the cultivator's house and screaming and "foaming at the mouth," he prayed to the unseen spirits. The next morning the babaylan and the paddy owner went to the field to be harvested and distributed the mash along the boundaries, requesting the unseen spirits to dine and to make the harvest plentiful. It was believed that anyone who ate any of this "food for the gods" would fall ill.[31]

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Caticugan rice is harvested by cutting a number of stalks at the time with the sangot, a small semi-circular bladed knife. The cut stalks are laid in piles on the paddy to dry; it takes only several days before the rice

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[31] Echauz, op. cit., pp. 50-1.

palm's trunk during the war when acute food shortages existed. Most of the bags and mats made in Caticugan are woven from the buri while the hats worn by the people come from Bohol.

The sale of guhang furnishes many barriofolk with their largest source of cash income. The Siaton poblacion map (Plate XVII)[1] shows the number of stalls selling guhang. The widespread use of the buri to make guhang is shown by the number of dead palms (576) cut in six weeks by the provincial agriculture office in just Siaton poblacion. Many dead buris were left standing at the end of this project. If Siaton's municipal ordinance that requires each owner of a guhang buri to pay a tax of $2.50 was effectively enforced, this local industry would bring a sizeable income to the municipality.

Older informants said when they were young little guhang was made in Siaton since only a few buris grew in the municipality. Some informants stated that the barriofolk of Siaton first learned how to make guhang from the people of Tolong. Once they learned the process they began to plant the palm. Other informants, however, said that Siaton men who worked in Dumaguete's Chinese bodegas (warehouses) learned to make guhang while in the city. When they returned to Siaton they introduced the process, teaching the people of Siaton how to make the mildly alcoholic drink. All available evidence, the possible derivation of Dumaguete's name (from manangguete, a specialist who makes guhang), the older settlement of Dumaguete,

[1] [this plate (p. 178) is missing]

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its better roads to Siaton, would seem to indicate that guhang-making diffusion came from the east not the west. Yet many of the older people insisted that Siatonites first learned to make guhang from residents of Tolong.

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There is little folklore concerning the buri. Some barriofolk tell a story that explains how they first learned to make guhang. One day a tall buri was felled by a typhoon. While cutting the tree to remove it from the field the men noticed sap running from the fresh cuts. They drank some of the sap, discovered its pleasant taste, and reasoned how much more sap they could collect from a living buri. So they started to make guhang.

In selecting a buri, the mananguete prefers a palm which is 25 to 30 feet tall. Buri palms that are either too short, young or old do not give as much sap as those that are "just right." When the stems of the fronds of a buri radiate counter-clockwise around the bole and the fronds droop downward, the palm is thought to be especially well-suited for producing large quantities of fine-flavored sap.

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Once the tree has been chosen the mananguete climbs to the top on a bamboo ladder. This ladder is a long bamboo with the branches trimmed so short stubs remain as steps. Often the upper third of the ladder has removable pegs; when the owner is not obtaining guhang he removes the pegs as he descends. This makes it difficult for others to take any guhang during his absence.

48: Finley and Churchill G.E-5 (no date) 1913 OA1 Philippines OA1
Subanun OA33
Central Bisayan OA14



Yet we are not without data which may be applied toward the solution of the problem. The formative elements tell a tale of importance. In general we observe that the Visayan employs all the composition members which are in Subanu use. From the dictionary of Fray Juan Félix we find that the Visayan has in use a considerable number of such members which the Subanu lacks. This is particularly to be noticed in the matter of the infixes, those puzzling yet very convenient marks of a word-treatment which is just beginning to reach out toward inflectional value. From this we begin to form the impression that the Subanu represents an earlier phase of a common speech; that it has not undergone the development which accession of higher culture has induced among the Visayans.

The geography of the culture site of the Subanu leads us in the same direction. On the ethnographic chart in Father Algué's "Atlas de Filipinas" the Visayans are indicated as occupying a somewhat compact area in the mid Philippines. Their settlements are principally found on Negros, Cebu, Bohol, Siquijor, Leyte, Sámar. North of this center the islands of Panay, Masbate, Tablas, Romblón, and Sibuyán show more or less extended occupation by this stock. Toward the south they are found in settlement at spots upon the north coast of Mindanao, on the east shore of the Bay of Iligan, on its west shore as far as Dapitan, on the northeast coast from Surigao to Lianga, and upon the outlying islands of Dinagat and Siargao. This plot shows distinctly the movement of the Visayans in their advance upon the archipelago, for it is indisputable that they are a Malayan race both linguistically and ethnologically.

From the tip of Borneo two well-marked lines lie before the coastwise seamen of the *prahu*. The northern line leads from the north shore of Borneo by Balbac, Paragua, and Busuanga direct to Mindoro, with not a trace of Visayans along the line. The southern line of approach, after leaving the south coast of Borneo, leads by Tawitawi, Joló, Basilan, and Zamboanga directly to the abodes of the Subanu and to the center of Visayan life and settlement spread over the area from Negros to Sámar. The position in which the Subanu lie relative to this broad avenue of Visayan migration indicates for them an early association with the main body of migrants. Having taken possession of this region north of Zamboanga, they withdrew to the interior of the country for the usual protection of weak peoples by evasion. Thus they lost touch with the greater members of their race; they remained undeveloped in their inland seclusion and now present an earlier type, perhaps the earliest type of the race which with greater freedom of development under better settlement conditions has marched forward to such progress as now marks the Visayan culture.

By combination of all these considerations we reach the conclusion that the Subanu are of the Visayan race, that their language represents an early phase of the Visayan, and that future investigation may bring

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Central Bisayan OA14

[For a discussion of the history of Negros and of Siaton in particular, see 20: Hart, OA1 Philippines, category 116, pp. 135-258. --Analyst]

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treasurer, postmaster, agricultural and sanitary inspectors are appointive positions. The provinces are roughly similar to American states while the municipalities correspond in many aspects to American counties. The mayors of the chartered cities, Dumaguete and Bacolod, are appointed by the President of the Philippines. One municipal district, Bago, is located in Negros Oriental; all the officials of this district are appointed by the provincial governor.

The Visayans

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This section is a brief introduction to the people of the Visayas with emphasis on the present inhabitants of Negros. The pre-Hispanic names for Negros were Buglas (Binglas), Nayon, and Mamaylan, the latter two probably derived from settlements in the vicinity of Himamaylan.[7] The Negritos or people of a mixed Indonesian-Papuan-Negrito stock were the first inhabitants of the Philippines. When the Spaniards first visited Buglas, they reported Negritos living on the island. "In one of the large islands there were so many of them [Negritos] that it is for that reason called the island of Negros."[8] Whether

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[7] Miguel de Loarca, "Relación de las Yslas Filipinas" (Relations of the Filipinas Islands), Iloilo City, Philippines, June, 1582. Emma H. Blair and James A. Robertson, The Philippine Islands, 1493-1898. Cleveland, Ohio, Arthur H. Clark, 1903-1909, V, p. 47.

[8] Francisco Colin, S.J., "Native Races and Their Customs" (Labor Evangelica). Madrid, 1663. Translation in Blair and Robertson, op. cit., XL, p. 45.

(Negros Occidental) which is remarkably like Malaysian finds in west-central Borneo.[11]

The culture of the modern Visayan Filipinos represents more than Indonesian and Malaysian elements. During the 8th or 9th centuries, A.D., emigrants from the empire of Sri-Vishaya pushed into already settled areas of Borneo and southern Philippines. Sri-Vishaya first developed in Sumatra and flourished from the 5th to the 14th centuries, although not as a compact empire during its latter years. Sri-Vishaya was nominally Buddhist, considerably modified by Brahmanistic ideas. Hindu influences also may have entered Sulu from the empire of Champa in southern Annam, Indo-China. In the traditional history of Sulu there is some evidence of Champa settlements in this region between the 9th and 12th centuries, A.D.[12]

Settlers came to Sulu and Mindanao and later to the central and eastern Visayas from one of the chief Sri-Vishayan culture centers, Bandjarmasin (Borneo). Most of the emigrants that reached Panay and Negros, appear to have come from another Sri-Vishayan culture

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[11] H. Otley Beyer, "Outline Review of Philippine Archaeology by Islands and Provinces," The Philippine Journal of Science, LXXVII, Nos. 3-4 (July-August, 1947), p.292.

[12] H. Otley Beyer, "The Philippines Before Magellan. 1: The Hindus in Malaysia," Asia, XXI, No. 10 (October, 1921), p.862.

center, Brunei.[13] It is known that in the 13th century some of the settlers of Panay moved to western Negros.[14] Besides bringing highly developed industrial arts these emigrants from Borneo brought different religious and social concepts. The pre-Hispanic Visayan art of Panay is a mixture of Brahman and Buddhist elements; this is true also of the oral literature and folklore.

The name, Visayan (or Bisaya), given to Filipinos of this mid-section of the Philippine archipelago, is said to derive from either the Spanish term, Los Pintados ("The Painted or Tattooed People")--which translated Viseys--or Sri-Vishaya. Beyer writes:

> The name 'Visayan' in the Philippines was first applied only to the natives of Panay and to their settlements eastward in the island of Negros and northward in the smaller islands now comprehended in the province of Romblon. In fact, even at the time when the Spaniards came they used the term

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[13] G. Nye Steiger, H. Otley Beyer, and Conrado Benitez, A History of the Orient. New York, Ginn and Company, 1926, p.118.

[14] An old Philippine history, Maragtas, relates the settling of Panay in the first quarter of the 13th century by nine datus (chiefs) from northern Borneo. The Maragtas was compiled by Pedro Alcantara Monteclaro from several ancient manuscripts and other records; later this history was translated into Spanish by G. Santiago-Cuino. In 1943 Manuel Carreron made an English translation of the Spanish manuscript. Both Carreron and the noted Filipino historian, C. F. Zaide, believe the code in the Maragtas was promulgated in 1212. While the Maragtas has not been published, I was able to secure a typed copy of Carreron's translation.

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TABLE XXXV (Continued)

| Name of Fish | Frequency of Catch | Class |
|---|---|---|
| Balantiog | Almost Never | C |
| Balawis | " | C-D |
| Indangan | " | D |
| Kugtong | " | C-D |
| Kume | " | E |
| Lombalomba | " | E |
| Lumod | " | E |
| Malasugi | " | B-C |
| Liplipen | " | B-C |
| Tamban | " | D-E |
| Tuloy | " | C-D |

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[99]Only names for regular-size fish are given under this column.

[100]Code is: A (first class); B (Second class); C (third class); D (fourth class); and E (fifth class, usually not eaten when caught.) First class fish are those having white meat and skins, golden stripes, are non-odorous, and have a "good taste." As would be expected, tastes vary so only the general consensus is given in this column.

[101]Only one informant was familiar with this fish, Bogkamon.

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[102]Before the arrival of a school-teacher from Siquijor, few people in Siaton poblacion ate the Salanga. One day a large Salanga was caught and the teacher bought the fish for a small price. He dried the meat and sent chunks to his friends. Today a number of people in the poblacion eat the Salanga that is said to taste "like carabao meat." Salanga is considered somewhat of a delicacy by many people living in Siquijor.

20: Hart E-5 (1951) 1954 OA1 Philippines
Central Bisayan OA14



United States Aid and the United States Mutual Security Agency made a limited, and mainly statistical, study of thirteen different barrios from Luzon to Mindanao.[6] 121

Anthropologists working in the Philippines have concentrated largely on the primitive peoples such as the Negritos, Ifugaos and other scattered groups in the archipelago. Yet Felix Keesing wrote in 1949 that the study of primitive groups in the Philippines "is a rich yet little worked field."[7] The study of Christian Filipino culture is a more neglected field of research. There is less anthropological material on any one of the major Christian Filipino groups than on the small Negrito bands of the islands.

Due to this lack of information on Christian Filipinos, the impact of American culture on rural Filipinos often has been exaggerated. Grunder and Livezey state: 117.

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[6] Generoso F. Rivera and Robert T. McMillan, The Rural Philippines, Manila, Philippines. A cooperative project of the Philippine Council for United States Aid and the United States Mutual Security Agency, reproduced by the Office of Information, Mutual Security Agency, October 1952. This report was released less than a week before my manuscript was sent to the typist. However, part of this report was available to the writer, Rivera and McMillan, "The Rural Philippine Cooperative Project of PHILCUSA and MSA, Part II: Summary and Suggested Lines of Action and Part V; Agriculture." Manila, Philippines, August 1952, 34 pages, mimeographed.

[7] Felix Keesing, "Some Notes on Bontok Social Organization, Northern Philippines," American Anthropologist, LI, No. 4, Part 1 (October-December 1949), p.578.

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> The true significance of the number, the authority, and the character of the American personnel in the Philippines is frequently lost sight of...Shortly after the assumption in 1913 of administration of the Philippines by the Democratic party, American personnel was so reduced in numbers and so weakened in position, that the power of the United States to control the government as it touched the masses of the Filipinos was greatly curtailed...[8]

Later they remark that since the days of Francis B. Harrison, the number of Americans in the Philippines and their authority "were too restricted...to carry on adequately the transmission of American culture, especially in the political field."[9] In the area of educational practices and theories where American influence frequently is said to have been the most effective, J. C. Laya, a noted Filipino educator, has written about "the little dent the much-tauted American-sponsored educational system has made on Philippine rural life..."[10]

Many American traditions which may appear to have been willingly accepted by the Filipinos were actually imposed by fiat. Two examples are the Philippine Bill of Rights and their independence day (July 4th). The Bell Report required certain drastic changes be made in the government structure of the Philippines and the

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[8]Carel A. Grunder and William E. Livezey, The Philippines and the United States. Norman, University of Oklahoma Press, 1951, pp.85-6.

[9]Ibid., p.209.

[10]J. C. Laya, Little Democracies (of Bataan). Rev. ed. Manila, Inang Wika Publishing Company, 1951. p.6.

20: Hart E-5 (195.) 1954 OA1 Philippines
Central Bisayan OA14



Hardie land tenure report contained a veiled threat of intervention on the part of the United States if certain internal economic conditions were not eradicated.[11] Senator Claro Recto, spokesman for the Nacionalista party, has spoken indignantly regarding certain aspects of American policy. 177

> Why then was it necessary to amend our Constitution to grant parity to Americans, to give them military, naval and air bases in our sovereign territory, to slavishly play the kite to every changing wind in American foreign policy, to make America's enemies automatically our own, to submit to supervision over our internal affairs including even the reorganization of our cabinet and of our army's high command, and the enactment of our revenue statutes and social legislation, conditions which no self-respecting nation under the Marshall Plan ever accepted?[12]

The paucity of data on Christian Philippine culture, the frequent exaggeration of the impact of past American policies on rural Filipinos, and the rise of a nervous nationalism among many politically alert individuals are all factors which handicap American efforts to assist the Republic initiating a grass-root rural renaissance. Future relations between the Philippines 12/

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[11] Robert S. Hardie, Philippine Land Tenure Reform: Analysis and Recommendations. Manila, Special Technical and Economic Mission, Mutual Security Agency, 1952.

[12] Address given by Senator Recto in Manila, May 4, 1951. p.21. Mimeographed.

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influenced the present land use patterns of Negros, the areal distribution of crops today appears to have been influenced more forcefully by physical rather than cultural factors.

Corn-Coconut Regions of Eastern Negros

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The major maize-producing areas in the Philippines are the Visayan Islands of Negros, Cebu, Siquijor, Bohol, Leyte, Masbate and the Cagayan valley (Luzon), and Mindanao.[79] The Philippines is self-sufficient in this grain and it is called the "poor man's rice."[80] For the crop year 1951-52 rice accounted for 42 per cent of all Philippine crops; 18 per cent of the cultivated land was devoted to corn.[81] Corn is the "principal foodstuff of about 30 per cent of the population" of the Philippines.[82]

The Spaniards first introduced corn in the 16th century; it appeared to have spread rapidly in the Visayas. The two corn-coconut regions of Negros are agricultural phenomena unique in Asia, for here a non-indigenous food crop dominates the agricultural landscape. The adaptability of corn to the physical

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[79] Hainsworth and Moyer, op. cit., p.52.

[80] Hugo H. Miller, Principles of Economics Applied to the Philippines. New York, Ginn and Company, 1932, p.212.

[81] Central Bank of Philippines Statistical Bulletin IV, No. 1 (March 1952). Manila, Bureau of Printing, p.99.

[82] "Philippine Corn Production High," Foreign Crops and Markets, LXV, No. 20 (November 17, 1952), p. 455.

devoted to rice. About 12 per cent of the total cultivated land in Negros Oriental is devoted to rice while in Negros Occidental three times this amount (36 per cent) is occupied by rice. 311 243

Today Negros imports rice from Panay and Mindanao to feed its people. Spencer states: "The main sugar-producing area of Negros Island [Occidental province] and the whole island of Cebu are the chief deficit regions, with marked food shortages."[90] In the past, however, Negros was a rice surplus area. Miguel de Loarca wrote in the latter part of the 16th century that northern Negros was "rich in foods, such as rice." Legaspi's account of Negros states: "Rice which is the bread, grows in abundance."[91] Negros' shift from a rice surplus to a deficit was largely the result of the great expansion of sugar cane acreage and to the associated increase in population.[92] Negros is capable of raising sufficient rice for its population with improved agricultural practices and increased irrigation. 433 438 311 243

More than a thousand varieties of rice are grown in the Philippines. Many varieties are old established rices while others have been introduced from the United 243 177

[90] Spencer, op. cit., p.72.

[91] Miguel de Loarca, Blair and Robertson, op. cit., V, p.47.

[92] Wernstedt, op. cit., p.190.

States, Italy, Spain, Iran, and southeast Asia. "About one hundred of the older varieties and four or more of the recent introductions are grown commercially [in the Philippines]."[93] There are four major categories of rice in the Philippines: irrigated lowland; non-irrigated lowland; palagad ("dry season rice"); and upland rice.[94] In Negros 59 per cent of the rice land is occupied by either irrigated or non-irrigated lowland rice.

Most of Negros' irrigated rice land, about 7,000 acres, is located near the coast, normally on river deltas where the waters are easily diverted. Exceptions include the Canlaon plateau where, at an elevation of nearly 1,000 feet, about 2,500 acres of rice land are irrigated by streams which originate on nearby volcanic peaks. Most of the lowland non-irrigated rice land is found along the flood plains. These are areas which cannot be irrigated due to lack of capital or technical difficulty.

Lowland rice usually is planted in Negros between June and August, although the dates vary slightly due to early or late start of the rainy season.[95] Non-irrigated

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[93] Uichanco and Sacay, op. cit., p.2.

[94] Palagad is the second rice crop a farmer tries to raise in one year from a usually, but not necessarily always, irrigated paddy. Cultivation practices have created two subtypes of upland rice agriculture: one where the fields are plowed for planting and the other where the rice is planted with a dibble stick.

[95] Hainsworth and Moyer, op. cit., p.53. These months appear to be the general planting and harvesting dates for rice in the Visayan Islands.

these differences the barriofolk of Caticugan, and Negros Oriental, are mainly Cebuanos with dialect and customs different from those of Panayanos of Negros Occidental.

Recent improvements in transportation have brought most of the barriofolk of Caticugan closer to Dumaguete, the provincial capitol where American cultural patterns are most heavily concentrated. Yet they live on the periphery of the major traffic flow of this province. With their undeveloped technology and crude implements, the Caticugan barriofolk have adjusted their economy to the seasonal rhythms of the southwest and northeast monsoons, the former beginning their agricultural cycle. This chapter has described the general scenery of the "stage" where the barriofolk of Caticugan act out their lives.

An American visitor in Dumaguete would find much in the city to remind him of the United States. New Fords, modern buildings, the mode of dress, Hollywood cinemas and Silliman University with its American professors and English-speaking students would be visible signs of American influence. As he left Dumaguete for the rural areas of Negros, he would quickly enter a new milieu and the farther south he travelled the fewer clues he would find to suggest familiar scenes of his country.

Today one can catch an early morning bus from Dumaguete to Siaton poblacion. The faded green bus

proper by the muddy Caticugan Creek. This is a rocky sandy area where the Siaton River once flowed. 133

Walking through the community one speculates that few visible changes have occurred during the past several centuries. The houses are basically the same, bamboo and nipa and rattan. The wooden plow that lies in the field must have been similar to that used by the owner's great-grandparents. Many pigs still feed from hollow stone troughs. Spears and blow-guns are found in some houses and ancient rites precede a wild pig hunt. Yet the modest chapel with its tire rim "bell" and the houses with family altars of plaster saints betoken the Catholic Spaniards. The old bow and arrow, used to shoot fish in the river, have been modified, for boys now hunt their prey with arrows of steel umbrella rib, propelled by strips of inner tubing. The barrio and elementary schools with coeducational facilities and stress on "integration" bespeak American influence. As one talks with the people and studies their way of life, the pre-Hispanic cultural base emerges: beliefs in unseen sprites of shaded spring and wooded hill, in blonde-haired dwarfs that race happily in the drainage canals, in the placating of departed souls with food offerings and various modified pagan agricultural rites. The very language reflects Hindu contacts. The wooden handles 178 177 [176]

of their bolos, the indispensible knife of most Filipinos, are carved with Garuda-like heads of an ancient mythological creature of India.

The barriofolk of Caticugan are selective heirs of many cultural heritages--Malay, Chinese, Hindu, Spanish and American. Various aspects of these cultures have been embraced with little resistance, accepted with drastic reinterpretation, or totally rejected. The next chapter will describe when and how different cultural traditions penetrated Negros, in general, and Siaton in particular.

20: Hart E-5 (1951) 1954 OA1 Philippines
Central Bisayan OA14

# CHAPTER III

## THE HISTORICAL MOULD

This chapter sketches the general historical contours of Siaton and Negros. One criticism of many anthropological studies of modern communities has stressed neglect of the historical approach, resulting from an "uncritical transfer of the methodology of studies of primitive peoples to those of modern societies."[1] Since all cultures are dynamic, reconstruction of their past furnishes valuable insights into the present and suggests possible future trends. For these reasons--in order to see Caticugan not only as it *is* but as it *was*--I have tried to recover and synthesize from printed record, oral tradition and manuscript source the history of Caticugan and its larger setting.

Caticugan barriofolk are heirs of many cultural traditions. The history of Negros and Siaton sheds light on the temporal sequence of various culture contacts, their impact and subsequent modification of the barriofolk's way of life. Yet events in Siaton or Caticugan cannot be adequately understood apart from the island's history; for this reason selected aspects of the historical development of Negros are presented as a backdrop.

This chapter deals with five major periods in the history of Negros and Siaton. The first period begins with the Spanish settlement of Negros, including the founding of

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[1] Steward, *op. cit.*, pp. 24-5.

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> means to defend themselves, as they used to do when there were no Spaniards in the country. Therefore many towns of peaceful and subjected Indians revolted and withdrew to the tingues [mountains], and refused to descend to their houses, magistrates, and encomenderos...[30]

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Christianity seems to have made many Visayans more passive, for prior to the arrival of the Spaniards they were known as brave warriors. Mirandola states that the people of Cebu, for example, were "very warlike and vicious." Christianity also made the Visayans the bitter enemies of the Moros, who in turn regarded them as the children of the Spaniards who sacked towns in Mindanao and Sulu and sold Moro slaves in Manila. The history of Siaton reflects the fear and terror these Moro raids held for the early settlers of southern Negros.

175* 161

Negros remained a relatively unknown and undeveloped island until the middle of the 19th century. Varona states that in the middle of the 16th century many Spanish writers were so badly informed that they thought Negros was inhabited solely by Negritos. A study of the sources in Blair and Robertson yields a meager number of references to Negros and even fewer detailed accounts. Negros during these centuries was overshadowed by Cebu and Panay. It was not until the development of the sugar industry, destined to make the island the "Sugar Bowl of the Philippines," that Negros' development and population began a rapid increase.

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[30] Najeeb M. Saleeby, The History of Sulu. Bureau of Science, Division of Ethnology, IV, Part 2. Manila, Bureau of Printing, 1908, p. 281.

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In 1838 the Spaniards in Siaton told all the Filipinos to stay inside their homes on an appointed day. Poblacion officials visited each residence on this day with an alphabetical list of names. Each family was given a family name.[50] The administration of Siaton, the tax accounts and other official records, were complicated by the lack of the people having a family name. There were many men known simply as Francisco, nicknamed Esco or Escong, often making it necessary for double nicknames to distinguish all the Escongs--such as Escongyawa. There are still communities in the Philippines where the people have family names that appear to have come from the same page of an alphabetical list.[51]

## FROM 1845 TO THE PHILIPPINE REVOLUTION

175*
161

In 1849 Tomas Mezquita succeeded Omedillas as the parish priest of Siaton. At this time the Siaton parish covered about 60 miles, from Zamboanguita to the Sicopon

[50] In this matter Cadiane is inconsistent for family names are given for capitans beginning in 1831. After Francisco Sugboanon came capitans Alejandro (1821-22); Felix (1823-24); Clemente (1825-26); Francisco Sugboanon (1827-28), re-elected; Etib (1829-30); Cayetano Cadingan (1831-32), first capitan with a family name; Celestino Makagig (1833-34); Etib (1835-36), re-elected; and Juan Jarnaes (1837-38).

[51] Most of the family names of the later leaders of Bonbonon cluster: Cajigan, Capoli, Carnaes, Janala, Jandug, Jangar, Japoli, Padunar, Pagulas, Paladar, Palagar, Palalomas, and Palalon. Since C and J are often interchangeable in Cebuano, such names as Capoli and Japoli were once probably identical.

175* 565

and drink his wine. One time we were practicing the rigodon for the fiesta in the convento. The priest was away. When he returned he did not scold us but he had a heavy face. He did not like it because we had profaned the sanctity of his abode.[90]

The Spaniards often both punished and rewarded the Filipinos; this led to an ambivalent attitude toward most of them that persists into the present.

The Messianic Outlaws of Southern Negros

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Conditions worsened for both Filipinos and Spaniards during the last part of the 19th century. Hostility to Spanish rule increased among educated Filipinos. Filipino leaders were deported to penal colonies and innocent intellectuals were persecuted. As various political and social abuses were not abolished, a reaction known as the "Propaganda Movement" developed among Filipino leaders. This movement began in 1872 and ended two decades later when the revolutionary society, Katipunan, was founded.

Beginning with the 1870's a series of disturbances or uprisings occurred in various parts of the island. Some of these disturbances were due to bandits who lived in the mountains and robbed the people of the lowlands. These outlaws had existed since the early days of the Spanish administration of Negros. With the development

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[90] The rigodon is a quadrille first introduced at Louis XIII's court and later diffused to Spain and eventually to the Philippines. Francisca R. Tolentino, Philippine National Dances. New York, Silver Burdett Company, 1946, p. 261.

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called Riadillo while others dressed in priest-like robes with belts or ropes of a red cloth called Condiman. Every man wore a red and white ribbon across his breast; they carried flags of the same colors. If the Babailanes met Filipinos with their shirts outside their pants they were punished. This habit was considered by the Babailanes a symbol of subservience to the Spaniards. They were armed with spears, bolos, daggers and bows and arrows.

When the Babailanes reached Barrio Mantuyop they encamped and sent two messengers to Siaton to tell the people that they wished to be met at the municipio. Food was ordered to be prepared for them. The people of Siaton, frightened and confused, did as they were told. When the Babailanes approached the poblacion plaza they knelt on the ground, lapping their hands. The people in the poblacion also knelt on the ground until the Babailanes reached the church.

The Babailanes had many amulets. Gadiane writes that they pasted a piece of paper to their forehead as an anting-anting (amulet) to make them invulnerable to bullets. Norris said some had an amulet (design unknown) which did not work if the individual cried out when shot! For the amulet to be effective the person had to remain silent when shot.[154] Anting-antings were common among such bands in the Philippines. Amulets were common before the Spaniards' arrival, with the spread of Catholicism in the Philippines.

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[154]Norris, op. cit., p. 25.

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The wearing of scapularies, amulets, etc., blessed at Roman Catholic shrines, would seem to have given the idea added sanction during the Spanish regime, and the anting-anting of today has words of sacred significance and figures of the Virgin or crucifix (frequently drawn in rude style in ink on a ragged breastplate of cheap cotton cloth), besides meaningless words and figures of beasts which date back to pre-Catholic days..."[155]

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A carabao had been killed the day the Babailanes arrived in Siaton because it had gored a man. When this meat was offered to them they refused, explaining they did not eat meat on Wednesday, probably a reinterpretation of the Catholic custom. The next morning, without disturbing the residents, the Babailanes left for Dumaguete. News of their movement toward the city threw the people in Zamboanguita, Dauin, and Bacong into confusion. Messengers were sent from Zamboanguita to Dumaguete notifying the officials of the Babailanes pending attack and requesting troops for the protection of the community.

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Fifty armed tiradoras (sharpshooters) were sent from Dumaguete. They met the Babailanes at Barrio Bulak (Bacong) and "herded them like sheep until they arrived at the school building in poblacion Bacong." The Babailanes were kept in the building all night. Gadiane does not report what fate befell this group, although he mentions negotiations were carried out with the new governor of Negros Oriental "for this was already the time of the revolution."

[155] LeRoy, The Americans in the Philippines, II, pp. 214-5, footnote No. 1.

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> of the cultural events of the last two thousand years are substantially clear. We can peel off layer after layer of civilization [in the Philippines] and come to its original kernel with some assurance of certainty and without being forced to draw too heavily on imagination.[173]

While this chapter is not a definitive history of the larger setting of Caticugan--Negros Island--or the Visayas, the material highlights the origin and growth of Siaton and Caticugan.

Generally speaking, there have been seven major sources of contemporary Philippine culture: Negrito, Malaysian, Indian, Chinese, Arabic, Spanish and American. The Negritos are believed to have been the first inhabitants of the islands, although we can barely surmise the original contours of their culture. First in importance, from both a physical and cultural point of view, is the broad Malaysian base--the culture brought to the Philippines by emigrants from continental Asia. These people fixed, in so many ways, the general outline of Philippine culture that can still be seen today in Caticugan.

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During and after the Malaysians' arrival, new concepts of art, religion and technology came to the archipelago from China, India and the Middle East. These concepts largely were brought to the Philippines by Southeast Asians (Chinese excepted) Buddhist, Hindu, or Mohammedan Malaysians rather than Indians and Arabs.

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[173] Alfred L. Kroeber, Peoples of the Philippines. 2nd and revised edition. Handbook Series No. 8. New York, American Museum of Natural History, 1943. pp. 11-3.

Indian and Arabic concepts were reinterpreted by their bearers, in most cases, before the customs reached the Filipinos. The last two alien cultures to leave their imprint on the Filipinos were Spanish and American, often termed the western Christian strata. 177

Pre-Hispanic traditions and customs are still visible in Caticugan. Contacts with Negros' Negritos appear to have stopped in Siaton during the first part of the 20th century. Few people in Caticugan had ever seen a Negrito. Evidence of a slight Negrito imprint on the barriofolk's way of life exists, however, in the latter's agricultural rites, use of certain plants, and folklore. Yet the barriofolk of Caticugan took very little from the Negritos that remains today; the cultural interchange probably was in the opposite direction, from Filipinos to Negritos, as was typical in most of the Philippines. 174

Drastic reinterpretations of the pre-Hispanic Malaysian cultural base have occurred in Caticugan. However, animism is still a vital force in the community, perpetuating a major Filipino religious concept prior to the Spaniard's arrival. The resistance of the Malaysian stratum to Mohammedanism, Catholicism and Protestanism is remarkable. Few aspects of <u>barrio</u> life escape the influence of animism--hunting and gathering activities, fishing, agricultural practices, attitudes toward disease, and the concept of nature itself. Imitative magic, another Malaysian trait that spread as far west as Madagascar, also exists in Caticugan. 174 774 178 789

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Influences that came from India, either through mainland Southeast Asia (Malaya or Champa) and directly to the Philippines, or indirectly from the southern islands of present-day Indonesia, are still apparent in Caticugan. The importance of astrology to determine the most opportune times for certain activities is typical of the Hinayana Buddhist countries of Burma and Thailand--and also China. Traces of art styles, first originating in India, can be seen in the Garuda-like heads on the bolos of Caticugan.

Beyer believes that the "principal phases" of Neolithic culture reached the Philippines directly from northern and southern China. From this period to the present, Chinese contacts with the Philippines have continued. If there is little visible Chinese content in Caticugan, this also is typical of the Philippines as a whole. Kroeber writes: "There is scarcely an institution, piece of knowledge, or religious belief current in the Philippines that can be derived with certainty from China."[174] The Chinese were rarely interested in meddling or interfering with Filipino ways of living; they came as merchants and their impact was largely economic.[175]

This is not to imply that the Chinese did not influence Philippine culture. Manuel documents the words

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[174]Kroeber, op. cit., p. 17.

[175]H. Otley Beyer, "Early History of Philippine Relations with Foreign Countries, Especially China" in Arsenio E. Manuel, Chinese Elements in the Tagalog Language. Manila, Filipiniana Publications, 1948, p. xvi.

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borrowed or derived from Chinese sources in Tagalog that, in turn, influenced the barriofolk of Caticugan since Cebuano contains many Tagalog terms. The Chinese brought pottery, porcelain jars, silk and bronze gongs to the archipelago. The most precious possessions of some primitive groups in the Philippines, such as the Magahats, are ancient Chinese jars and gongs. Chinese influence can be seen in Caticugan in some of the vegetables grown and methods of cookery. As Siaton's history illustrates, however, the Chinese normally kept to themselves. They were often the target for discrimination, for some of the messianic disturbances of southern Negros (i.e., Babailanes) were partially anti-Chinese as was the pulajanes of Samar.[176]

The meagerness of the influence of Islam on the barriofolk of Caticugan is better understood when one considers the nature of their contacts with Mohammedan Filipinos. For more than two centuries the Moros of Mindanao and the Sulu archipelago plagued the people of southern Negros with sudden plundering raids; after the 17th century the people of Siaton and the Moros were mortal enemies. Under such circumstances, cultural interchange

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[176] Macaraig writes that the pulajanes of Samar were anti-Chinese. He also states that one reason for the anarchistic aspects of the Babailanes of Negros was that leaders of the pulajanes in Samar went to Negros to deliver the leaders twenty river pebbles that allegedly had miraculous powers of giving immunity from hunger and death and invulnerability to bullets. Serafin E. Macaraig, Social Problems, Manila, Educational Supply Company, 1929, pp. 408-9.

was hardly encouraged. While the Moros and Visayans had contacts prior to the Spaniard's arrival, traits borrowed, if any, are not apparent today in Caticugan. Moro influence may be seen today in a very diluted form, in a few minor fiesta activities, and possibly in few types of bolos occasionally seen in Caticugan.

Spanish culture made basic changes in nearly every aspect of Philippine culture--religion, language, economy, government, law, social structure, etc. The most notable achievement of Spain, the almost total Christianization of the Filipinos, has been frequently repeated and described. Unfortunately, this accomplishment has not been often carefully dissected to determine the reinterpretations of Catholicism by the Filipinos. Spanish influence in Caticugan is also apparent in the names of the people, their style of cookery, language, and perhaps their concept of God and Man--the Pagbu-ot sa Dios (God's Will) theme of barrio life. The extent of Spanish influence on Caticugan agriculture may be judged when it is remembered that the Spaniards introduced corn.

The American era was the last colonial period of the Philippines. There were few prolonged contacts between the people of Siaton and Americans; I was far more a novelty in Caticugan--because I was an American--than I had suspected would be the case. In the cities and larger poblacions one finds abundant evidence of American influence. However, American influence wanes as one leaves the

20: Hart E-5 (1951) 1954 OA1 Philippines
Central Bisayan OA14



urban centers for rural districts." It is my conviction that we have greatly over-estimated the innovative aspects of our period of tutelage in the Philippines, certainly in the barrios. We sometimes forget that the United States controlled the archipelago for less than half-a-century. 177

We were able to transmit the American belief that education is a panacea for all ills to most Filipinos, to increase their technological skills, and transplant the form of democracy. We were less successful--as we are learning today--in encouraging the people to understand the larger cultural factors behind these new concepts and techniques. We introduced democracy and its slogans but were unaware and largely uninterested in the modification of the societal base for modern democratic evolution in the Philippines.

One astute Filipino critic of the American regime has written:

> The background of Filipino social development is entirely different from that of the American, and the Filipino has never learned the proper use of so elementary a democratic tool as the committee or conference. In the course of a half-century of American tutelage, which in reality continues to this day, the Filipino came to know all the symbols and forms of democracy but not how to use effectively the simple tools with which he might have hammered and carved the substance of daily living into shapes more responsive to the needs and aspirations of the common people.[177]

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[177] Jose A. Lansang, "The Philippine-American Experiment: A Filipino View," Pacific Affairs, XXV, No. 3 (September, 1952), p. 233.

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> Here is tuba, here is loto, binaluksan, bina-ang, tilad, tinostos, tinigol [tigol] eggs and roasted chicken. Here are the things that we offer, the fruit of our labor. We have now fulfilled and we hope that next year the crop will be as good as this year. You that have lived here before don't be surprised at us who live here now. And if we are working here don't be surprised either.[21]

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When the ceremonies are finished the food is taken from the caingin to the owner's house or temporary shelter. Before the offering and the other prepared food are eaten a rosary is said by the women. This is a Catholic addition to the original ceremony.[22]

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Inside the house a large winnowing basket (niggo) is filled with cooked rice. In the center of the heaped rice are stuck many rice heads harvested from the caingin. All the people present eat some of the rice. No rice may be returned to the pots; it is believed if this happens the next harvest will not be abundant. Souls of the caingin cultivator's parents and relatives are invited to partake and are requested to make future harvests plentiful and to give the cultivator and his family good health and long life.

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[21] The original text is: "Niay tuba, niay loto, binaluksan, bina-ang, tilad, tinostos, tinigol, itlog, manok inasal. Niay naman ning among ibulang among abut nakatuman naman in bason podlaman inaron ug maayo gihapon, kamong namoyo dinhi sa una dila lawan ikatingala kaning gapoyo dinhing bagohanay laman. Ug magtrabaho ini dinhi ayaw laman mi ug kiatingala."

[22] It is interesting to note that the Magahat ceremony makes no mention of the souls of the cultivator's parents or relatives. It might be supposed that the addition of the souls to the loto described above is due to Catholic influence. This is probably not the case since the pre-Hispanic Filipinos had well-developed concepts regarding the worship and placating of their dead. Oracion, op. cit., pp. 57-62.

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in October and November and is often finished before the paddies in Caticugan are harvested.

When the rice is ripening another lihi is practiced by some of the Caticugan barriofolk. A handful of stalks is gathered from the paddy and the rice is roasted. Sometimes six red peppers and a piece of ginger are roasted with the rice; others mix these items with the roasted rice later. The mixture is pounded in a mortar; the chaff is not separated from the rice and the whole is wrapped in a leaf of the binonga tree and placed in the middle of the paddy. The lihi purposes are: (1) roasting the rice makes the unharvested rice ripen more quickly while (2) hot peppers and ginger allegedly prevent insects from eating the rice heads. One woman said she put the stalks from the rice used in this ceremony in the rafters of the house. A man told the writer that it was best to add a yellowish piece of banana stalk so the grains would become a similar color.

One man in Barrio Caticugan was reported (but was never seen doing it) to buy firecrackers from the Chinese stores in the poblacion and explode them in his paddy before harvest time to frighten away birds and insects.

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The most widely practiced pre-harvest lihi in Caticugan bears the imprint of Catholicism. Just before the rice is harvested four small crosses are placed in each corner of the paddy. The crosses are usually made of bamboo but one informant said they should be made from the salngan tree for rice harvests, and from the common

thornless bamboo (Kawayan) for the corn dulot. To these crosses are attached bits of Bendita palm blessed during Palm Sunday in the poblacion church and a few rice stalks and heads from the paddy to be harvested. One cross is partly pushed into the earth while the Lord's Prayer is recited by the woman holding the lihi. This woman is often the wife of the owner of the paddy or of a tenant farmer. When this prayer is finished the cross is pushed farther into the ground and a prayer is said to the Virgin Mary. Responses to this prayer are given by the women who accompany the leader. After the two prayers are finished the groups cross themselves. Each time upon completing a prayer, the cross is pushed deeper into the earth. These two prayers are repeated three times (ideally) for each cross. Then the group proceeds counter-clockwise around the paddy; the ceremonies are repeated at the remaining three crosses. Some women recite the Apostle's Creed instead of the Lord's Prayer.

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This lihi is nearly always done by women. One man said he often performed his own pre-harvest rice lihi but "my daughter loves to make it." One reason why the men do not perform this lihi is that most of them have not memorized the necessary prayers. Another factor which explains the predominant role of women in these agricultural ceremonies was given by one woman who bluntly stated: "When the rice is ready for harvest the men do not care anymore." The general male indifference and lack of participation in these agricultural practices in Caticugan reflects indifference to the religious affairs in general.

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Caticugan. This section will first describe the dulot and then explain the distribution and variations of the ceremony in the different barrios in comparison with Caticugan. 243 178

The dulot is held before the corn is harvested in either caingins or lowland fields. There appear to be three major purposes for holding the dulot. First, it is an act of recognition of unseen spirits who, if not properly honored, can make the cultivators ill. Second, the dulot is an act of respect and honor to the kalags (souls) of previous owners of the field. Since land is seldom sold in the lowlands these souls normally are the parents of the cultivators.[44] The dulot is "like rent for the land" or a "payment" to the souls of former owners. A widespread belief is that these souls, if angered, can make the field workers sick; fever and stomach troubles are the most frequent afflictions caused by the angry spirits or unhonored souls. Third, the dulot is a premicias sa baul ("Thanksgiving for the field," i.e., for the harvest) to God. 243 [425] [753]

The dulot is an obvious blend of paganism and Catholicism. Animism and reverence for the souls of the dead are pre-Spanish beliefs. Catholicism certainly reinforced the honoring of the dead; this may have been one reason why Catholicism was disseminated so easily in the 243 177

[44] In the caingins the offering is made to the souls of one's departed parents.

The ritualist shortly returned, and one of Pas' sons also went to the table and drank a sip of tuba. If there had been more tuba the son would have emptied the cup and then refilled it. Since only a small amount of tuba was available, he took but a swallow. The ritualist refilled the cup and again walked into the corn rows to mutter his incantations. 243

During the dulot Pas' sons and their male companions snickered and quietly laughed among themselves. Pas and her female companions were quiet but appeared slightly bored. Although the writer's presence may have been a disturbing element, he knew the family well. The participants acted as they would at a social gathering; certainly they showed neither religious awe nor fear. The man performing the dulot was quite serious in mien, but gave no indication of annoyance at the attitude of the young people. 771 781 243

When the offering was finished the table and food were carried inside the house. A rosary then was held by the women for the souls of previous owners of the cornfield. When the rosary was finished a large pot of boiled corn ears and kinalopis were placed on the floor under the center joint of the roof. The pot was surrounded by four plates of boiled fresh-water shrimp. Two girls and one of sons lifted the pot three times; a little food was thrown upward and some was pushed through the floor slats, as a symbolic offering to the souls of Pas' departed parents. 243 [177].

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Lucas Ege apparently was a very religious and domineering individual. Since he did not practice the dulot he would not permit his relatives or tenants to hold the ceremony for their fields. Ege's grandson, still living in Barrio Caticugan, said Lucas substituted a novena (nine consecutive evenings of prayer) for the dulot. At the novena's conclusion he invited relatives and friends to a feast. This harvest novena was held in honor of St. Isidro who was selected as the patron saint of the barrio in 1951. Since the land southwest of the main canal had been given to the people who built the fence, Ege did not or could not prevent them from holding dulots in their fields. This is probably one reason why dulots are the most common in the southwest part of Barrio Caticugan.

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However, a more careful study of the dulots' distribution in southwest Barrio Caticugan shows a significant correlation with the location of hillside springs. Many of the barriofolk believe that in or near these springs (particularly places of lush vegetation) live creatures called kolisaos and kataos. The kolisao is a lizard-like creature with a human head and long hair while a katao is a dwarf with blonde hair who delights to play in the canals--and this is the place where canals are most numerous.

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If these creatures are disturbed or hurt, they can cause an individual to fall ill or even die; skin diseases, however, seem to be their speciality. Farmers with fields

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(If you were afraid that you would make a mistake in holding the dulot, why did not you have some one do it for you?)

When I had two children [the wife interrupted] a mission came [to the poblacion] and I went to confession. I had a hint from the priest that maybe I was holding superstitious practices. So I thought maybe the priest meant the dulot. I told the priest my in-laws were practicing the dulot. I was advised by the priest to tell my in-laws to stop this superstitious practice. The priest said every year to sell a little of the harvest, buy candles and light them in the church in honor of our dead relatives. So when I came home I told my in-laws. That is why we stopped having the dulot.

That's right [the husband broke in] but it was also difficult to get all the things used in the dulot.

Here are three reasons for stopping the dulot. First, the priest's disapproval of the custom; second, the husband's fear that he might make mistakes during the offering; and third, the difficulty in obtaining the necessary supplies.

Other families in Caticugan have stopped the dulot when they purchased land from an owner who practiced the ceremony. Several cases of this nature were cited and the w owners reported that they had not become ill as many lieved they would. However, if someone had become ill is highly probable that these people would have attrib-ed the sickness to the absence of the dulot and would ve resumed its practice.

In the northern barrios the dulot is a community af-ir while in Caticugan it is a family activity performed in crecy. I was unable to witness a dulot in Caticugan be-use I was not told when they were to be held. Yet I had no ouble participating in a dulot in Lamtoc where I was not

palm's trunk during the war when acute food shortages existed. Most of the bags and mats made in Cateugan are woven from the buri while the hats worn by the people come from Bohol. 245

The sale of guhang furnishes many barriofolk with their largest source of cash income. The Siaton poblacion map (Plate XVII)[1] shows the number of stalls selling guhang. The widespread use of the buri to make guhang is shown by the number of dead palms (576) cut in six weeks by the provincial agriculture office in just Siaton poblacion. Many dead buris were left standing at the end of this project. If Siaton's municipal ordinance that requires each owner of a guhang buri to pay a tax of $2.50 was effectively enforced, this local industry would bring a sizeable income to the municipality. 273 434 443 245 [65]

Older informants said when they were young little guhang was made in Siaton since only a few buris grew in the municipality. Some informants stated that the barriofolk of Siaton first learned how to make guhang from the people of Tolong. Once they learned the process they began to plant the palm. Other informants, however, said that Siaton men who worked in Dumaguete's Chinese bodegas (warehouses) learned to make guhang while in the city. When they returned to Siaton they introduced the process, teaching the people of Siaton how to make the mildly alcoholic drink. All available evidence, the possible derivation of Dumaguete's name (from manangguete, a specialist who makes guhang), the older settlement of Dumaguete, 273 [178] 245 177 174 177 245 273

[1] [this plate (p. 178) is missing]

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its better roads to Siaton, would seem to indicate that guhang-making diffusion came from the east not the west. Yet many of the older people insisted that Siatonites first learned to make guhang from residents of Tolong.

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There is little folklore concerning the buri. Some barriofolk tell a story that explains how they first learned to make guhang. One day a tall buri was felled by a typhoon. While cutting the tree to remove it from the field the men noticed sap running from the fresh cuts. They drank some of the sap, discovered its pleasant taste, and reasoned how much more sap they could collect from a living buri. So they started to make guhang.

In selecting a buri, the mananguete prefers a palm which is 25 to 30 feet tall. Buri palms that are either too short, young or old do not give as much sap as those that are "just right." When the stems of the fronds of a buri radiate counter-clockwise around the bole and the fronds droop downward, the palm is thought to be especially well-suited for producing large quantities of fine-flavored sap.

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Once the tree has been chosen the mananguete climbs to the top on a bamboo ladder. This ladder is a long bamboo with the branches trimmed so short stubs remain as steps. Often the upper third of the ladder has removable pegs; when the owner is not obtaining guhang he removes the pegs as he descends. This makes it difficult for others to take any guhang during his absence.

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diet when there is no need to barter or sell them for more filling dietary necessities and when cultural factors favor vegetable production.

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Though women predominate in gardening activities in Caticugan the poblacion school teaches only the boys to grow vegetables. It was an early American idea to add gardening activities to the elementary curriculum; the officials concerned did not realize that in the barrios gardening is mainly a female activity. This is probably because women, not men, are the vendors of vegetables. In fact, a man who would sell vegetables in Caticugan would be a deviant in the eyes of most of the barriofolk. One man who vended vegetables was known to all as a bayute, a name for very feminine-acting men. In southern Negros the school boys are being trained to do a girl's work in the barrios.

[838]

Kalamongay

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The most commonly grown vegetable in Caticugan is kalamongay (Tag. Malungay: Moringa oleifera Linn.), a small tree-like plant that produces leafy branches. The branches are cut and stripped; the small tender leaves are cooked as greens. Kalamongay often grows so tall that small children can climb it or the top branches are cut with a small knife tied to a bamboo. When the rains come kalamongay is cut back and new cuttings planted. Sometimes ashes are spread around the base of the newly-planted

These attitudes and customs associated with securing aquatic products in Siaton illustrate how Catholicism overlaid the ancient religious concepts. Animism and Catholicism operate in different conceptual frames of reference and barriofolk shift from one to the other without any severe conflict. This situation may explain the relative ease with which the Spanish padres "converted" Filipinos to Catholicism in the past.

The technology of aquatic products, like that of agriculture, also illustrates the sexual division of labor. Some activities are strictly male or female; for a male to participate in women's activities would render him suspect. For example, the only men in Caticugan who were vendors of vegetables, guhang or rice cakes, were individuals known to the barriofolk as bayutes, highly feminine-acting men. There are some activities that either a male or a female may perform as far as the participants' physical strength is concerned, or take into consideration the restricted mobility of most women. The concept of menstrual pollution is another factor; e.g., women should not climb guhang trees (spoil flavor of drink), approach men making boats (the wood might crack), or approach the fish corral (the bonsod's luck might be lost). Age may modify one's role in certain activities. For example, old men may and do help women gather clams and snails at the seashore, an activity in which most young men would not think of participating.

The religious concepts of Caticugan barriofolk are integrated into most aspects of their culture. Religion

grooves. The shutters (takop or sira) are made normally of nipa or buri palm leaves. In some cases the shutters are wooden. 335 342

A general belief is that it is best for the doorway to face either the east or north; most of the Caticugan dwellings do. However, the barrio chapel has two doors, one facing south and the other west, and a group of houses along the base of the Dangola bluff doorways facing south. Some of these houses are unfinished; the owners eventually plan to have either an east or north doorway. In the poblacion, with its grid street system, there is no attempt to follow this custom. 335 342 789 777 [77].

Barriofolk state that the old people (gulang) thought it wise to have the doorway face either east or north so one's life will always be "rising like the sun" or because rain usually comes from the southwest or west. If the doorway opens to the south or west the occupants of the house will be sickly, not alert during their sleeping hours, or their lives "always setting like the sun does in the west." One informant, whose statement was not backed by the majority of the people, said it was necessary to have the door facing the east or north for otherwise when entering the house "one will go against the 'heads' of the sablayan and balabag."[23]

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[23] Oracion states: "Most houses in the coastal barrios and towns...are constructed so that the main door and stairs face east. This is believed to bring prosperity to the occupants. If the main door entrance faces west, it is believed that the occupants will get sick and may die." Oracion, op. cit., p. 25.

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three consecutive nights. If this is not done the occupants will be plagued with misfortune and illness.

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Some house posts have white crosses painted on them as protection against harmful spirits. A few houses had placed under the entrance ladder a small cross made of a thorny wood (salay). The barriofolk explain that this custom of painting or putting crosses on or near their homes originated shortly before the last war. Tales of a "headless" nun who brought typhoid came to southern Negros from Cebu. This supernatural nun was said to visit a dwelling and call out, "Good evening." If any occupants answered her before the greeting was repeated three times one of the family became ill of typhoid and died. To protect themselves the people started to paint crosses on the posts or to erect one near the house entrance. Houses so "protected" were avoided by the "headless" nun who also did not trouble people with the family name of Cruz (cross).

When these tales reached southern Negros some people in Siaton were said to have built crosses as thick as a man's leg. Even today some people will not answer a "good evening" greeting from a visitor outside their house until it is repeated three times. There is a parallel here with the Spanish custom that once required Filipinos to introduce themselves three times to Spaniards before they were recognized.

[77]

Men buy iron bolo blades in the poblacion or Dumaguete and make their own wooden handles. The only decorative wood carving found in Caticugan occurs on the ends of bolo handles. When the owners were asked what animal the carved head on the handle represented, they usually did not know. Most of the carved figures are quite similar in style. (See Plates LXXIXand LXXX.)[1]

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These carved heads on bolo handles in Caticugan may possibly derive from a modified version of the mythical Garuda of ancient Indian folklore and art. The Garuda figure probably was diffused to the Philippines from Indo-China or Indonesia during the ascendancy of Hindu empires in this area, e.g., Champa and Sri-Vishaya.

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Krieger writes:

> The art of metal work, as well as decorative motifs based on the lotus flower and other Hindu cult representations, are characteristic of influence from India [in the Philippines].[21]

Dwellings still exist in Panay that have carved exterior decorations showing Hindu influence.[22] Beyer writes: "The most cultured Philippine languages contain many Sanskrit words, and the native art a noticeable sprinkling of Indian design."[23] Magahats also carve heads of animals on their bolo handles that are quite similar to those of Caticugan.[24] It is my impression that carved bolo handles are found in most parts of the Philippines.

[21] Herbert W. Krieger, Peoples of the Philippines. War Background Studies No. 4. Washington, Smithsonian Institute, November 13, 1942, p. 30.

[22] A number of archaeological finds in the Visayas indicate Hindu influence in the area. For example, a small bronze image of the Hindu god Siva was found in Mactan, off Cebu, that probably dates from the time of the Madjapahit empire. Beyer, op. cit., p. 361.

1 [See p. 735 ff, cat. 531 or 412 -- Analyst]

[pp. 738 + 739 are missing -- Analyst]

The barriofolk are quite unaware of the possibility that their Garuda-like carved bolo handles may symbolize Hindu influence in their cultural heritage. It is curious that only bolo handles are selected; none of the other weapons or personal equipment is carved for decorative purposes. Perhaps the explanation lies in the importance attached to a man's bolo in pre-Hispanic Philippines.

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Various household articles are made by the barriofolk of Caticugan. Long pieces of bamboo are hollowed and used to carry water from the springs and river to the houses. Spoons and dippers of coconut shell are fixed with rattan to bamboo handles. A few young men made ukeleles from local woods, buying only the gut strings. I never saw parents make toys for their children.

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SUMMARY

The meager barrio handicrafts in Caticugan are in a state of decline. Abaca cloth is woven less frequently than in the immediate past and certain types of weaving and fabrics have disappeared. Most barriofolk consider abaca a poor substitute for cotton garments; imported used American clothing is changing the people's mode of dress.[23] Self-sufficiency of the barriofolk in pottery has been lost; today nearly all of them depend on pottery wares produced in Dumaguete. Bamboo drinking cups, plates and eating

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[23] Benitez, op. cit., pp. 21-2.

[24] Oracion, op. cit., p. 40.

51:Hart E-3 (1950-1952)1954 OA1 Philippines
Central Bisayan OA14



796 121 123 presents preliminary notes on the rural fiesta complex as observed in Negros Oriental province during 1950-52. The information on the fiesta was obtained through participant observation, interviewing of informants, a careful analysis of scores of printed fiesta programs, and other published materials.

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796 177 The fiesta complex was brought to the Philippines by the Spanish conquerors of the archipelago in the 16th century. All fiestas originally corresponded to church feasts listed on the Catholic calendar " . . . and were, whatever they have now turned out to be, originally intended solely to do honor to the patron saints of the towns of King Philip's Catholic colony."[3] During the following centuries the fiesta was reinterpreted by the Filipinos. The event came to fill a sociocultural void created by the priests' suppression of ancient pagan ceremonies, to increase the religious education of the *tao* and the church's position among the people, and whether it was an original purpose or not, soon became a profitable financial venture for the Church.

771 Most rural Filipinos regard their patron saint as the "guardian" of their *barrio* or *poblacion*, watching over their health, households and general welfare. The patron saint is normally in the background of community affairs in the *barrios*, if less so in the *poblacions*, except during the fiesta period, when the *poblacions* also render special homage to their [789] saint. In periods of crises, crop failures, lack of rain, epidemics, etc., the patron saint may be turned to for aid, particularly by the barrio folk. During the writer's residence in Siaton, the people of Caticugan carried their patron saint (San Isidro) around the barrio, singing and praying, in hope of producing a badly needed rain for their parched crops. Ordinarily, however, the patron saint does not have such an important place in the daily routine of the people as during the annual fiesta. Yet, for many of the Filipinos, the mere fact that a patron saint exists must give them a diffused feeling of security.

796 This article cannot fully explore the modifications made by Filipinos on the original fiesta complex of the Spaniards. However, certain obvious and important reinterpretations will be pointed out.

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[3] *Ibid.*, p. 30.

In a survey of the fiestas of Negros Island the four frequently selected patron saints were: (1) San Isidro de Labrador; (2) Santo Niño; (3) San Jose; and (4) Sta. Cruz. San Isidro is the patron saint of farmers, a fact which probably explains, in part, his popularity. Male saints are, by far, the most popular, probably because there are more male than female saints in the Catholic faith.

51:Hart E-3 (1950-1952)1954 OA1 Philippines
Central Bisayan OA14



796 527 A somewhat distinct feature of some *vesperas* afternoon programs is the "Civic" or "Inaugural" parade of the winning candidates of the beauty contest. Floats are entered in the parade by various groups within the community, e. g. schoolteachers, municipal employees, etc. A religious procession was listed in some of the fiesta programs for late *vesperas* afternoon, although the writer did not observe such a procession on this day at the fiesta attended. Several programs also stated a Holy Rosary would be held in the late afternoon in the church or chapel. This is a fairly common feature (although often omitted from the printed programs) since *vespe s* is normally the ninth and last of the pre-fiesta *novena* prayers. . .re may be more fireworks around six o'clock, although there are fewer fireworks in the fiesta today owing to recent government restrictions levied [177] against their importation. It seems that the use of fireworks during the fiesta is a Chinese addition.

527 537 The proclamation dance *vesperas* evening may begin as early as six p. m. The admission charge for the dance is lower than for the Coronation Ball held *kahologan*, averaging ₱1.50 to ₱2.00. This price is one indication that the Proclamation Dance is not considered such a gala and important affair as the Coronation Ball. Normally, both in the *barrio* and *poblacion*, women are admitted free to these dances "to attract the men," who must pay. There is a program which includes the presentation to the audience of winners of the beauty contest. A local speaker introduces the proclamation guest orator who is normally a provincial official, a prominent attorney, or an affluent citizen of Dumaguete. Sometimes the local congressman may be the speaker but not as frequently as for the Coronation Ball. The most important speaker is usually reserved for the most important dance, the Coronation Ball.

527 535 437 The program for the Proclamation dance may include prizes for the best tango, bee-bop, rhumba, calypso couples, "surprise" numbers, and other entertainment. One fiesta program stated that an auction of "bouquets" for the "Fiesta Muse" would be held, the *poblacion* counterpart of the *barrio* fiesta custom of "selling flowers" at their dances.[8] The dance may continue until after midnight; one fiesta program stated the dance would last from six in the evening to six the following morning.

[8] During the pre-fiesta and fiesta dances in Barrio Caticugan, one flower was auctioned to the highest bidder, who was permitted to dance for one dance with the local belle the flower represented, while the people watched. Often three or four flowers would be auctioned during the dance, the money collected being used to finance the fiesta. This custom was more frequently observed at *barrio* than *poblacion* fiestas.

51:Hart E-3 (1950-1952)1954 OA1 Philippines
Central Bisayan OA14



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> ...do not neglect their duty in sending their children to school because they believe that in a democracy what is paramount is education, which is necessary for good citizenship.[10]

The messages may praise the *principalia* of the *poblacion*. One fiesta program states:

> Such great and prominent men as the late Governor Demetrio Larena, the late Senator Hermenegildo Villanueva, the late Representative Enrique C. Villanueva, the late Governor Guillermo Z. Villanueva, and the late Governor Praxedes Villanueva; all these dead national figures hailed and were reared in . . . (name of *poblacion*).

Such a sentence underlines the personalism typical of most Philippine politics.

Many of the messages, however, have a definite political slant, usually praising the national, provincial, or municipal politicians. In the printed fiesta program of one small *poblacion*, the then Speaker of the House of Representatives wrote:

> You are indeed fortunate in having Congressman... (of the same party as the Speaker) as your representative in Congress. I am happy to tell you that Congressman ... is truly a representative of the people.... He is one of the most able members of the House .... With him, the fortune and future of your town is in safe hands. I urge you, therefore, to extend to him your unqualified support and cooperation.

(This fiesta occurred just before the election in which the congressman was running for a provincial office.)

Below are a few samples of the political aspects of many of the messages printed in the fiesta programs.

Important strides have been made towards the beautification

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[10] This statement is an illustration of how effectively the American Administration (1898-1946) in the Philippines transferred *the American attitude that* education is a panacea for all economic and social problems. As for the *actual influence* of American educational theories and practices in rural Philippines, one noted Filipino educator has written about the "little dent the much-vaunted American-sponsored educational system has made in Philippine rural life." Laya, J.C. *Little Democracies* (Revised edition; Manila: Inang Wika Publishing Co., 1951, p. 6

The Philippines Air Lines (PAL),[85] the largest domestic operator, carries between 240,000 and 300,000 passengers per year in its domestic service.[60] Interisland vessels stop daily at Dumaguete where ocean-going ships also load copra. Bais and San Carlos have facilities for ocean liners. The most important port in Negros Occidental is Pulupandan where the ships plying between Manila and Iloilo usually dock. Ocean-going steamers call at Pulupandan and Escalante to load sugar. Sailboats carry goods and passengers between Manapla and Ajuy, Iloilo.[61] Foreign vessels load lumber from Fabrica at Sagay and medium-size interisland steamers dock at Banago pier in Bacolod.[62]

The roads of Negros are vital arteries of cultural change. In Negros, Dumaguete and Bacolod are the major mobilization centers of western culture. In these cities are concentrated the hospitals, high schools and universities, the magic of the cinema, magazine and book shops, stores crowded with merchandise unavailable in rural areas. South of Dumaguete in 1951 there was only one physician and no dentist. In the provincial capital barriofolk may see new automobiles, and crews from French or Norwegian ships, listen

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[60] Spencer, op. cit., p.254.

[61] Carlos L. Locsin and Filomeno T. Tabayoyong, Soils of the Victorias Milling District: A Handbook for the Planters of the District. Bacolod, Negros, Nalco Press, 1953, p.14.

[62] Alicante and others, op. cit., p.12.

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to the latest news on the radio or jukebox records, visit the United States Information Services library where free pictures are shown, hear the newest political rumors, or visit their children who have begun a new life with electricity, flush toilets and monthly salaries. The closer to Dumaguete, the better are a child's chances of longer life and a more adequate education. Children in the vicinity of the capital cities, for example, have no problem of paying for room and board while they attend high school.

One major problem in the Philippines is to extend beyond these few urban centers the nation's medical facilities, educational opportunities, and mass communication media which normally are not available to barriofolk. As one leaves Dumaguete and travels toward Caticugan, high school education and the basic medicines of the drugstore become more remote, electricity and medical services disappear, newspapers and magazines become rarer, and different outlooks and desires widen the gap between the barriofolk and their urban cousins. This limited spread of Twentieth-century technology and attitudes decreases arithmetical for the barrios along the National Road from Dumaguete to Siaton. The diminution is geometrical as one goes north of the National Road toward the barrios in the Siaton River valley. New roads open new land and new cultural horizons.

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proper by the muddy Caticugan Creek. This is a rocky sandy area where the Siaton River once flowed.

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Walking through the community one speculates that few visible changes have occurred during the past several centuries. The houses are basically the same, bamboo and nipa and rattan. The wooden plow that lies in the field must have been similar to that used by the owner's great-grandparents. Many pigs still feed from hollow stone troughs. Spears and blow-guns are found in some houses and ancient rites precede a wild pig hunt. Yet the modest chapel with its tire rim "bell" and the houses with family altars of plaster saints betoken the Catholic Spaniards. The old bow and arrow, used to shoot fish in the river, have been modified, for boys now hunt their prey with arrows of steel umbrella rib, propelled by strips of inner tubing. The barrio and elementary schools with coeducational facilities and stress on "integration" bespeak American influence. As one talks with the people and studies their way of life, the pre-Hispanic cultural base emerges: beliefs in unseen sprites of shaded spring and wooded hill, in blonde-haired dwarfs that race happily in the drainage canals, in the placating of departed souls with food offerings and various modified pagan agricultural rites. The very language reflects Hindu contacts. The wooden handles

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The first piratical Moro expedition on the Visayas and Negros occurred in 1599. The background of this attack was the abandonment of the Spanish garrison at La Caldera, Mindanao, due to lack of supplies and finances. When the Joloan Moros (See Plate I)[1] saw the Spaniards abandoning the fort they believed they would never return to Mindanao because they lacked sufficient forces. In July, 1599, more than 50 boats and 3,000 Joloans set sail for the Visayas where they raided Negros, Panay, and Cebu, burning, sacking, and carrying off captives to be sold as slaves.[28] In western Negros the Joloans sacked Ilog and Binalbagan, burning the convents and the churches.[29] Old stone towers which were used to watch for Moro raids can still be seen in Negros. The tower in Dumaguete (said to be built in 1811) is well-preserved and there are remnants of stone embankments at Manyujod.

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Moro raids continued for nearly 300 years, retarding Negros' development. Saleeby states:

> This daring attack of the Mindanaos [in 1599] worked great injury to the Pintado Islands, both on account of their deeds there and also on account of the fear and terror with which they inspired the natives; because of the latter being in the power of the Spaniards, who kept them subject, tributary, and disarmed, and neither protected them from their enemies, nor left them the

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[28] Antonio de Morga, "Sucesos de las Islas Filipinas" (Events in the Filipinas Islands). Mexico, 1609. Blair and Robertson, op. cit., XVI, pp. 192-3.

[29] Marco, op. cit., pp. 30-1.

1 [See p. 26, cat. 116 -- Analyst]

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> means to defend themselves, as they used to do when there were no Spaniards in the country. Therefore many towns of peaceful and subjected Indians revolted and withdrew to the tingues [mountains], and refused to descend to their houses, magistrates, and encomenderos...[30]

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Christianity seems to have made many Visayans more passive, for prior to the arrival of the Spaniards they were known as brave warriors. Mirandola states that the people of Cebu, for example, were "very warlike and vicious." Christianity also made the Visayans the bitter enemies of the Moros, who in turn regarded them as the children of the Spaniards who sacked towns in Mindanao and Sulu and sold Moro slaves in Manila. The history of Siaton reflects the fear and terror these Moro raids held for the early settlers of southern Negros.

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Negros remained a relatively unknown and undeveloped island until the middle of the 19th century. Varona states that in the middle of the 16th century many Spanish writers were so badly informed that they thought Negros was inhabited solely by Negritos. A study of the sources in Blair and Robertson yields a meager number of references to Negros and even fewer detailed accounts. Negros during these centuries was overshadowed by Cebu and Panay. It was not until the development of the sugar industry, destined to make the island the "Sugar Bowl of the Philippines," that Negros' development and population began a rapid increase.

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[30] Najeeb M. Saleeby, The History of Sulu. Bureau of Science, Division of Ethnology, IV, Part 2. Manila, Bureau of Printing, 1908, p. 281.

Indian and Arabic concepts were reinterpreted by their bearers, in most cases, before the customs reached the Filipinos. The last two alien cultures to leave their imprint on the Filipinos were Spanish and American, often termed the western Christian strata. 177

Pre-Hispanic traditions and customs are still visible in Caticugan. Contacts with Negros' Negritos appear to have stopped in Siaton during the first part of the 20th century. Few people in Caticugan had ever seen a Negrito. Evidence of a slight Negrito imprint on the barriofolk's way of life exists, however, in the latter's agricultural rites, use of certain plants, and folklore. Yet the barriofolk of Caticugan took very little from the Negritos that remains today; the cultural interchange probably was in the opposite direction, from Filipinos to Negritos, as was typical in most of the Philippines. 174

Drastic reinterpretations of the pre-Hispanic Malaysian cultural base have occurred in Caticugan. However, animism is still a vital force in the community, perpetuating a major Filipino religious concept prior to the Spaniard's arrival. The resistance of the Malaysian stratum to Mohammedanism, Catholicism and Protestanism is remarkable. Few aspects of <u>barrio</u> life escape the influence of animism--hunting and gathering activities, fishing, agricultural practices, attitudes toward disease, and the concept of nature itself. Imitative magic, another Malaysian trait that spread as far west as Madagascar, also exists in Caticugan. 174 774 178 789

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loto and the dulot are to offer a thanksgiving for a good harvest (or a better one next year), to honor and placate departed souls and the unseen spirits, and to accomplish magical multiplication of the grain. While there are certain minor differences between the loto and the dulot, the food offerings are almost identical. The dulot most likely is a variation of the rice loto that was transferred to the harvests of caingin and lowland corn after the latter grain was introduced to the Philippines by the Spaniards in the 16th century. Oracion's account of the rice harvest ceremony of the primitive Magahats corresponds closely to the loto and dulot of Siaton.

However, the ceremony for the harvest of lowland rice in Caticugan and neighboring barrios is quite different from either the loto or dulot. Most likely the stronger influence of Catholicism, better educational opportunities, and more frequent contacts with the principalia of the poblacion, are probable factors that have led the lowland barriofolk to modify the paganistic harvest ceremonies of their forefathers. The lowland rice loto in Caticugan has been changed into a basically Christian ceremony while the corn harvest dulot is quite different from the dulot practiced in the northern barrios of the Siaton River valley. A special investigation was made of variations of the dulot that illustrate the processes of change as they are occurring in the Siaton River valley. This material is presented later in this chapter.

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Corn planting in the paddies overlaps the preparation of non-irrigated corn fields for the first crop. The preparation of the latter type of fields in Barrio Caticugan, between the rice-corn division and the main path, is done later than in neighboring barrios. Soils are quite clayey and the fields cannot be plowed until the ground has been thoroughly soaked. In the sandy loam fields of Talo-ot and Datag, however, this difficulty is not encountered.

Non-irrigated corn fields are prepared like paddies planted with corn with two exceptions: (1) the corn fields are not irrigated and (2) rarely harrowed. Some farmers reported weedy non-irrigated fields were harrowed but this was not observed; the paddies are harrowed only to remove the rice stubble. The methods of plowing and planting, and the lihis are the same for the non-irrigated fields as for the paddies planted with corn.

## THE DULOT

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Chapter I stated a special study was made to gather comparative data on certain aspects of culture change among the people living in the Siaton River valley. After the first exploratory trip to Apoloy I became interested in the variations of the dulot as practiced in these barrios and Caticugan. The dulot, a pre-harvest corn ceremony, embraces some of the more basic concepts of the barriofolk. The study of the dulot also samples culture change in the Siaton River valley and, in particular,

Caticugan. This section will first describe the dulot and then explain the distribution and variations of the ceremony in the different barrios in comparison with Caticugan.

The dulot is held before the corn is harvested in either caingins or lowland fields. There appear to be three major purposes for holding the dulot. First, it is an act of recognition of unseen spirits who, if not properly honored, can make the cultivators ill. Second, the dulot is an act of respect and honor to the kalags (souls) of previous owners of the field. Since land is seldom sold in the lowlands these souls normally are the parents of the cultivators.[44] The dulot is "like rent for the land" or a "payment" to the souls of former owners. A widespread belief is that these souls, if angered, can make the field workers sick; fever and stomach troubles are the most frequent afflictions caused by the angry spirits or unhonored souls. Third, the dulot is a premicias sa baul ("Thanksgiving for the field," i.e., for the harvest) to God.

The dulot is an obvious blend of paganism and Catholicism. Animism and reverence for the souls of the dead are pre-Spanish beliefs. Catholicism certainly reinforced the honoring of the dead; this may have been one reason why Catholicism was disseminated so easily in the

[44] In the caingins the offering is made to the souls of one's departed parents.

Philippines. The concept of gratitude to God for an abundant harvest is a Catholic addition, even though this gratitude is also tendered to the spirits. 243 178

Cases of illness and a few deaths allegedly caused by these spirits or souls because a dulot was not held were reported. One incident affords an example. A resident of Barrio Caticugan became so ill he was unable to eat or sleep for three nights. This sickness occurred the day after a drinking bout in another barrio. Friends first brought him a wine called "Siok Pong," sold in the poblacion Chinese stores, and said to have medicinal qualities. Sick man could not drink the wine and his illness became worse. 243 753 [757]

He tried to think what could be causing his sickness; his heavy drinking ~~was not~~ considered as a possible factor. Finally, a mananabal (local herbalist, often called "quack doctor" in the poblacion) was called to question the patient. It was finally decided that his illness was due to failure to hold a dulot before harvesting his corn. An ancillary cause was thought the jokes he had told near a swampy place, unintentionally antagonizing the spirits that inhabited this locality.

The sick man contended it was unnecessary for him to hold a dulot for he was only a tenant; the dulot was the responsibility of the field's owner. The mananabal said this was not correct, the dulot was the responsibility of the person working the field, even if he were only the tenant. The patient promised to hold a dulot and it is reported his condition improved immediately. 243 755

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The group performed this ceremony with much amusement. Then all the guests were served a meal, including food prepared for the dulot offering.

More visitors came later, although not as many as were expected. Pas said this was because six other dulots were being held in Lamtoc the same night! The visitors were given kinalopis to take home; the man who conducted the dulot received an additional gift of food.

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The spatial distribution of the dulot in Caticugan is quite interesting. The dulot is practiced in Talo-ot, by most of the people who cultivate fields west of the main canal in Barrio Caticugan, and in lower Naga. People living east of the main canal in Barrio Caticugan and in upper Naga generally do not hold a dulot before harvesting corn. While the distribution of the dulot in the upper Siaton River valley is not known in detail, it is far more widely practiced in these barrios than in Caticugan. Lamtoc is a small sitio yet in one night six different families were holding a dulot. This attempt to delimit the dulot areas in Caticugan is only approximate. One woman living in Talo-ot cultivated as a tenant, a field between the main path and Caticugan creek; she held a dulot.

It is difficult to determine why the dulot is not held in upper Naga. Many factors are involved. First, there are only a few fields in this area. Second, more people are giving up the dulot in Caticugan than in the more remote barrios fact to be discussed later. Third,

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it is said if a field abandoned because of overflow of the Siaton River were later reclaimed, it was not necessary to resume the dulot even though "the field was once accustomed to it." This is the attitude of most barriofolk living in the Siaton River valley. Some of the fields in upper Naga are especially vulnerable to floods from the Mantuyop River since the bed is only five to ten feet below the level of the fields. Large boulders and other debris are deposited on the fields when the river floods, so reclaiming the land is difficult. Presumably when the fields were reclaimed the dulot was not resumed.[47]

It is somewhat easier to explain the present spatial distribution of the dulot in Barrio Caticugan. When Lucas Ege first purchased this land, he gave the fields southwest of the present main canal to the farmers who built and maintained a fence at the base of the bluff. This fence was necessary for there were many wild pigs, monkeys, and deer in the hills above. The fence protected he fields of the people living near the hills and those f Ege on the other side of the main canal.

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[47]Part of upper Naga was once planted with rice. How-ver, the cultivation of the land was stopped in the early 930's because it was believed "haunted" by spirits. One armer's three sons and his mother-in-law died of "fever nd headaches" while cultivating the land. Their deaths ere believed to be signs that the spirits who lived there id not wish the land to be farmed. The owner told me hat he was planning to "pray to God" and resume tilling he land, however, he did not farm the land during my resi-ence. While the soil of upper Naga is not the best it is p worse than the paddies of Dangola. There is very little ultivation of Pangligiran hill for the same reason.

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Lucas Ege apparently was a very religious and domineering individual. Since he did not practice the dulot he would not permit his relatives or tenants to hold the ceremony for their fields. Ege's grandson, still living in Barrio Caticugan, said Lucas substituted a novena (nine consecutive evenings of prayer) for the dulot. At the novena's conclusion he invited relatives and friends to a feast. This harvest novena was held in honor of St. Isidro who was selected as the patron saint of the barrio in 1951. Since the land southwest of the main canal had been given to the people who built the fence, Ege did not or could not prevent them from holding dulots in their fields. This is probably one reason why dulots are the most common in the southwest part of Barrio Caticugan.

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However, a more careful study of the dulots' distribution in southwest Barrio Caticugan shows a significant correlation with the location of hillside springs. Many of the barriofolk believe that in or near these springs (particularly places of lush vegetation) live creatures called kolisaos and kataos. The kolisao is a lizard-like creature with a human head and long hair while a katao is a dwarf with blonde hair who delights to play in the canals--and this is the place where canals are most numerous.

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If these creatures are disturbed or hurt, they can cause an individual to fall ill or even die; skin diseases, however, seem to be their speciality. Farmers with fields

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near the vicinity of these springs always run the danger of unintentionally or accidentally annoying kolisaos and kataos. Dulots held in this locality include invitations to these creatures to partake in the food offering. Kolisaos and kataos are invited to attend dulots only when fields are near their supposed places of habitation. More barriofolk in this part of southwestern Barrio Caticugan practice the dulot than their neighbors whose fields are some distance from the springs. Most likely, therefore, the greater retention of the dulot by farmers with fields near these hillside springs has been due to their beliefs in kolisaos and kataos.

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While the ideal pattern requires that a dulot once started should not be abandoned (excluding the exceptions noted) the actual practice is not the same. The dulot is slowly disappearing in Caticugan. The story of how one family in Naga stopped their dulot illustrates the decline of this custom. The sentences in () are questions I asked during the conversation.

> We [husband speaking] stopped our dulot. I was afraid I might make a mistake. What I did was to promise that every first corn harvest I'll sell a little corn, buy some candles, and light them in the church in honor of my dead parents.
>
> When I abandoned my dulot I went around the field saying: 'I am going to stop the dulot because I am ashamed and because I might make mistakes and because it is hard to get all the things needed. The land next to mine is continuing the dulot. You [the unseen spirits] just go there and eat if you want. They will make many sevens, more than five sevens. [This is a reference to the food offering.]

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(If you were afraid that you would make a mistake in holding the dulot, why did not you have some one do it for you?)

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When I had two children [the wife interrupted] a mission came [to the poblacion] and I went to confession. I had a hint from the priest that maybe I was holding superstitious practices. So I thought maybe the priest meant the dulot. I told the priest my in-laws were practicing the dulot. I was advised by the priest to tell my in-laws to stop this superstitious practice. The priest said every year to sell a little of the harvest, buy candles and light them in the church in honor of our dead relatives. So when I came home I told my in-laws. That is why we stopped having the dulot.

That's right [the husband broke in] but it was also difficult to get all the things used in the dulot.

Here are three reasons for stopping the dulot. First, the priest's disapproval of the custom; second, the husband's fear that he might make mistakes during the offering; and third, the difficulty in obtaining the necessary supplies.

Other families in Caticugan have stopped the dulot when they purchased land from an owner who practiced the ceremony. Several cases of this nature were cited and the w owners reported that they had not become ill as many lieved they would. However, if someone had become ill is highly probable that these people would have attrib-ed the sickness to the absence of the dulot and would ve resumed its practice.

In the northern barrios the dulot is a community af-ir while in Caticugan it is a family activity performed in crecy. I was unable to witness a dulot in Caticugan be-use I was not told when they were to be held. Yet I had no ouble participating in a dulot in Lamtoc where I was not

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as well-known. This situation underlines a distinct difference between the dulot as practiced in these two localities.

The people in the northern barrios of the Siaton River valley expect guests to attend their dulots; in fact, there is a certain competition in attracting neighbors to one's dulot. No secrecy is involved. In Caticugan the dulot is a confidential family affair. Neighbors and friends are not invited. Usually they are not told when a dulot is to be held. Often the wife and children of the man holding the dulot do not go to the field or participate in the ceremonies.

Several factors explain the slow disappearance and secrecy of the dulot in Caticugan compared with the more isolated barrios. The changes that have occurred in the dulot reflect similar changes in other aspects of the culture of the barriofolk of Caticugan. The northern barrios continue the older cultural patterns while Caticugan is nearer the battleline of acculturation which is more rapid in the poblacion.

This has been true for several centuries. The Spaniards are more vividly remembered in Caticugan than in Casala-an. The influence of the Catholic and Protestant churches in the poblacion is more effective in Caticugan. It is more convenient for the Caticugan barriofolk to attend services and easier for the church officials to reach their barrio. Occasional missions of the Catholic church, where visiting priests come to marry those who have

been living as common-law couples, to baptize and confess the unbaptized and unconfessed, rarely reach as many people in the more isolated barrios as in Caticugan. At least, in one specific case the mission was partly responsible for abandonment of the dulot by a Naga family.

Children of Caticugan can more readily get a formal education than the children of Casala-an or Apoloy. In these northern communities the parents who wish a complete elementary education for their children must make arrangements to room and board them in the poblacion. For the children of Caticugan school is only a short walk from home. The young people of Caticugan have greater access to newspapers and magazines, to the poblacion reading center, and the radio, than the youngfolk of the northern barrios where illiteracy is prevalent.

The barriofolk, particularly the younger generation, are very sensitive about being called "country hicks" by their more sophisticated poblacion friends. For example, one reason why most young people of Caticugan dislike abaca clothing is that the homewoven material is a symbol of a rustic. To the better educated residents of the poblacion the dulot is a "pagan practice" and most of them have no scruples about ridiculing those who practice it. As a result many of the barriofolk are ashamed of the dulot yet not convinced that it is safe to abandon it. Stories of those who have stopped the dulot without any serious consequences are matched by tales of persons who have fallen ill for the same reason.

Many people of Caticugan continue the corn harvest ceremony of their pre-Spanish ancestors but perform it within the privacy of the family group. I know of families in Caticugan who absolutely denied holding a dulot yet whose neighbors said they did. In the northern barrios there was no embarrassment in discussing the dulot. It was a barrio custom. In Caticugan many barriofolk recognized the dulot as a backward unchristian custom, yet they do not feel entirely secure in discarding it; to discard the dulot means to challenge their beliefs in encantos, kolisaos and katsoe. 243 178 184

The decline of the dulot also reflects the growing individualism so noticeable in Caticugan. The group has been losing the firm control once held over the individual. This change is apparent in the role of the family in courting and marriage customs. The old cooperative labor groups have almost disappeared in Caticugan; with increasing population and subdivision of land through inheritance the fields are often so small that volunteer labor activities are less necessary today. It also has become cheaper to pay for help than to furnish workers with meals. Caticugan is en medias res of a gradual transition from a bartering to a money economy that stimulates the growth of individualism. 571 178 181 184 [476]

The population of Caticugan has expanded considerably over the years, but the yield of the fields appears to have decreased. The acreage yield of corn in the northern barrios is more than twice as large as in Caticugan. An 184 178 243 433

insight into the once greater abundance of food in Caticugan is given from an offering made during the last part of the Spanish period. This offering included one pig, fifteen or twenty chickens (with white feathers), a basketful each of bingka, bodbod, and puto (all varieties of rice cakes), three plates with ten eggs each, and large quantities of tuba. In the past the ritualist who performed the dulot in Naga often received a basketful of corn for his service; none of the ritualists receives this amount today.

Some individuals who stopped the dulot in Caticugan said they did so because "it is too expensive today." The food offering to the spirits was not as costly as feeding the guests. The dulot described in Lamtoc required much corn to make the cakes, beside the other food served. It is possible that since the corn yield in these northern barrios is nearly twice that of Caticugan the community dulot is less of a burden. One reason given for having only a family dulot in Caticugan is that the expense of guests is eliminated. Dulots held for Caticugan's irrigated corn harvests would attract a large number of people since they would occur during a seasonal period of food shortage.

This detailed discussion of the spatial distribution of the dulot in both Caticugan and the northern barrios of the Siaton River valley illustrates how many factors must be considered in explaining change in one custom. There is no "royal road" to a clear understanding

of why the dulot is more widely practiced in the northern barrios or why more people in some parts of Caticugan continue the custom than their neighbors. The study also shows the value of the historical approach for Lucas Ege's personality is still influential in the dulot's distribution in Barrio Caticugan. Yet such an approach does not explain the total situation for pre-Hispanic beliefs in kolisaos and katsos and culture integration encourage many barriofolk to cling to the dulot.

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Other Ceremonies Associated with Corn

Other practices associated with corn in Caticugan are similar to practices among many primitive people for the magical increase of their food. For example, some of the first fresh corn picked or meal ground from the new harvest is placed in a pot with a sprig of busikad (Kyllinga monocephala Roltb). A pinch of dirt from an ant mound, a piece of a broken China plate, and three lagit stones the size of the end of one's thumb are also put in the pot. Lagit stones are hard, heavy and smooth, best found in the river shallows where the water runs noisily, and are said to be "alive," reflecting the animism of the pre-Hispanic Filipinos.[48]

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Some barriofolk omit the busikad and lagit stones but the pinch of dirt and the broken plate are almost

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[48] Boga stones, said to be "dead," are soft, chalky and light.

palm's trunk during the war when acute food shortages existed. Most of the bags and mats made in Cateugan are woven from the buri while the hats worn by the people come from Bohol.

The sale of guhang furnishes many barriofolk with their largest source of cash income. The Siaton poblacion map (Plate XVII)[1] shows the number of stalls selling guhang. The widespread use of the buri to make guhang is shown by the number of dead palms (576) cut in six weeks by the provincial agriculture office in just Siaton poblacion. Many dead buris were left standing at the end of this project. If Siaton's municipal ordinance that requires each owner of a guhang buri to pay a tax of $2.50 was effectively enforced, this local industry would bring a sizeable income to the municipality.

Older informants said when they were young little guhang was made in Siaton since only a few buris grew in the municipality. Some informants stated that the barriofolk of Siaton first learned how to make guhang from the people of Tolong. Once they learned the process they began to plant the palm. Other informants, however, said that Siaton men who worked in Dumaguete's Chinese bodegas (warehouses) learned to make guhang while in the city. When they returned to Siaton they introduced the process, teaching the people of Siaton how to make the mildly alcoholic drink. All available evidence, the possible derivation of Dumaguete's name (from manangueta, a specialist who makes guhang), the older settlement of Dumaguete,

[1] [this plate (p. 178) is missing]

members of the family. Two men with the assistance of the man and his son could have done the job. The meal was prepared by the husband while his wife scoured the barrio for items for the post hole ceremony. (See Chapter VIII.) The palihog started around noon and lasted about two hours, although the job took less than an hour; after finishing the men ate and talked. Later several of their wives and children arrived to eat lunch. 241 476

In part, the decline of the bolhon and palihog is due to the fact that Caticugan's population has increased relatively to cultivated land. Many fields have been subdivided among heirs; thus the fields became smaller and there was less need for cooperative activities. [178]

Post-war inflation discourages the bolhon and palihog. As a young man said: "The palihog costs too much today. It is cheaper to hire people and pay them wages." The rise in wages has been less than the increase in food costs. One can hire a farm worker in Caticugan today for fifty cents and two meals a day; several decades ago the wage for a day's work was about thirty cents. Prices of corn, rice, pig and cattle have more than tripled.

There are some cooperative activities that tradition perpetuates although hired labor could accomplish the job more cheaply. Prestige and social standing may be gained from holding these activities; this factor was not entirely absent in the motivation for the palihog just described. (See Chapter VII.) Most of the barriofolk of Caticugan, however, consider the cost first in getting help in their fields or to repair or construct dwellings. [554]

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that they (1) do not believe in it ("I trust to my luck, my dogs and God"); (2) do not know how to conduct the bood; or (3) are afraid of a mistake that might cause them trouble. One informant from Pinac-an said:

> I do not practice the bood. I just depend on my luck. The reason why I do not practice this bood is because I do not know how the old people do it. And besides I am afraid to try because if one makes a mistake in what he says during the bood all his dogs die.

While many hunters in Caticugan do not hold the bood, the men who hunt most frequently and are noted for skill normally practice the bood. However, the bood appears to be a dying custom in Caticugan, due to disappear within several generations. [[78]]

A bood is held for every wild pig killed, usually after the hunt in a participant's house. An annual bood is held in a secluded spot known only to the participants. One informant in Barrio Caticugan reported:

> The reason why they [the hunters] do it [bood] secretly is because they do not want other hunters to discover their place, even by accident. If their bood place is found by another hunter he will be lucky in his future hunts by feeding his dogs with the food found on the bamboo table used in the offering to the spirits. [Evidently the food is not eaten but remains on the abandoned table.] Dogs that eat this food will become successful in finding wild pig scents and brave in fighting them; they will never be hurt. But if only the dogs, and not the hunter, discover the bood place--or just happen to pass it--the dogs will become tired as if they are sick. This happened to my dogs once. The men who made the bood in the place discovered will become unlucky in their hunts and their dogs will get sick and eventually die. One time I requested Tonio [a hunter in Caticugan] not to mention anything that would make me unlucky or hurt my dogs. Tonio assured me that he was not selfish enough to do that in his bood.

smeared on branches where the birds often light. I doubt if any Caticugan barriofolk trap birds in this manner. 223

Birds are sometimes, but rarely, hunted with the blow-gun (supot) and fairly frequently by young boys with sling-shots (tirador). Lake Linao ("calm"; also called danao, i.e., "pool"), above Barrio Balanan, was created by the 1925 earthquake. This small lake attracts flocks of wild ducks. While Caticugan residents rarely hunt the ducks here men from Dumaguete come to hunt them with guns.

The blow-gun is made from the thornless bamboo, bagakay. This bamboo's long internodes make it excellent for blow-guns. Few blow-guns were seen in Caticugan; the weapon, however, becomes more common in the northern barrios of the Siaton River valley. One blow-gun measured was 6-1/2 feet long, made of several pieces of bagakay glued with a substance obtained from the kiwot insect. The darts (ganasan) are made from thin sticks of bamboo about 2-1/2 feet long, including a 10 inch iron tip; no poison is used. The dart's end is wrapped with kapok to hold compression in the blow-gun barrel. The blow-gun is employed only to hunt wild birds and, more rarely, to shoot river fish.[9] It is my opinion that blow-guns in the Siaton River valley will disappear in a few generations; at least, they seem to have very few useful functions today. 411 [178].

[9]The Magahats also have a blow-gun (sopot) that is made from bagakay bamboo or reeds. The darts also are wrapped with kapok and the main use appears to be for shooting river fish. No poison is used on the darts. Oracion, op. cit., pp. 75-6.

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The Fish Guns

"Fish guns" are another technique for catching fish in river and sea. The smaller variety is known as pana sa isda ("fish bow and arrow") or baslay (said to be the Ilongo term); a larger type is called posil-posil sa isda. English-speaking Filipinos, however, refer to both varieties as "fish guns." The "fish gun" is found in most parts of the Philippines; I have seen them from the upper Chico River (Luzon) to northern Mindanao.

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The "fish gun" is probably a 20th century innovation in the Philippines--an adaptation of the bow and arrow and the sling-shot. Once the people of Catiougan used bows and arrows to shoot fish in the river; in fact, informants say this was their only use. The bow was bamboo, the string twisted abaca twine, and the arrows bamboo tipped with iron points made from discarded umbrella ribs. "With the Spaniards in the old days there was plenty of the umbrella ribs." With the advent of the automobile during the American period came the inner tube. Rubber used to make the "guns" is obtained by bartering food for punctured inner tubes; rubber strips are sold by the Chinese in Siaton poblacion.

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The "fish gun" is usually made of bamboo; sometimes a hole is drilled through the center of a soft piece of wood. (See Plate XXXVIII.)[1] The umbrella rib arrow (agoha) is sharpened at the tip; the other end is notched for insertion of the drawstring. The Posil-posil sa isda normally have a trigger. (See Plate XXXIX.)[2] There are many different types of triggers.

1[See p. 559, cat. 227 or 116 - Analyst]
2[See p. 560, cat. 227 or 116 -- Analyst]

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is not concentrated in Sunday church services or certain holy days. Religion is practiced every day by the barriofolk, be they planting crops, hunting a wild pig, or building equipment for "harvesting" the products of river and sea. There is hardly an agricultural or aquatic activity that is not enmeshed, directly or indirectly, in the basic religious habits of the people.

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This fact makes it difficult to convince rural people of the wisdom of modifying food-producing activities. Acceptance of a new agricultural method may involve more than substitution of new for old techniques. New methods may involve changes in religious concepts. This situation, I think, partially explains the fully documented resistance to modification of their food-producing activities manifested by most barriofolk--a resistance that confuses and annoys many American experts. These persons fail to realize that it is one thing to change a planting or harvesting method and quite another thing to change a religious concept intertwined with the former. A more careful and comprehensive study of the interrelations of religious beliefs with technological activities in the barrios could facilitate to a more realistic program for improving the food-producing activities.

20: Hart E-5 (1951) 1954 OA1 Philippines
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## CHAPTER VIII

## THE BARRIO DWELLING

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The dwelling typical of the Cateugan barriofolk, the materials used, household furnishings, methods of construction, and the various associated beliefs and practices with the home are described in this chapter. The materials and style of the typical Philippine rural dwelling have not changed radically for centuries. In the early 17th century one observer wrote: "Their houses are built on four posts; their walls are of bamboo and thatch, and are very small."[1]

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The typical barrio dwelling (balay) in Catieugan is a one- or two-room pile structure from one to five feet above the ground. Walls are of bamboo and nipa palm leaves; the roof is thatched with nipa shingles or cogon grass. Although nails and wire are used, rattan lashing is the usual means of fastening the timbers and shingles. In 1939 Philippine Census states that nearly 69 per cent of the Filipinos lived in "light material" houses; 78 per cent of the inhabitants of Negros Oriental and 70 per cent of the people of Negros Occidental occupied such residences.[2]

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[1] Pedro De Sant Pablo, O.S.F., "Compulsory Service by the Indians," Blair and Robertson, op. cit., XIX, p. 72. This account was written in 1620.

[2] The Yearbook of Philippine Statistics: 1946, pp. 190-1.

tied to the house posts and the pig's trough is usually in the silong. In a few cases the silong was enclosed with a loosely woven bamboo grill. Many houses have small porches, most of them roofed, with bamboo benches; a few potted plants grow on the porch and the corn or rice grinders (galingan) are often kept there. (See Plates LIX and LX.)[1]

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[352 353]

Two types of grinders are made from a grey granite. One is used to grind corn into meal (bugos mais) and the other to make flour rice for rice cakes (binka).[9] Corn or rice kernels are dropped into the hole at the top of the grinder and ground between the teeth of the lower part of the mill. These grinders are gradually disappearing; most barriofolk take their corn (rarely rice) to the kerosene machine mills in the poblacion. I saw one corn grinder abandoned near a residence; the owner said she discarded it because their corn was ground in the poblacion.

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Another device often seen in barrio dwellings is the kagoran that is used to shred coconut. The meat is rubbed against the iron shredder and collected below in a dish. Shredded coconut is mixed with a little water and squeezed by hand to make "coconut milk" used in preparing rice cakes and other foods. (See Plate LXI.)[2]

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[9] The same type of corn grinder is used by the Magahats. Oracion, op. cit., p. 85, Plate 56, illustrates the galingan (as also called by Magahats) for grinding corn. The Magahats evidently do not have the rice grinder used in Cateugan

1 (See p. 661 ff, cat. 412 or 116-- Analyst)
2 (This plate is missing -- Analyst)

new slats installed. A local riddle accurately describes the general appearance of most of the Catiougan dwellings.

Since birth all patches. What is it? A house
(Sukad nabata tapak semina. Unsa man? Balay)

COST OF BUILDING A BARRIO DWELLING

The basic materials used to build a barrio dwelling are obtained in the locality, i.e., bamboo, nipa, house posts, rattan, etc. Wire, nails, and galvanized iron sheets are purchased in poblacion stores or, more frequently, obtained in Dumaguete. The use of wire, nails, iron roofing and cement, for example, in the construction of new dwellings in Catiougan, though still small, is increasing. More families would have purchased these materials during my residence except for highly inflated prices and restricted supplies. This trend toward using materials that are made and normally purchased outside the community (in contrast to going to the mountains to obtain materials) will continue to reduce the bartering that still persists in their basic economy and decrease the barriofolk's self-sufficiency.

In the past, a family who decided to build a new dwelling in Catiougan were assisted by neighbors and friends. Today, however, when an individual constructs a new house it is mainly a family task. If additional labor is needed the builder may hire local carpenters. House construction exemplifies the transitional process--from community cooperation, to family, and gradually to the

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assumption of certain skills by local specialists who are paid a cash wage.

Table XXXVIII[1] illustrates the itemized costs of three different dwellings built in Caticugan in 1951.[10] House C's cost probably comes closer to the cost of the typical Caticugan dwelling than the other two dwellings. This house had two rooms--sala and kitchen--lacked wooden shutters, cement post supports, and little lumber was used. Table XXXIX[1] lists the items and cost of building a poblacion dwelling inhabited by a Siaton municipal official. No bamboo or nipa were used; the cost of the two dwellings illustrate the difference in dwellings between Caticugan barriofolk and Siaton principalia.

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[369]
[565]

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The owner of House C did not hire any carpenters; he held a palihog that cost eight dollars. The work accomplished by palihog assistants could have been done in half a day by two laborers. The palihog, in this case, is an example of how "... the prestige factor inherent in the giving of a feast compensates for the lessened efficiency and the lower return."[11] While precise figures cannot be

[556]

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1[See p.667ff, cat. 435 or 342--Analyst]

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[10]Some men of Caticugan make extra money by working for lumber firms in Dumaguete. For example, a father and son in Barrio Caticugan were hired by one firm to cut first-class timber (salay, gisok, sambulawan, yakal, and amoning) in the mountains a day's walk from their home. They were paid eight cents per board foot with an additional two cents per board foot for bringing the lumber from Pinac-an (where they worked a permit issued to the Dumaguete lumber firm) to the poblacion. Another group of four men in Barrio Caticugan worked four days cutting lumber from felled trees in the nearby mountains; they earned a total of twenty-five dollars, or a daily wage of about one dollar and fifty-five cents. These were the only two groups hired to cut timber in Caticugan.

[11]Melville F. Herskovits, Economic Anthropology: A Study in Comparative Economics. New York, Alfred A. Knopf, 1952, p. 107.

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House Wall Types

Besides wood there are three types of house walls in Caticugan. Bamboos are pounded until they are quite flat; they are then cut along one side, spread out and lashed or nailed as walling (sasa). A second type of walling, siklat, is a loose basket weave of thin pieces of bamboo. These two types of walls are often built around the kitchen since they are less inflammable than nipa. The most common type of exterior house wall is nilogpit that is made of nipa. (See Plates LXVII and LXVIII.)[1] The vertical patobo (Plate LXVII, 7) have slits in their sides into which thin pieces of bamboo (logpit) are inserted. Nipa leaves are placed between the logpits and then tied to the liligans. Sometimes wire is used to lash the liligans and nipa instead of rattan.

The next step is to install the partitions (salud) if the dwelling is to be divided into rooms. The earth hearth is built and the altar (artal) constructed. A shelf (pantaran), that often extends outward from the kitchen wall, is made for the large clay water jar. A bamboo ladder is built to climb to the doorway.

Barriofolk said some changes in their dwellings have occurred since the "old days." In the past the roof was steeper, there was no porch or balcony, nor wooden shutters that slide in grooves. Bamboo floor slats were never nailed but always tied with rattan and no cement, wire, or bolts were used. As for furnishing there were no clay pot rests (hornos), mirrors, chairs or chinaware;

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[1 See p. 687 4. cat. 342 or 335 -- Analyst]

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basins were made of wood instead of the tin ones used today. No one had Coleman lanterns for light.

HOUSE-WARMING CEREMONY

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When a new dwelling is finished it is customary to hold a novena to bless the house and its occupants; during the ninth (and last) evening of the novena a taktak ug bokbok occurs. When the prayers are over, the guests jump up and down on the floor "to make the destructive bokbok beetles fall to the ground." Some smoke rattan lashings with the sap of the salngan tree or soot from a lamp as a termite preventative.

No taktak ug bokbok was held during my visit; the dwelling must be completed. In Talo-ot, for example, one family had been living in their house for more than a year but the kitchen was unfinished. The "house warming" was not held "because our house is not finished. We must wait."[24]

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If visitors sleep in a dwelling the first night it is occupied they must continue to sleep in the house for

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[24]A story is reported from Guindulman, Bohol, of the young married couple who moved into a new dwelling. The husband's mother-in-law advised them to eat meagerly the first three days in their new house. Only four bananas were to be cooked and eaten, one each for the husband, wife, maid and the last banana to be put in the cupboard. "'The ordeal is called a lihi,' Pemyong the husband explained. 'It sets a sort of pattern for frugal living. The limited meal of one banana and one pata [a salted black fish caught in the river] would remind us to economize always. The extra banana represents our savings which will accumulate through the years and make us rich.'" Joan Fernandez, "How to Get Rich," The Philippines Free Press, XLIII, No. 36 (September 6, 1952), pp. 22-3. This custom is unknown in Caticugan.

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# CHAPTER X

## BARRIO HANDICRAFTS

### INTRODUCTION

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In pre-Hispanic times Filipinos imported porcelains, copper, iron, silk and other textiles; handicrafts played a smaller role in the country's economy in comparison with other Asian nations. The contemporary curio and handicraft industry of the archipelago is of fairly recent origin. The Spaniards did little to stimulate the development of handicrafts; the American period saw the introduction of machines and other facilities that often discouraged traditional handicrafts.[1] Since the last war the Philippine Government has tried to stimulate barrio ~~handicrafts, often with~~ the assistance of United Nations' specialized agencies and the United States. Caticugan illustrates the decline of handicrafts in southern Negros and some problems that need be faced if local industries are to thrive.

Increasing dependence for their pottery, clothing, fishing equipment and other household and personal equipment, on poblacion stores and Dumaguete City is characteristic of the district studied. Nearly all cooking

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[1] Spencer states, however, that "... the American period also has stimulated the development of regional specialities that perhaps more than offsets the elimination of particular products." Spencer, op. cit., p. 14.

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Nearly all cooking pottery is purchased; most of it is made in Dumaguete for none of the local womenfolk make their own pottery. In the near vicinity of Caticugan only one woman regularly made pottery that she bartered for food. Weaving of fine fabrics from banana fibers has ceased completely in the barrio; the weaving of abaca cloth is rapidly declining, though a few women still weave abaca for skirts, men's shirts, and a few other purposes. Abaca clothing, however, is quite unpopular with the younger generation and the barriofolk's style of dress is being changed by the post-war traffic in used American clothing.

Few baskets are made today in Caticugan. The winnowing basket that is used daily is normally purchased in the poblacion or in Dumaguete. I never saw a woman making such a basket, though several Naga women were said to weave them. Tin basins have taken the place of wooden basins and metal spoons and forks are rapidly replacing those made of coconut shell. The most widespread handicraft in Caticugan is the weaving of sleeping mats and bags from buri fronds; this handicraft appears to be threatened by a decrease in palms.

The decline of barrio handicrafts has been recognized by the Philippine government. School programs attempt to perpetuate and revive certain handicrafts; however, the school programs I observed do not promise to be very successful. Advice on the development or modernization of cottage industries has been given by American experts as one means of reducing the chronic

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underemployment of the barriofolk.[2] Most of these cottage industries aim at producing export handicrafts or luxury items. Perhaps most important is the changing attitudes of the barriofolk toward their own handicrafts. Abaca clothing is felt, by many young folk, to be a symbol of a rustic. The barriofolk claim that they can buy better and cheaper pottery than they can make. With the expanding role of money in the general economy, fewer people make handicrafts for bartering. As a result, in Caticugan, the younger generation, particularly women, grows up without training in basic handicrafts of their forefathers, and with an attitude that such training is neither desirable nor important.

This chapter deals with the following handicrafts that still exist in Caticugan and vicinity: (1) pottery; (2) buri weaving and basketry; (3) abaca weaving; and (4) woodwork, i.e., making wooden saddles and carved wooden bolo handles.

## POTTERY

There are an estimated 20,000 potters in the Philippines. Much of the work is done by women who sit beneath

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[2] Recently a crafts team was sent to the Philippines under the auspices of the Economic Cooperation Administration and the United Nations. It consisted of a furniture designer, a wood products designer, and a textile expert, Marianne Hammarstrom. The unpublished Hammarstrom report has been briefly, and somewhat inaccurately, summarized by Will Savoy, "Philippine Weavers Learn New Techniques," Department of State Field Reporter, I, No. 2 (September-October, 1952), pp. 13-4. I was able to secure a typescript copy of the original report.

their houses and beat out clay which the men have prepared."[3] Pots are made of red alluvial clays, often mixed with sand; after drying in the sun they are stacked and fired. Firing techniques differ slightly throughout the archipelago. With the exception of a few Chinese potters, kilns are not used; only a few use the potter's wheel, and still fewer use glazes.

No pottery is made today by the barriofolk of Caticugan. The rice cooking pot (kolon) that always had a large sale is being replaced by the aluminum pot and frying pan. In parts of the archipelago the kerosene stove is replacing the clay cooking stove (horno), although this is not the case in Caticugan. (See Plate LXIX.) Only

PLATE LXIX

HORNO
scale: 1/8" : 1"

one woman in Barrio Datag regularly made pots during the dry season; she did not make them during the rainy season

[3] Mary K. Risley, The Ceramic Industry in the Philippines. United Nations Publications Sale Number: 1954.II.H.5., ST/TAA/K/Philippines/4/January 20, 1954, p. 5.

owing to firing difficulties. Most of my material on techniques of pottery was obtained from this cooperative Datag potter. 323 178

Most clay cooking pots now used in Caticugan are made in Dumaguete city. In this city there is a district, Daro, that specializes in the manufacture of cooking pots, clay stoves and large waterjars for drinking purpose. Some pots sold in Siaton poblacion are made in Mayabon, Zamboanguita, but are regarded as inferior to Daro's products. Mayabon is situated in a small enclave of Dauin clay that may explain the small pottery industry. (See Plate X, page 64.) A family came to Siaton from Daro in 1951 and started to make clay pots for sale in the poblacion; the business did not succeed and after several months they left. 323 369 438 [134]

The decline of pottery in Caticugan and environs is due largely to improvement of transportation facilities in southern Negros. The superior clay wares of Dumaguete became easier to buy in Siaton poblacion. Better transportation facilities increased both the number and frequency of visits to the city. The pots became so cheap that the barriofolk preferred to buy rather than make them. One old woman of Caticugan explained: "I stopped making pots because it is hard work. I would get sick always having my hands in the cold clay, squeezing it. And they are very cheap to buy." 323 369 438 178 489

As older women ceased their pottery activities, their daughters were not taught the technique. With a 323 [868] 178

gradual increase of money circulating in the barrios over the years, funds were available for the purchase of pots Another reason that may have had some influence on the decline of pottery in this locality was the Japanese occupation of Negros. A number of women who before the war made pots to barter during the harvest, stopped because of their fear of meeting Japanese patrols; they never resumed this activity after liberation.

Four popular sizes of clay cooking pots are sold in Siaton poblacion; Table XLI indicates their capacity and cost.

TABLE XLI

CLAY COOKING POTS SOLD IN SIATON POBLACION

| Capacity (pounds of clean rice) | Cost (U. S.) |
|---|---|
| 1.5 | 5¢ |
| 2.25 | 8¢ |
| 4.5 | 10¢ |
| 10.0 | 15¢ |

Pots holding as much as 25 pounds of clean rice are made in Daro but they are rarely sold in Siaton. The local merchants will not risk bringing these large, expensive, and rather fragile pots from Dumaguete since breakage would mean a considerable loss. Larger pots are used when one cooks for a fiesta or wedding feast. Today, however, the 5-gallon kerosene can is replacing this large size pot. The smallest clay pots are called anlet in Siaton and anglet in Masbate Island.

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When the fronds are dry the stiff mid-rib is stripped from each individual leaf. The leaves then are smoothed by running them over the back of a knife or seashell. Buri leaves are cut into fairly regular widths by use of a rattan guide (bataean). (See Plate LXXI.)[1] The bataean is hooked around a leaf and a small knife inserted just above the notch facing the worker; it penetrates the leaf to a second notch on the back of the bataean. By moving the bataean and the knife down the leaf together an even strip is cut. Buri strips, ready for weaving, are called lila.

After a sufficient supply of lilas is prepared, the plaiting of the bag or mat is begun. The only type of plaiting used is illustrated in Plate LXX. Strands used to plait mats and baskets are fairly broad and flat, producing a checkerboard type of design; actually little can be done in plaiting such strands except to pass them alternately over and under. Sleeping mats, unlike bags, are usually plaited with a double thickness. Only one woman in Caticugan made any attempt to decorate her buri bags. The sibokao tree's heartwood makes a brown dye; sometimes, though rarely, she used tanbark as a dye "because I do not have to buy the sibokao to make a dye." She dyed a few buri strips, plaiting them into the bag, making a simple geometric design. Plate LXX, C, illustrates the design made in some placemats she plaited for me.

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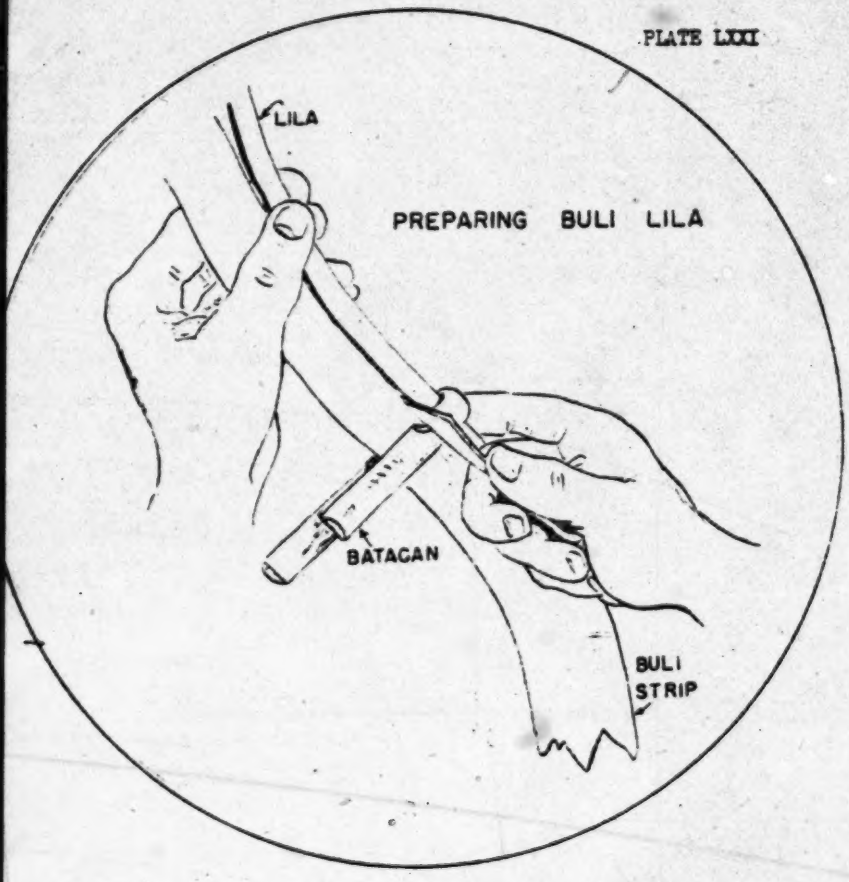
The decreasing number of buri palms in the vicinity of Caticugan may pose a problem for the barriofolk in the

1 [See p. 705, Cat. 285 -- Analyst]

PLATE LXXI

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not-too-distant future. Since the palm is usually killed to make suhang before it flowers, the reproductive cycle of the tree is disturbed. Most people agree that there were more buri palms a decade ago than today. If the palms become scarce the people will have a difficult time finding an adequate substitute for buri. However, this potential problem (I may exaggerate it) does not seem to worry the

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barriofolk. Possibly the developing jute industry of the Philippines will replace buri plaiting in the future.

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BARRIO BASKETS

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Three major types of baskets used by the barriofolk of Caticugan are: (1) the harvest basket, bukag; (2) the winnowing basket, niggo or ayagang; (3) and the shallow kalalaw used in abaca weaving. Several other types of baskets were made by schoolchildren in the poblacion but never used in the barrio; they are taught to make small bags and baskets that can be sold as curios. Basket-making is said to be predominately a woman's job, although some men make bukags. Baskets were made so rarely in Caticugan that I never saw any of these three types being plaited.

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The bukag, previously mentioned in connection with the corn harvests, is a loosely plaited basket of thin strips of bamboo and rattan about 2 feet in height with an 18-inch opening. The bukag is roughly made and does not take much time to plait. This type of basket, to my knowledge, is always made by the barriofolk; I never saw any for sale in either the poblacion or Dumaguete. They are used, almost entirely, to carry unhusked corn from the fields to the house or storehouse.

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The wide shallow basket used for winnowing the chaff from pounded rice or ground corn is called the niggo or ayagang. This basket also is plaited from rattan and thin pieces of bamboo. An increasing number of them are

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regions); and (3) the Visayas, i.e., Panay, Bohol and Cebu islands. While weaving is done in other parts of the archipelago, these three areas contain the majority of weavers and produce most of the woven fabrics of the Philippines. After the last war the weaving industry in the Philippines was rapidly declining due to the destruction of looms during the occupation, high costs of materials, influx of inexpensive cotton material from abroad, and obsolete designs, and inconsistencies in size and quality of locally produced fabrics.[9]

P 178 288

CB 286 [101]

Caticugan (and Negros Island) is not representative of any one of these three major Philippine weaving areas. Only a few older women weave abaca cloth in Caticugan.[10] There were ten looms in Caticugan (two were broken)--or about one loom to every twelve families. Not all of these looms were used in 1951. I estimate that of the eight workable looms only four or five were used, at one time or another, during my residence; no loom was in constant use by its owner during this year. The probable disappearance of weaving in Caticugan in the future encouraged me to spend more time in studying the technique than would have been merited by its importance in the community's economy.

CB [178 121]

The barrio loom (halablan) is made of bamboo except for the wooden beam and cloth rollers (likisan) and base

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[9] Lysbeth Wallace, Hand-Weaving in the Philippines. United Nations Publication, Sales Number: 1954.II.H.3., ST/TAA/K/Philippines/3, December 21, 1953, p. 2.

[10] Abaca is better known as Manila hemp (Musa textilis). Bark cloth is not made by the barriofolk of Caticugan, although cloth from the bark of the talobang tree is made by the Magahats. Oracion, op. cit., pp. 31-2.

supports. (See Plate LXXII, 4 and 22.)[1] Unlike the looms in Ilocos that are built underneath the house, using the upright beams supporting the dwelling for part of the loom structure, Caticugan looms are kept inside the dwelling. The loom is a Malayan horizontal type with two foot treadles that manipulate two cord heddles for speedy intercalation of the spool shuttle.[11] The weaving product is a coarsely-woven stiff fabric called abaca (Cebuano: binabol).

Nearly all women who wove abaca said they learned the technique from their mothers; one informant said she was taught by her father who had learned from his mother. A few men were said to weave, although no men living in Caticugan did so.

Stripping the fibers from the abaca plant and building the loom are a man's work, whereas the processing of the fiber, weaving and the final preparation of the cloth are a woman's work. Several older women in Caticugan were able to weave when they were in their early teens. There was one abandoned loom in Caticugan that the owner said was smaller than the normal loom; it had been used by a mother to teach the girl to weave. Normally, however a girl learns to weave on the regular-size loom.

No abaca is grown in Caticugan so the fibers must be purchased from abaca-growing communities. This may be a minor factor in the decline of weaving in Caticugan.

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[11] On this matter see the articles by H. Ling Roth, "Studies in Primitive Looms, Part III: 6. Indonesian Looms," The Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland, XLVII, 1917, pp. 323-66.

1 [See p.710, cat. 286 -- Analyst]

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Most abaca used for weaving is bought in the northern barrios of Bantolinao and Nasig-id. Several woman were furnished abaca by the owner who later received one-half of the cloth.

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Fiber to be woven must be stripped from the abaca plant with special care; for example, no pulp should remain on the fiber. Often growers who sell abaca to the Chinese in Siaton poblacion purposely leave pulp on the fibers so the bundles will weigh more.

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Dyes

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Three vegetable dyes, tagun, taloto, and antipolo, were once used to dye colored weft thread for abaca cloth. Tagun (Indigofera suffruticosa Mill) grows wild in the nearby hills; once in the past it was cultivated as a source of black dye. Domesticated tagun, according to the barriofolk, made a better dye than the wild variety. Water was heated and tagun leaves were added; a little lime was then sprinkled into this mixture and care taken lest the water boil. "If the water boiled," one woman explained, "the dye was not any good because the leaves became tender right away." Bark of the taloto and antipolo trees was powdered to make a red dye. Red fibers were sometimes re-dyed with tagun "so they would be reddish and very shiny." Today these vegetable dyes are rarely, if ever, used. Weavers buy chemical dyes in the poblacion; a package of four different dyes costs ten cents.

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Before the last war, less frequently at present, colored cotton thread was purchased in the poblacion to weave the weft stripes into the fabric. Today, however, cotton thread is so expensive that most weavers dye abaca fibers to give the finished fabric a colored stripe. Red and blue are the favorite colors used in abaca weaving with black a poor third. Designs are alternate weft stripes of color with the natural abaca thread of the warp.

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There are four basic processes in preparing the warp for weaving. First, tog-ot, the sorting of various sizes of thread from the hanks of abaca. Second, bonos, tieing together the same size threads into one continuous thread. Third, han-ay, hand warping in preparation for loading the loom. Fourth, samod, the installation of the warp on the beam and cloth rollers. The following paragraphs describe these four processes in some detail.[12]

Tog-ot: Sizing The Abaca

After the fiber is obtained by the weaver it is put in a rice mortar and pounded "just like rice"; this process makes the thread (lanot) softer and more pliable.

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[12] Paglala is the infinitive "to weave" buri bags and mats--for all types of weaving except abaca. The infinitive for weaving abaca is paghabol. Abaca cloth is called hinabol whereas a weaver is called maghahabol. I was not able to observe all of these four processes while in Caticugan. Several times, much to my disappointment, I would arrive at a dwelling a few hours after the woman had finished han-ay or sambod. In preparing my notes on weaving, I found considerable gaps in my information that I was able to fill, in part, through correspondence with my assistant in Siaton, requesting answers to a list of written questions.

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the leaves, a bowl was rolled over the pulp to free the fibers. Sab-a and San Pablo banana stalks were cut and permitted to dry for four days before decortication; the stalks had to dry or the fibers were too brittle to weave.

Sab-a, San Pablo and lawisid made a fine, silk-like fabric that was said to be "very shiny." Three sizes of threads were obtained from these plants; okyot, the largest size thread, magamays and palid, the smallest type. The loom used to weave these fibers had three heddles and treadles "so the cloth woven would be like cotton made by a machine"; otherwise, the loom was the same type used today. Weaving of the banana or lawisid fibers on a three-treadle loom was called hiringue.

The few women in Caticugan who remembered (or did) hiringue said little weaving was done during the hot season because the fine threads became dry and brittle; the best time to weave was during the rainy season. Fabric woven from the fibers of the sab-a, San Pablo and lawisid was not soaked in lime water but dampened and wound around a banana stalk. When the dry fabric was ironed it had a high gloss. No one weaves hiringue today in Caticugan; one of the most expert weavers of the barrio explained that "it takes too much time."

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This fifty-five year old woman, a resident of Naga and a noted weaver when young, said she once wove saba-a fabric with a flower design.

> There were many people who came to see me work because a man from the poblacion saw my weaving and told them that I was weaving wonderful things. So the poblacion people came. Some said: 'Oh, this is

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very nice.' But I said, 'buyag' as a precaution against an osikan. Some of the people wanted to buy the cloth. There were only two of us who wove very well in those days.[19]

From this weaver's account, it is evident that weaving fine fabrics from various banana fibers was nearly extinct twenty or thirty years ago. In "the old days," this weaver said, fabric woven by the hiringue technique sold for about thirty cents a yard. [435

The gradual disappearance of hiringue-woven fabrics was partly due to low prices; families stopped growing lawisid when the fiber's price fell. One woman's family planted lawisid several decades ago.

Sometimes I could not weave all the lawisid into cloth so we stripped and sold the fibers to the Chinese in the poblacion. From fifteen stalks of lawisid we once made $12. Six months later we stripped new plants that grew from the old ones and made $7. We finally stopped growing lawisid, however, because the price fell very low.

Woven fabrics were once bartered for food or labor. "When we had plenty of abaca cloth and my father had much work to be done," one informant explained, "we paid the workers with cloth." [437

Future of Weaving in Caticugan

A number of factors explain why little weaving is done today in Caticugan. One may predict the complete disappearance of abaca weaving for clothing fabric if these factors continue. First, the high prices of fibers [435]

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[19] An osikan is a person with an "evil eye," a Spanish importation from Europe to the Philippines. By complimenting a person an osikan is believed able to cause the victim to become ill; a protection against such a spell is to reverse the compliment by saying "buyag."

discouraged most women who know how to weave. Since no abaca is grown near Caticugan, it is necessary to make a long, tiring trip to the mountain seingins of the north. Weavers of Caticugan probably would have woven more if abaca had been cheaper and easier to obtain.

Second, abaca fabric is stiff and scratchy; soaking and pounding the material helps but it remains uncomfortable to wear. Third, the younger generation, for the most part, is prejudiced against abaca clothing that they regard as a symbol of rusticity. This attitude, with improved educational facilities and increased contacts with Dumaguete, may not be expected to decline. Most young people said they were ashamed to wear abaca clothing to church or to festive events such as the fiesta. As one informant explained:

> Some people will tease you if you wear abaca clothing. 'Why are you wearing abaca? You look like the old people in the ancient times'--this is what they may say.

Only the children of the poor wore abaca clothing to school in Siaton poblacion.

With the decline in the number of Caticugan weavers, young girls are not being taught to weave. I never saw a young woman weaving in the barrio; the weavers were always older women. Some young people said they did not wear abaca clothing because no one in their family could weave. Mothers explained their daughters were not interested in learning to weave for they preferred to wear clothing purchased in the poblacion stores. In the past a mature woman

who could weave skillfully was a more desirable mate than one who could not. Difficulties of obtaining abaca fiber, the cost, and the tedious and time-consuming processes of preparing thread, weaving, and processing the woven fabric--plus the growing satorial sophistication of the young generation--militate against weaving in Caticugan.

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The most recent event that probably has dealt the coup de grace to any increase of abaca weaving for clothing in the future is the sale of used American clothing; the barriofolk speak of this as "relief clothing." After the last war tons of used American clothing were sent to the islands for rehabilitation purposes. Some of the clothing was sold illegally to the people and a new post-war Philippine business was born. Today used American clothing is imported regularly to the Philippines with Cebu City as a distribution center for the Visayas. Agents go to the city to buy the clothing that they later sell in rural areas through Negros.

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Every Sunday in Siaton poblacion Dumaguete vendors came to sell used American cotton and silk dresses, blouses, and children's clothing. At every fiesta I attended there were vendors who had big piles of used American clothing through which the barriofolk hunted for correct sizes. My impression was that most of the clothing was for women or children. As a result a new source of inexpensive clothing competes with abaca garments--and is modifying the barriofolks' mode of dress. T-shirts are replacing the abaca shirt of the past as cotton trousers have already done.

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In Caticugan, those who weave abaca wear it the most. Many older women still wear old style abaca wrap-around skirts (patadyong) and blouses. Older men usually wear cotton trousers but often abaca shirts. The technical assistance of cottage specialists from the United States is mainly directed toward teaching Philippine weavers to produce materials that can be used for homefurnishings, industrial purposes, or export. One American weaving expert, sent to the Philippines to offer advice in modernizing cottage industries, writes:

> I am doubtful that abaca for clothing will ever be revived again. It is slow and cumbersome to weave, and with the present minimum wage law a must, it is almost prohibitive in cost. This minimum wage law, though wonderful in principle, is still making the introduction of new fabrics somewhat difficult, as it imposes a high outlay of money during the time of education, prior to production.[20]

The use of abaca for fish nets will decrease rapidly once cheaper twine nets become easier to obtain. There may be significant increase in weaving products from the major weaving areas of the Philippines but the production will be aimed largely toward such uses as fabrics for upholstery in automobiles, place mats, drapery, bedspreads, etc. Weaving in Caticugan as a handicraft probably is beyond resuscitation.

WOODEN SADDLES

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Horses in Siaton are more numerous than is typical of most Philippine municipalities. Some ride bareback but

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[20] A personal letter to the writer from Mrs. Hammarstrom, November 17, 1952.

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The barriofolk are quite unaware of the possibility that their Garuda-like carved bolo handles may symbolize Hindu influence in their cultural heritage. It is curious that only bolo handles are selected; none of the other weapons or personal equipment is carved for decorative purposes. Perhaps the explanation lies in the importance attached to a man's bolo in pre-Hispanic Philippines.

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Various household articles are made by the barriofolk of Caticugan. Long pieces of bamboo are hollowed and used to carry water from the springs and river to the houses. Spoons and dippers of coconut shell are fixed with rattan to bamboo handles. A few young men made ukeleles from local woods, buying only the gut strings. I never saw parents make toys for their children.

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SUMMARY

The meager barrio handicrafts in Caticugan are in a state of decline. Abaca cloth is woven less frequently than in the immediate past and certain types of weaving and fabrics have disappeared. Most barriofolk consider abaca a poor substitute for cotton garments; imported used American clothing is changing the people's mode of dress. Self-sufficiency of the barriofolk in pottery has been lost; today nearly all of them depend on pottery wares produced in Dumaguete. Bamboo drinking cups, plates and eating

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[23] Benitez, op. cit., pp. 21-2.

[24] Oracion, op. cit., p. 40.

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utensils (still used by the Magahats) have been replaced with glass- and tinware. However, in all of these examples the new products are functionally superior to those formerly made.

In each case the handicraft products have been replaced by items made outside the local community. Most cotton cloth, tinware, etc., sold in the Philippines (and Caticugan) are imported. Pottery comes largely from Dumaguete. With the development of the infant Philippine jute industry it is possible that buri weaving will decline. Gunny sacks make better bags than does buri.

These various changes have led to a diminution of the former independence and self-sufficiency of Caticugan's rural community. This trend has been described in other aspects of barrio life, fishing, agriculture, etc. The material products of the city are reaching the barrio as well as new attitudes and modified appreciations from the city folk.

In my opinion, only inexcusable sentimentality laments the passing of handicrafts that use obsolete equipment and time-consuming techniques to make inferior products. The barriofolk of Caticugan are enmeshed in the Machine Age; this is inevitable, desirable and long-delayed. Their growing dependence on the urban machine economy will not be reduced by revival of cumbersome, unproductive handicrafts. For revival or stimulation of weaving and pottery in Caticugan, for example, necessitates more than improved equipment and better designs. The pride and sense of achievement

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in handicrafts, an attitude usually transmitted by craftsmen to their children, have largely disappeared. Often inferior articles made in the United States are preferred to Philippine-made articles, even when the latter are of better materials and more careful workmanship. The most promising long-range program needed to raise barrio living standards is to increase the productivity of their major activity--more and better farmed land with more abundant harvests.

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Catholicism has been reinterpreted through retention of pre-Hispanic beliefs. Agricultural methods and extension activities are primitive, illustrating why Philippine crop production and rural living standards are so low.

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Tenth, in the larger barrio

527 and *poblacion* the fiesta has a definite political function, especially in furnishing politicians with opportunities for making speeches, mending political "fences," and encouraging the officialdom of the local and provincial governments. *Eleventh*, the fiesta is one means of introducing into small *barrios* some of the techniques of democracy, of working together with one's neighbors in committees, and making a profit which is used to improve social or cultural conditions in the community. The printed fiesta programs have an educational function with their short, if not too critical, histories of the local region, listing all the provincial and municipal officials etc.

527 525 After *kahologan* there may be a few dances, a "Barn Dance," a "Fashion Show," but the fiesta spirit is gone. The gambling activities may continue for several days after the end of the fiesta, but with less fervor. In the *barrios*, for the most part , the normal routine takes over after *kahologan*. Lechon pits are filled. The bamboo arches slowly succumb to the elements or to fence-building scavengers. The professional gamblers depart with their tables and games for another fiesta. The gay window curtains, doilies, and tablecloths are packed away in the family trunk until next year. The *barrio* chapel decorations wilt and gather dust. For a while the barriofolk speak of *liwas piyesta* ("after the fiesta") in dating events in time. Soon the fiesta becomes only a pleasant memory. Before this memory has faded completely, preparations are afoot for the next fiesta. [178] Nearly every *barrio* and *poblacion* has an innate consistent "strain" toward making the next fiesta "more modern," or "progressive." This may mean a better orchestra, maybe electric lights for the first time, a bigger beauty contest, a more important speaker, a printed instead of typed fiesta program, or a larger statue of their patron saint.

Few Americans who have attended a Philippine fiesta forget the gay event or the warm friendship and spontaneous hospitality of their hosts. It is the writer's hope that this tentative sketching of the rural Philippine fiesta complex may interest Filipinos in making a more detailed study of one of the unique aspects of their culture.[11]

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[11] The author would be most grateful for any critical comments on this article from Filipino readers of the *Silliman Journal*. All letters received will be carefully read and promptly answered.

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## CHAPTER IV

## THE PRACTICE OF AGRICULTURE

The barriofolk of Caticugan are subsistence farmers.[1] Most of their fields are so small that they might be better called gardeners. Yet their relationship with the land is not as intensely intimate as that of the Chinese or Japanese farmer. If the man-land relationship in China, for example, may be roughly characterized as a grim battle with an ever-constant threat of famine, the relationship in Caticugan is a persistent yet more amiable struggle. The careful hand-tillage and the planting of every tiny plot of land, as in most parts of China or Japan, does not occur in Caticugan. The pressure of the people on the land in Caticugan is less severe than in other parts of Asia or the Philippines.

This chapter describes and analyzes the agricultural practices and associated practices of Caticugan barriofolk. If any one chapter in this report highlights the general contours of living in Caticugan it is this. For, in many ways, the agricultural practices of the barriofolk embody the general ethos of their culture.

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[1] Caticugan includes Sitios Naga, Dangola and Talo-ot; when reference is made to Barrio Caticugan it does not include these three sitios, only the barrio proper as the people call it.

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Their fields are plots once cultivated by their ancestors; it is their meager inheritance of security that they will transfer to their children. The staple--corn--that keeps them alive comes mainly from their land. Their agricultural practices are interwoven with rituals that reflect their concept of the supernatural. For the barriofolk of Caticugan their fields are their life; and most of their lives are spent plowing, harrowing, planting and harvesting their crops.

## HISTORICAL SUMMARY OF PHILIPPINE AGRICULTURAL LAND USE

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The history of agricultural ~~land~~ use in the Philippines is that of five major agricultural systems.[2] These systems are: (1) intensive highland irrigated terraces; (2) lowland intensive agriculture; (3) kaingin; (4) plantations; and (5) commercial mechanized agriculture. The evolution of the last two types of agricultural systems in the Philippines is easier to trace that that of the first three types, which developed during prehistoric eras. Preceding these five systems of land use were pre-Neolithic hunting and foodgathering but "their impact upon the environment was minor and temporary."[3]

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[2]The material on the development of agricultural land use patterns in the Philippines is summarized from Spencer, op. cit., pp. 4-12.

[3]Spencer, op. cit., p. 3.

Many people of Caticugan continue the corn harvest ceremony of their pre-Spanish ancestors but perform it within the privacy of the family group. I know of families in Caticugan who absolutely denied holding a dulot yet whose neighbors said they did. In the northern barrios there was no embarrassment in discussing the dulot. It was a barrio custom. In Caticugan many barriofolk recognized the dulot as a backward unchristian custom, yet they do not feel entirely secure in discarding it; to discard the dulot means to challenge their beliefs in encantos, kolisaos and katsos.

The decline of the dulot also reflects the growing individualism so noticeable in Caticugan. The group has been losing the firm control once held over the individual. This change is apparent in the role of the family in courting and marriage customs. The old cooperative labor groups have almost disappeared in Caticugan; with increasing population and subdivision of land through inheritance the fields are often so small that volunteer labor activities are less necessary today. It also has become cheaper to pay for help than to furnish workers with meals. Caticugan is en medias res of a gradual transition from a bartering to a money economy that stimulates the growth of individualism.

The population of Caticugan has expanded considerably over the years, but the yield of the fields appears to have decreased. The acreage yield of corn in the northern barrios is more than twice as large as in Caticugan. An

51:Hart E-3 (1950-1952)1954 OA1 Philippines
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527 443 ble in the local stores. There are rosaries, religious pictures, ice cream, novel candies, etc. This is the time when the girls and women from the *barrios* make great mounds of rice cakes and sell them at the local fiestas, adding the small profit to the family exchequer. Some of the women from Caticugan went as far away as the fiestas of Giliga-on and Bonawon to sell their food, *guhang* (a mildly alcoholic drink made from the fermented sap of the buri palm), and vegetables. They set up little "cafes" near the fiesta area where one might buy food or drink. Vendors from Dumaguete come to the *barrios*, and particularly the *poblacions*, with their merchandize, establishing their temporary stalls along the roads near the cockpit or gambling area. A lucky catch in a *bonsod* (fish coral) during a *poblacion* fiesta can bring the owner a small fortune overnight.

527 436 The circulation of currency in the *barrios* — where the barter system is still prominent — is at its height during the fiesta. The vendors and gamblers and other activities of the fiesta require money; one cannot barter for a place at the gambling table or for admission to the dance. This is when the bamboo banks are broken and the money used to purchase the necessary fiesta supplies. The fiesta is one of the relatively few occasions (others are weddings, funerals, etc.) when the barriofolk slaughter pigs, goats, cattle and even carabaos. The family "fiesta pig" is killed for *lechon*, having been fattening all year. There is more fish and fresh meat in the market places than at any other time of the year. Young people often go to the city to earn sufficient money to spend during fiesta. The fiesta has become a secular, in ways commercial, enterprise, which requires currency in order for one to participate in many activities. During most of the year, many of the barriofolk in Caticugan earn or spend little money; they barter their way from one need to another need.

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517 181 In summary, the *barrio* or *poblacion* fiesta complex has a variety of functions. *First*, the fiesta is the "big blow-out" of the year, anticipated by young and old for often different reasons. There is a singing gaiety in the air, a lightness of step, and a mood of relaxation in a fiesta-invaded locality. As the writer was once told at a fiesta: "This is the time when 'thanks' is redundant." Second, the fiesta affords many persons, particularly in the *poblacion*, an opportunity to validate their social position through a conspicious consumption of wealth, a lavish expression of hospitality. This association of hospitality with food may be traced back to the pre-Spanish culture of the Filipinos. Municipal and provincial officials, prominent visitors and other guests, are treated with extravagant courtesy and an overabundance of generosity. *Third*, the fiesta is an econo-

51:Hart E-3 (1950-1952)1954 OA1 Philippines
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574 181 Third, the fiesta is an economic investment. One's guests will, in the future, be one's hosts during their fiesta. In fact, this is one of several reasons given for organizing new *barrio* fiestas in southern Negros. The people felt ashamed to attend fiestas in neighboring communities without having a fiesta of their own when they could reciprocate enjoyed hospitality. In the long run, the bread thrown on the water returns. In some cases doubled. From this point of view the fiesta may not be as wasteful as many Filipinos believe.

796 181 *Fourth*, the fiesta serves a religious function, particularly in the *barrios* distant from the *poblacion* church. The fiesta is often the only time in the year the priest visits the local chapel and holds mass in the community for the barriofolk. Sometimes combining a baptismal or wedding celebration with the fiesta serves to reduce the family expenses by making a normal entertainment unnecessary by coordination with the fiesta. *Fifth*, the fiesta re-inforces the people's feeling of solidarity within the *barrio* or *poblacion*, although sometimes the event may enhance competitiveness between different communities. Most Filipinos take great pride in their *barrio* or *poblacion* fiesta. *Sixth*, the *barrio* and *poblacion* fiesta often reunite, for the only time of the year, members of the immediate families. The ideal pattern is for one always to return to one's home fiesta. It is not at all uncommon to meet relatives from Siquijor, Cebu, Panay, Leyte, or even more distant places, at Negros Oriental fiestas.

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796 794 181 *Seventh*, the fiesta furnishes the church with a sizeable annual income. The money collected for baptisms, masses, and the church's participation in the various religious activities of the fiestas is an important aspect of the financial support of the church by the people. The fiesta often renews the authority of the church in more isolated areas where this authority and responsibility lies dormant for most of the year. *Eight*, the fiesta in the larger *barrio* and *poblacion* is a commercial stimulant to the economic life of the community. Prices are often raised, purchases of food and clothing more frequent and larger than normal. The fiesta creates new wants and needs which do not exist during most of the year.

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436 181 *Ninth*, the fiesta is a means by which the indebtedness of many families is increased, by borrowing money to entertain their guests properly. Some families may mortgage their land for "agricultural" loans and others sell farmyard animals to raise a little cash for the fiesta. However, the waste may not be as great as imagined by many Filipinos. One's guests may next month be one's hosts. The fiesta also stimulates many people to work harder, and for others it is an oppotunity to augment the pitifully small family cash income by selling food and drink. *Tenth*, in the larger *barrio*

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Tenth, in the larger barrio

527 666 181 and *poblacion* the fiesta has a definite political function, especially in furnishing politicians with opportunities for making speeches, mending political "fences," and encouraging the officialdom of the local and provincial governments. *Eleventh*, the fiesta is one means of introducing into small *barrios* some of the techniques of democracy, of working together with one's neighbors in committees, and making a profit which is used to improve social or cultural conditions in the community. The printed fiesta programs have an educational function with their short, if not too critical, histories of the local region, listing all the provincial and municipal officials etc.

527 525 After *kahalogan* there may be a few dances, a "Barn Dance," a "Fashion Show," but the fiesta spirit is gone. The gambling activities may continue for several days after the end of the fiesta, but with less fervor. In the *barrios*, for the most part , the normal routine takes over after *kahalogan*. Lechon pits are filled. The bamboo arches slowly succumb to the elements or to fence-building scavengers. The professional gamblers depart with their tables and games for another fiesta. The gay window curtains, doilies, and tablecloths are packed away in the family trunk until next year. The *barrio* chapel decorations wilt and gather dust. For a while the barriofolk speak of *linas piyesta* ("after the fiesta") in dating events in time. Soon the fiesta becomes only a pleasant memory. Before this memory has faded completely, preparations are afoot for the next fiesta. [178] Nearly every *barrio* and *poblacion* has an innate consistent "strain" toward making the next fiesta "more modern," or "progressive." This may mean a better orchestra, maybe electric lights for the first time, a bigger beauty contest, a more important speaker, a printed instead of typed fiesta program, or a larger statue of their patron saint.

Few Americans who have attended a Philippine fiesta forget the gay event or the warm friendship and spontaneous hospitality of their hosts. It is the writer's hope that this tentative sketching of the rural Philippine fiesta complex may interest Filipinos in making a more detailed study of one of the unique aspects of their culture.[11]

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[11] The author would be most grateful for any critical comments on this article from Filipino readers of the *Silliman Journal*. All letters received will be carefully read and promptly answered.

These attitudes and customs associated with securing aquatic products in Siaton illustrate how Catholicism overlaid the ancient religious concepts. Animism and Catholicism operate in different conceptual frames of reference and barriofolk shift from one to the other without any severe conflict. This situation may explain the relative ease with which the Spanish padres "converted" Filipinos to Catholicism in the past.

The technology of aquatic products, like that of agriculture, also illustrates the sexual division of labor. Some activities are strictly male or female; for a male to participate in women's activities would render him suspect. For example, the only men in Caticugan who were vendors of vegetables, guhang or rice cakes, were individuals known to the barriofolk as bayutes, highly feminine-acting men. There are some activities that either a male or a female may perform as far as the participants' physical strength is concerned, or take into consideration the restricted mobility of most women. The concept of menstrual pollution is another factor; e.g., women should not climb guhang trees (spoil flavor of drink), approach men making boats (the wood might crack), or approach the fish corral (the bonsod's luck might be lost). Age may modify one's role in certain activities. For example, old men may and do help women gather clams and snails at the seashore, an activity in which most young men would not think of participating.

The religious concepts of Caticugan barriofolk are integrated into most aspects of their culture. Religion

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is not concentrated in Sunday church services or certain holy days. Religion is practiced every day by the barriofolk, be they planting crops, hunting a wild pig, or building equipment for "harvesting" the products of river and sea. There is hardly an agricultural or aquatic activity that is not enmeshed, directly or indirectly, in the basic religious habits of the people.

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This fact makes it difficult to convince rural people of the wisdom of modifying food-producing activities. Acceptance of a new agricultural method may involve more than substitution of new for old techniques. New methods may involve changes in religious concepts. This situation, I think, partially explains the fully documented resistance to modification of their food-producing activities manifested by most barriofolk--a resistance that confuses and annoys many American experts. These persons fail to realize that it is one thing to change a planting or harvesting method and quite another thing to change a religious concept intertwined with the former. A more careful and comprehensive study of the interrelations of religious beliefs with technological activities in the barrios could facilitate to a more realistic program for improving the food-producing activities.

or two-fifths of all we dig and slice. The caingin owners are busy then making a new caingin, this is why they are glad to see us. It is as if we had planted our own cassava. We live there and help make slices. Some of the people bring their own food and others get food from the caingin owners. We live in their houses.

Last year my wife went to Dodong's field in Padang. Mostly women went because it was during the plowing season. It was March. I did not go, just my wife. Our share was four sacks of mixed dried cassava and camotes chips. People in Padang live differently than the people in Naga. In the mountains one can plant many things. Here we just plow in season. In the mountains one can plant red squash, gabi, pesula [a variety of squash] sikwa [commonly called patola: Luffa acutangula Linn.]. There are no big houses in the mountains. They are not permanent because after three years the caingin owners have to look for another place to caingin.

Women and children are usually the ones that go to the mountains to harvest the caingins. I was told by some informants that "men would be olao [ashamed or embarrassed] to harvest rice in someone else's caingin. The people would say they did not know how to make their own caingin." However, some men do go, particularly the unmarried men (olitaos) who are said to "follow the dalagas [unmarried] young women." This is an interesting comment; for a young man courts a girl in the barrio under many handicaps. To be able to work and talk with her, away from the surveillance of the family, would have many advantages.[14]

Rice is cut one stalk at the time with a small knife. Rice heads are put into small baskets strapped to the harvester's side; later they are emptied into larger baskets. Rice is threshed and corn is harvested by the

[14]I never observed a caingin corn or rice harvest,

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The entire community is active at this time. School attendance drops sharply during the transplanting season, for the children must help. The paddies are dotted with busy men, women and children; the women wrap their heads with cloths for protection against the hot sun. Young children scurry across the paddies carrying baskets full of seedlings. The chocolate-colored paddies soon change to a pale green over which later the maya birds swoop in squadron-like maneuvers.

Although in 1951 transplanting activities in Caticugan continued for more than a month, they began abruptly. The barriofolk wait for someone else to begin; when the [183] ● first farmer starts to transplant all the others follow his lead. They believe it is best for all to transplant at the same time so that the damage to the paddies by insects and birds will be distributed equally. If a person planted his paddy several weeks earlier than the rest, his rice would be growing when the other paddies were bare or only newly transplanted. Insects and birds would concentrate on his paddies instead of having such damage spread evenly among all the paddies.

This attitude is one reason why the Macan Sta. Rosa variety is planted so widely. The people of Barrio Caticugan do not like to interplant with Macan Sta. Rosa earlier maturing varieties. In the past older residents of Barrio Caticugan said many rice varieties with different maturity

The most common corn variety planted in Caticugan's fields is Bisaya, also called Pakilab ("glittery") and Tiniguib. The provincial agriculture office classifies Bisaya corn as Cebu White Flint which was found in 1939 to be the second heaviest yielder in all seasons in the Philippines.[40] Some farmers in Datag, Sandolot and Casala-an plant a variety called Bagsiao in their lowland fields.[41] A few farmers plant Talariray and Kalipos, possibly additional names for Bisaya. Kalipos is said "to be like Bisaya but not pure" so it is probably a local strain. 243

Planting the seed corn is largely a woman's job. Usually the men are plowing the furrows while the women and children follow behind to plant the seed corn. Planting of corn is a tiresome task but not backbreaking like transplanting rice seedlings. However, this factor is secondary in explaining why the women do the planting. There is no feeling among the men that planting corn is a "woman's job." In fact when asked the men will reply "Oh, everyone plants corn." But this is not entirely correct. A record was kept of individuals and their sex who planted corn in Caticugan over a period of several weeks. These figures are given in Table XVII.[1] 243 462 [183]

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[40] Uichanco and Sacay, op. cit., I, p. 113.

[41] The barriofolk said no Bagsiao was planted in Caticugan because it took longer to mature and did not stand the heat as well as Bisaya.

1 [See p. 334, cat. 243 or 462 -- Analyst]

Not everyone practices the dulot in Catiesugan or in 243
the other barrios in the Siaton River valley. Some in- 184
formants reported that the present owners or tenants of a 183
field are not required to hold a dulot if the previous cultivators did not practice this custom. These individuals held no dulot because their "elders did not" or "our field is not accustomed to it." Most barriofolk, however, explained that once a dulot is held, they and future cultivators (be they tenants or owners) are obligated to continue the practice--the ideal but not the actual practice.

Explaining the dulot as a pre-harvest ceremony is 243
incomplete. Many barriofolk believe fresh corn should not 784
be sold or given to friends until the dulot is held. It is possible, however, for the cultivator and his family to eat fresh corn at home, and to serve guests, prior to the dulot. While traveling among the barrios along the Siaton River my assistant sometimes requested fresh corn from his friends. Several times he was refused because the dulot had not been held. Once, however, he was given fresh corn by a relative before his dulot had been performed.

The dulot ceremony is a food offering in the corn 243
field, although some say it may be held in the house. 782
What often happens is that the offering is made to the spirits in the field and a religious ceremony follows at the family altar for the deceased. This was done during one dulot I observed. The dulot is always held at night; the food is placed on a table in the field as for the

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The group performed this ceremony with much amusement. Then all the guests were served a meal, including food prepared for the dulot offering.

More visitors came later, although not as many as were expected. Pas said this was because six other dulots were being held in Lamtoc the same night! The visitors were given kinalopis to take home; the man who conducted the dulot received an additional gift of food.

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The spatial distribution of the dulot in Caticugan is quite interesting. The dulot is practiced in Talo-ot, by most of the people who cultivate fields west of the main canal in Barrio Caticugan, and in lower Naga. People living east of the main canal in Barrio Caticugan and in upper Naga generally do not hold a dulot before harvesting corn. While the distribution of the dulot in the upper Siaton River valley is not known in detail, it is far more widely practiced in these barrios than in Caticugan. Lamtoc is a small sitio yet in one night six different families were holding a dulot. This attempt to delimit the dulot areas in Caticugan is only approximate. One woman living in Talo-ot cultivated as a tenant, a field between the main path and Caticugan creek; she held a dulot.

It is difficult to determine why the dulot is not held in upper Naga. Many factors are involved. First, there are only a few fields in this area. Second, more people are giving up the dulot in Caticugan than in the more remote barrios fact to be discussed later. Third,

it is said if a field abandoned because of overflow of the Siaton River were later reclaimed, it was not necessary to resume the dulot even though "the field was once accustomed to it." This is the attitude of most barriofolk living in the Siaton River valley. Some of the fields in upper Naga are especially vulnerable to floods from the Mantuyop River since the bed is only five to ten feet below the level of the fields. Large boulders and other debris are deposited on the fields when the river floods, so reclaiming the land is difficult. Presumably when the fields were reclaimed the dulot was not resumed.[47]

It is somewhat easier to explain the present spatial distribution of the dulot in Barrio Caticugan. When Lucas Ege first purchased this land, he gave the fields southwest of the present main canal to the farmers who built and maintained a fence at the base of the bluff. This fence was necessary for there were many wild pigs, monkeys, and deer in the hills above. The fence protected he fields of the people living near the hills and those f Ege on the other side of the main canal.

[47]Part of upper Naga was once planted with rice. However, the cultivation of the land was stopped in the early 930's because it was believed "haunted" by spirits. One armer's three sons and his mother-in-law died of "fever nd headaches" while cultivating the land. Their deaths ere believed to be signs that the spirits who lived there id not wish the land to be farmed. The owner told me hat he was planning to "pray to God" and resume tilling he land, however, he did not farm the land during my resisnce. While the soil of upper Naga is not the best it is p worse than the paddies of Dangola. There is very little ultivation of Pangligiran hill for the same reason.

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Lucas Ege apparently was a very religious and domineering individual. Since he did not practice the dulot he would not permit his relatives or tenants to hold the ceremony for their fields. Ege's grandson, still living in Barrio Caticugan, said Lucas substituted a novena (nine consecutive evenings of prayer) for the dulot. At the novena's conclusion he invited relatives and friends to a feast. This harvest novena was held in honor of St. Isidro who was selected as the patron saint of the barrio in 1951. Since the land southwest of the main canal had been given to the people who built the fence, Ege did not or could not prevent them from holding dulots in their fields. This is probably one reason why dulots are the most common in the southwest part of Barrio Caticugan.

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However, a more careful study of the dulots' distribution in southwest Barrio Caticugan shows a significant correlation with the location of hillside springs. Many of the barriofolk believe that in or near these springs (particularly places of lush vegetation) live creatures called kolisaos and kataos. The kolisao is a lizard-like creature with a human head and long hair while a katao is a dwarf with blonde hair who delights to play in the canals--and this is the place where canals are most numerous.

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If these creatures are disturbed or hurt, they can cause an individual to fall ill or even die; skin diseases, however, seem to be their speciality. Farmers with fields

near the vicinity of these springs always run the danger of unintentionally or accidentally annoying kolisaos and kataos. Dulots held in this locality include invitations to these creatures to partake in the food offering. Kolisaos and kataos are invited to attend dulots only when fields are near their supposed places of habitation. More barriofolk in this part of southwestern Barrio Caticugan practice the dulot than their neighbors whose fields are some distance from the springs. Most likely, therefore, the greater retention of the dulot by farmers with fields near these hillside springs has been due to their beliefs in kolisaos and kataos. 243 184

While the ideal pattern requires that a dulot once started should not be abandoned (excluding the exceptions noted) the actual practice is not the same. The dulot is slowly disappearing in Caticugan. The story of how one family in Naga stopped their dulot illustrates the decline of this custom. The sentences in () are questions I asked during the conversation. 243 178 184

> We [husband speaking] stopped our dulot. I was afraid I might make a mistake. What I did was to promise that every first corn harvest I'll sell a little corn, buy some candles, and light them in the church in honor of my dead parents.
>
> When I abandoned my dulot I went around the field saying: 'I am going to stop the dulot because I am ashamed and because I might make mistakes and because it is hard to get all the things needed. The land next to mine is continuing the dulot. You [the unseen spirits] just go there and eat if you want. They will make many sevens, more than five sevens. [This is a reference to the food offering.]

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(If you were afraid that you would make a mistake in holding the dulot, why did not you have some one do it for you?)

When I had two children [the wife interrupted] a mission came [to the poblacion] and I went to confession. I had a hint from the priest that maybe I was holding superstitious practices. So I thought maybe the priest meant the dulot. I told the priest my in-laws were practicing the dulot. I was advised by the priest to tell my in-laws to stop this superstitious practice. The priest said every year to sell a little of the harvest, buy candles and light them in the church in honor of our dead relatives. So when I came home I told my in-laws. That is why we stopped having the dulot.

That's right [the husband broke in] but it was also difficult to get all the things used in the dulot.

Here are three reasons for stopping the dulot. First, the priest's disapproval of the custom; second, the husband's fear that he might make mistakes during the offering; and third, the difficulty in obtaining the necessary supplies.

Other families in Caticugan have stopped the dulot when they purchased land from an owner who practiced the ceremony. Several cases of this nature were cited and the w owners reported that they had not become ill as many lieved they would. However, if someone had become ill is highly probable that these people would have attrib-ed the sickness to the absence of the dulot and would ve resumed its practice.

In the northern barrios the dulot is a community af-ir while in Caticugan it is a family activity performed in crecy. I was unable to witness a dulot in Caticugan be-use I was not told when they were to be held. Yet I had no ouble participating in a dulot in Lamtoc where I was not

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as well-known. This situation underlines a distinct difference between the dulot as practiced in these two localities.

The people in the northern barrios of the Siaton River valley expect guests to attend their dulots; in fact, there is a certain competition in attracting neighbors to one's dulot. No secrecy is involved. In Caticugan the dulot is a confidential family affair. Neighbors and friends are not invited. Usually they are not told when a dulot is to be held. Often the wife and children of the man holding the dulot do not go to the field or participate in the ceremonies.

Several factors explain the slow disappearance and secrecy of the dulot in Caticugan compared with the more isolated barrios. The changes that have occurred in the dulot reflect similar changes in other aspects of the culture of the barriofolk of Caticugan. The northern barrios continue the older cultural patterns while Caticugan is nearer the battleline of acculturation which is more rapid in the poblacion.

This has been true for several centuries. The Spaniards are more vividly remembered in Caticugan than in Casala-an. The influence of the Catholic and Protestant churches in the poblacion is more effective in Caticugan. It is more convenient for the Caticugan barriofolk to attend services and easier for the church officials to reach their barrio. Occasional missions of the Catholic church, where visiting priests come to marry those who have

been living as common-law couples, to baptize and confess the unbaptized and unconfessed, rarely reach as many people in the more isolated barrios as in Caticugan. At least, in one specific case the mission was partly responsible for abandonment of the dulot by a Naga family. 243 178 184

Children of Caticugan can more readily get a formal education than the children of Casala-an or Apoloy. In these northern communities the parents who wish a complete elementary education for their children must make arrangements to room and board them in the poblacion. For the children of Caticugan school is only a short walk from home. The young people of Caticugan have greater access to newspapers and magazines, to the poblacion reading center, and the radio, than the youngfolk of the northern barrios where illiteracy is prevalent. 243 178 369 203 872 184 [212]

The barriofolk, particularly the younger generation, are very sensitive about being called "country hicks" by their more sophisticated poblacion friends. For example, one reason why most young people of Caticugan dislike abaca clothing is that the homewoven material is a symbol of a rustic. To the better educated residents of the poblacion the dulot is a "pagan practice" and most of them have no scruples about ridiculing those who practice it. As a result many of the barriofolk are ashamed of the dulot yet not convinced that it is safe to abandon it. Stories of those who have stopped the dulot without any serious consequences are matched by tales of persons who have fallen ill for the same reason. 243 178 369 554 184

Many people of Caticugan continue the corn harvest ceremony of their pre-Spanish ancestors but perform it within the privacy of the family group. I know of families in Caticugan who absolutely denied holding a dulot yet whose neighbors said they did. In the northern barrios there was no embarrassment in discussing the dulot. It was a barrio custom. In Caticugan many barriofolk recognized the dulot as a backward unchristian custom, yet they do not feel entirely secure in discarding it; to discard the dulot means to challenge their beliefs in encantos, kolisaos and kataos. 243 178 184

The decline of the dulot also reflects the growing individualism so noticeable in Caticugan. The group has been losing the firm control once held over the individual. This change is apparent in the role of the family in courting and marriage customs. The old cooperative labor groups have almost disappeared in Caticugan; with increasing population and subdivision of land through inheritance the fields are often so small that volunteer labor activities are less necessary today. It also has become cheaper to pay for help than to furnish workers with meals. Caticugan is en medias res of a gradual transition from a bartering to a money economy that stimulates the growth of individualism. 571 178 181 184 [476]

The population of Caticugan has expanded considerably over the years, but the yield of the fields appears to have decreased. The acreage yield of corn in the northern barrios is more than twice as large as in Caticugan. An 184 178 243 433

insight into the once greater abundance of food in Caticugan is given from an offering made during the last part of the Spanish period. This offering included one pig, fifteen or twenty chickens (with white feathers), a basketful each of bingka, bodbod, and puto (all varieties of rice cakes), three plates with ten eggs each, and large quantities of tuba. In the past the ritualist who performed the dulot in Naga often received a basketful of corn for his service; none of the ritualists receives this amount today.

Some individuals who stopped the dulot in Caticugan said they did so because "it is too expensive today." The food offering to the spirits was not as costly as feeding the guests. The dulot described in Lamtoc required much corn to make the cakes, beside the other food served. It is possible that since the corn yield in these northern barrios is nearly twice that of Caticugan the community dulot is less of a burden. One reason given for having only a family dulot in Caticugan is that the expense of guests is eliminated. Dulots held for Caticugan's irrigated corn harvests would attract a large number of people since they would occur during a seasonal period of food shortage.

This detailed discussion of the spatial distribution of the dulot in both Caticugan and the northern barrios of the Siaton River valley illustrates how many factors must be considered in explaining change in one custom. There is no "royal road" to a clear understanding

of why the dulot is more widely practiced in the northern barrios or why more people in some parts of Caticugan continue the custom than their neighbors. The study also shows the value of the historical approach for Lucas Ege's personality is still influential in the dulot's distribution in Barrio Caticugan. Yet such an approach does not explain the total situation for pre-Hispanic beliefs in kolisaos and kataos and culture integration encourage many barriofolk to cling to the dulot.

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Other Ceremonies Associated with Corn

Other practices associated with corn in Caticugan are similar to practices among many primitive people for the magical increase of their food. For example, some of the first fresh corn picked or meal ground from the new harvest is placed in a pot with a sprig of busikad (Kyllinga nonocephala Roltb). A pinch of dirt from an ant mound, a piece of a broken China plate, and three lagit stones the size of the end of one's thumb are also put in the pot. Lagit stones are hard, heavy and smooth, best found in the river shallows where the water runs noisily, and are said to be "alive," reflecting the animism of the pre-Hispanic Filipinos.[48]

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Some barriofolk omit the busikad and lagit stones but the pinch of dirt and the broken plate are almost

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[48] Boga stones, said to be "dead," are soft, chalky and light.

the sap begins to flow or the task abandoned as hopeless. A deep hole may be bored into the "eye" to increase the diminishing flow of sap.

As one travels up the Siaton River valley the buri palms decrease; at Dolog they disappear. The sap of the ediok palm (Cebo Negros: Arenga pinnata Wurmb (Miller)) is used to make a mildly alcoholic drink called habyob. The ediok produces large bunches of dates that hang on slender stalks from the top of the palm. A stalk is selected and then violently shaken and hit with a stick each morning until it flowers. Then the stalk's tip is cut and a bamboo container is attached at the end to collect the sap. The ediok's sap flows about the same length of time as the buri; tan-bark is also added to habyob for the same reason it is put in ~~t~~hang.

MINOR SINGLE CROPS OF CATICUGAN

Spencer lists twenty-one different cropping combinations for the Philippines. Of these combinations six are chiefly lowland, eight chiefly upland, and seven are combined upland-lowland crop combinations.[59] The intercropping type typical of Caticugan is the "corn and minor crop" combination listed by Spencer under the combined upland-lowland category. The various cropping combinations in Caticugan are: (1) corn-peanuts; (2) corn-camotes; (3) corn-balatong (Cow peas: Vigna sinensis Linn.); (4) corn-balatong-cassava;

[59]Spencer, op. cit., pp. 11-12.

Bisayas Pagans OA11
175 CB 563 BP 608

Sandugo is when one man makes a small cut in another man's arm and drinks the blood and the other man does the same thing. Then they call each Sandugo or Igso [an abbreviated form of Igso-on, i.e., brother] among friends. A Sandugo can tell if one of his Sandugos is back-biting [criticizing] him. I do not know how. Maybe it is because they have drunk each other's blood.

CB 563 BP 438

During the later Spanish period few Bukidnons lived in the hills near Siaton poblacion. The Guardia Civil patrolled the hills and were said to shoot any Bukidnon on sight.[60] During the American period, as a few informants could remember from their youth, Bukidnons came to barter honey and rattan for corn and rice. A man named Tacio, a former resident of Salag, was reported to have had many Bukidnon friends. They often came to Salag to get him to settle their quarrels. A few stories were told by the barriofolk of Bukidnons coming to the lowland to steal grain and animals. Most of the barriofolk regard the Bukidnons as inferior humans.[61]

CB [18]

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[60] The constabulary force organized in 1869 was called the Guardia Civil. Sawyer writes they "...were well paid and were dressed in a very smart and neat uniform...They were armed with Remington rifles and bayonets, and in addition carried a heavy chopping knife." By 1880 there were three divisions of the Guardia Civil, one being stationed in the Visayan region. The district office was in the district capitol, company headquarters in the provincial capitols, and detachments were sent to areas where they were needed. Sawyer, op. cit., p. 28; C. Zaide, The Philippines Since the British Invasion, pp. 156-7; Dean C. Worcester, The Philippines: Past and Present. New edition in one volume with biographical sketch and four additional chapters by Ralston Hayden. New York, Macmillan, 1930, pp. 308-9.

CB 625

[61] The Caticugan barriofolk refer to Christian Filipinos living in the mountains as Bukidnons.

CB [19]

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[For a discussion of Bisayan linguistic relationships, see 48: Finley and Churchill, OA1 Philippines, category 116, pp. 77-98.]

'Visayan' only for the areas just mentioned, while the people of Cebu, Bohol, and Leyte were for a long time known only as Pintados. The name 'Visayan' was later extended to them because...their languages are closely allied to the Visayan dialect of Panay.[15] 101

In 1942 there were about 7,200,000 Visayan Filipinos living in more than twenty major islands and several hundred smaller ones. In addition to the coastal regions of Mindanao, six large islands inhabited almost exclusively by Visayans are Cebu, Bohol, Negros, Panay, Leyte and Samar. (See Plate IV.)[1] The largest group of Visayans are the Cebuanos (3,940,000) who occupy Negros Oriental province, Cebu, Bohol and other Visayan islands. The barriofolk of Caticugan are almost entirely Cebuanos. The Panayanos (2,085,000) inhabit most of Negros Occidental province, Panay, Guimaras, and other Visayan islands. In 1942 the population of eastern Leyte and Samar island totalled 995,000, the people (most of whom) speaking a modified Cebuano dialect called Wari-Wari. A small enclave of people living in the Aklan River valley of Panay (about 180,000) may have migrated to the Philippines before the arrival of the Borneo emigrants who settled the island in the 13th century.[16] 161 162

The Cebuanos and Panayanos (the latter are often called Ilongos) speak different dialects. Beyer believes that Cebuano is probably the least modified of the 197 174

[15] G. Nye Steiger, H. Otley Beyer and Conrado Benitez, A History of the Orient. New York, Ginn and Company, 1926, pp.122-3.

[16] H. Otley Beyer, "The People of the Philippines." Unpublished book manuscript. Manila, 1943, p.173.

[See p.36, Cat.162--Analyst]

20: Hart E-5 (1951) 1954 OA1 Philippines
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original Visayan tongue from which stem all other Visayan dialects. He states that prior to the arrival of Cebuano-speaking Filipinos, the dialect of eastern Leyte and Samar was basically Bicol and that of Panay was mainly Tagalog, the present national language of the Philippines. The Cebuano intrusion resulted in a blended Tagalog-Cebuano dialect in Panay and a Bicol-Cebuano blend in Leyte and Samar. The original dialects of Cebu, Bohol and Negros were displaced by the flood of emigrant Cebuanos.[17]

197 174

Major Landform Regions of Negros

133 311

The West Negros plain of Negros Occidental province is ranked among the larger plains of the Philippines and dominates an important part of the island's economy. (See Plate V.)[1] This moderately level plain is almost 100 miles in length and has a width of almost 30 miles in the locality of Bacolod. The plain has been subdivided into northern, west-central and southern sections.

The northern subdivision of this plain, with swampy coastal areas often covered with mangroves, is narrower than the southern or west-central subdivisions. Along the interior borders of the northern subdivision, the plain rises to join the central mountain system. The major crop, covering most of the land, is sugar cane. The west-central subdivision, one of the most important

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[17] Ibid., pp.174-8.

1 [See p.38, cat. 133 -- ANALYST]

I often frequented guhang trees because they were excellent places to gather information; "mellowed" by the drink the people often enjoyed discussing and arguing over answers to questions. I never saw a group refused free drinks. If an owner were "greedy" with his guhang nothing would have been said at the time which the guhang owners know. This disgruntled individual might later return to the tree as "envious person"; generosity in Caticugan was usually sired of a warm heart and a practical mind.

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One of my most pleasant memories is sitting with the men at the top of the buri, under the little thatch covering, drinking, smoking and talking. Thirty feet above the ground the air was cooler and fresher and a breeze usually rustled the dead fronds. Below the community stretched out under its quilt-like fields. At the palm's base might be a small group of men and married women drinking guhang as it was lowered from the top in a bamboo container tied to a rope. If a few young dalagas passed, salacious wisecracks would usually be made by the young men with malicious cheerfulness and the girls might be so bold as to stop for a drink. In the distance one could hear the dull echo of a manunguete's "bamboo gong" (tambol), signaling the vendors who wished to purchase guhang that he was in his tree.

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[447
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When the groups gather at the guhang trees it is a time of relaxation, of gossiping, joking and discussing plans for tomorrow. A game of dama (similar to checkers) might be started.

[524]

been living as common-law couples, to baptize and confess the unbaptized and unconfessed, rarely reach as many people in the more isolated barrios as in Caticugan. At least, in one specific case the mission was partly responsible for abandonment of the dulot by a Naga family. 243 178 184

Children of Caticugan can more readily get a formal education than the children of Casala-an or Apoloy. In these northern communities the parents who wish a complete elementary education for their children must make arrangements to room and board them in the poblacion. For the children of Caticugan school is only a short walk from home. The young people of Caticugan have greater access to newspapers and magazines, to the poblacion reading center, and the radio, than the youngfolk of the northern barrios where illiteracy is prevalent. 243 178 369 203 872 184 [212]

The barriofolk, particularly the younger generation, are very sensitive about being called "country hicks" by their more sophisticated poblacion friends. For example, one reason why most young people of Caticugan dislike abaca clothing is that the homewoven material is a symbol of a rustic. To the better educated residents of the poblacion the dulot is a "pagan practice" and most of them have no scruples about ridiculing those who practice it. As a result many of the barriofolk are ashamed of the dulot yet not convinced that it is safe to abandon it. Stories of those who have stopped the dulot without any serious consequences are matched by tales of persons who have fallen ill for the same reason. 243 178 369 554 184

INTERIOR FURNISHING OF THE BARRIO HOUSE

The typical Caticugan dwelling has two rooms--the sala or the living, dining bed-room, and kitchen. Sometimes the kitchen is completely separated from the sala but there may be only a partial partition. Some dwellings have a third room, a combined bedroom and storage space. Normally this room lacks beds and is used mainly to store boxes of clothing, sleeping mats, grain or other household equipment. Rarely do the "bedrooms" have windows; most barriofolk believe that night air is not healthy. In the poblacion many principalia shutter their bedroom windows when they retire; another reason is to discourage thieves. However, fresh air circulates through the loose walls and the slat floors.

In Caticugan the sala usually has a table and one or more wooden benches; sometimes benches of bamboo are fixed to the wall. Very few chairs occur in barrio dwellings although they are quite common in better houses in the poblacion. In two houses, one in Barrio Caticugan and the other in Naga, Singer sewing machines were seen. Most houses have a few pictures on the walls. The walls of the sala may be covered with colored illustrations from newspapers and magazines, mostly of American origin, and pictures of Filipino movie stars from the Cebuano-dialect magazine, Bisaya.[4]

[4] Bisaya is the most widely read dialect magazine in Siaton; it is a weekly, published in Manila, with a 1954 circulation of 2,973 in Negros Oriental. The magazine, first started in 1946, contains short stories, comics,

Calendars with pictures of the Holy Family or religious scenes are common in the dwellings; these calendars are distributed free by Dumaguete Chinese merchants. Photographs are fairly typical—pictures of weddings, funerals, relatives, school graduations, etc. A few houses had an aparado, a chest cupboard, often with glass doors.

Every Caticugan dwelling had a family or domestic altar. In some cases the altar was merely a religious picture or a cheap plaster figure of a saint placed on a small shelf or, in one case, on the top of a trunk. A few altars were quite elaborate with two or three religious figures and pictures, vases (often beer bottles) for flowers, and paper cut-out or tinfoil decorations. Some altars have a small tin container filled with coconut oil with a wick made from a twist of kapok or native cotton.[5] The most elaborate altar in Caticugan belonged to two unmarried brothers who lived together; both young men were considered to be bayutes, highly feminine-acting men.

Little care is given most altars; they are often dirty and disarranged. During a novena or the fiesta, however, the altars are cleaned, rearranged and fresh flowers put in the vases.

4 (Continued) and several pages of current events. Personal communication to the writer from Mr. B. Canete, Circulation Manager, Liwayway Publications, Inc., Manila, April 3, 1954. Typescript.

[5] There are two varieties of tree cotton in Caticugan, gapas gamay and gapas dako; both were identified as Gossypium brasiliense Macf. Also see Brown, op. cit., II, pp. 401-3.

been living as common-law couples, to baptize and confess the unbaptized and unconfessed, rarely reach as many people in the more isolated barrios as in Caticugan. At least, in one specific case the mission was partly responsible for abandonment of the dulot by a Naga family.

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## CHAPTER II

## THE CULTURAL LANDSCAPE OF NEGROS

This chapter will present, in bold outline, the cultural landscape of Negros Island with particular emphasis on the local area in which Siaton municipality and Barrio Caticugan are located. The material will place Caticugan in its larger setting, providing background for the succeeding chapters on agriculture, fishing and other aspects of material economy. The barriofolk, with their meager technology and crude implements, are in imtimate association with the seasonal rhythms of their land. The southwest monsoon brings moisture-laden air masses beginning in April and climaxing in August. The consequent rains begin the major agricultural cycle and end the fish corral period. The end of the southwest monsoon initiates a dry season with diminishing food supplies and consequently increases the food gathering activities of the barriofolk. The backward technology and cultural perspectives of the people hinder their exploitation of the latent potentialities of their land. Life in Caticugan is better understood in the light of a summary of landform regions, climatic conditions, edaphic factors, population distribution and transportation facilities of Negros Island.

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Climate

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Though climates detrimental to human occupance may be modified by man's technology, the economic use of any area is greatly influenced by prevailing climatic conditions. In Negros the average farmer's freedom in agricultural activities dependent on the climate is restricted because of meager technology and equipment. His selection from the alternatives that his land offers is limited severely by inability to emancipate himself from minor caprices of the climate. One crop failure due to inadequate or maldistributed rainfall may mean hunger or borrowing against the next harvest and possibly a debt for life.

[731]

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In Caticugan the tempo of many activities is closely adjusted with climatic variations. The transition, for example, from the dry to the wet season starts a series of changes in the lives of the barriofolk, and affects such activities as agriculture, fishing, house repair, food gathering, diet, transportation, and health. The day before the first heavy rains, Caticugan had the silent appearance of a deserted village with plows abandoned on their sides in the fields. The next day the rains came. In the drizzle which followed the downpour the fields suddenly came alive with men plowing the wet earth and women and children planting corn. Irregularity in climatic phenomena often results in disruption of the work cycle and economic patterns of the community.

period Asia cools more rapidly than the surrounding seas, creating high pressure centers over the continent. Due to these high pressure centers there is a general outflowing air movement that is deflected clockwise direction, arriving in the Philippines as the northeast monsoon. 132

During the period of the northeast monsoon abundant precipitation falls on Negros' north and northeastern coasts while the south and southwestern coastal areas are relatively dry. Cebu "milks" much of the moisture of the northeast monsoon before it reaches Negros making it less productive of precipitation than the southwest monsoon. It is during the northeast monsoon's period that the fish corrals of Siaton are built. [221]

The total rainfall map (Plate VII)[1] illustrates the annual distribution of precipitation in Negros. The island's eastern coast is the driest because of the less humid northeast monsoon, the proximity of Cebu Island and the Central Mountain range. The heaviest rainfall occurs on the slopes of this range and in parts of southern and west-central Negros. Though Siaton municipality receives nearly 95 inches of precipitation annually, the uneven distribution of this seemingly adequate moisture during the critical agricultural period sometimes results in partial crop failures or necessitates extensive replanting of many cornfields. [731]

1 [See p. 50, cat. 132 -- Analyst]

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The corn seasons reflect the precipitation patterns of the Southern Corn-Coconut region. The first corn crop is planted at the start of the rainy season, usually in April or May, depending on the locally available moisture. This crop is harvested at the end of the rainy season, normally from September to November, and about one-half of the land is replanted with a second corn crop.[87] Only a few fields are planted with a third corn crop, because of the lack of moisture in the ground.[88]

Because of different planting periods, the harvests in the southern region are staggered. In Sta. Catalina the first corn may be planted as early as late March while in the northern part of the same region, Amlan, for example, the fields may not be sowed until late May. As a result there are seasonal migrations of barriofolk from one locality to another to help in the harvests. The harvest migrations will be discussed more fully in Chapter IV of the barriofolk of Caticugan.

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[87]Hainsworth and Moyer, op. cit., p.53.

[88]A survey was made in 1948-49 of Barrio Malabo, Valencia municipality, where the third corn crop is planted in November and December. Marcelo V. Arnaldo, "A Study of the Economic and Social Conditions of the Mountain Barrio of Malabo, Valencia (Luzuriaga), Negros Oriental, Philippines." Dumaguete, Negros Oriental, Silliman University, 1949, p.10. Typescript.

these differences the barriofolk of Caticugan, and Negros Oriental, are mainly Cebuanos with dialect and customs different from those of Panayanos of Negros Occidental.

Recent improvements in transportation have brought most of the barriofolk of Caticugan closer to Dumaguete, the provincial capitol where American cultural patterns are most heavily concentrated. Yet they live on the periphery of the major traffic flow of this province. With their undeveloped technology and crude implements, the Caticugan barriofolk have adjusted their economy to the seasonal rhythms of the southwest and northeast monsoons, the former beginning their agricultural cycle. This chapter has described the general scenery of the "stage" where the barriofolk of Caticugan act out their lives.

An American visitor in Dumaguete would find much in the city to remind him of the United States. New Fords, modern buildings, the mode of dress, Hollywood cinemas and Silliman University with its American professors and English-speaking students would be visible signs of American influence. As he left Dumaguete for the rural areas of Negros, he would quickly enter a new milieu and the farther south he travelled the fewer clues he would find to suggest familiar scenes of his country.

Today one can catch an early morning bus from Dumaguete to Siaton poblacion. The faded green bus

River valley. Several landlords, residents of the poblacion, have sizeable holdings in Dolog or Common, and part of their share of the corn, rice, or peanuts raised by their tenants is sold for cash. None of these landlords, could in any sense of the word be considered wealthy. The "cash crops" of Caticugan are coconuts, vegetables and guhang, an alcoholic beverage made from the sap of the buri palm. For the majority of the people, guhang is probably the most important of these few "cash crops."

The remainder of this chapter discusses (1) agricultural calendar; (2) caingins; (3) lowland rice and corn agriculture; (4) the manufacture of guhang; (5) minor single crops of Caticugan (coconuts, cassava, camotes, etc.); (6) vegetables and other garden crops (tangkong, tobacco, etc.); (7) farm animals; (carabao, cattle, chickens, etc.); (8) cooperative labor groups; and (9) local agricultural extension activities. Plate XXI shows the land use patterns of Caticugan.[1]

## THE AGRICULTURAL CALENDAR OF CATICUGAN

The agricultural calendar of the barriofolk of Caticugan is synchronized with the seasons of southern Negros. Except for a small irrigated area in Barrio Caticugan, the farmers are totally dependent on precipitation of the southwest monsoon. The agricultural calendar should be read with these climatic conditions in mind. (See Chapter II.) The calendar, of course, varies a

1 [See p 272, cat. 116 -- Analyst]

## AGRICULTURAL CALENDAR OF CATICUGAN AND ENVIRONS[6]

| JANUARY | FEBRUARY | MARCH |
|---|---|---|
| 1 Harvest of second corn and lowland rice (Caticugan)<br>2 Caingin clearing begins<br>3 Mature cassava available<br>4 Month of large abaca sales in Siaton poblacion | 1 Second corn crop harvest (Caticugan, Sandolot and Casala-an)<br>2 Peanuts mature (Apoloy and Dolog)<br>3 Caingin clearing--some begin to burn debris<br>4 Caingin rice planted above Dolog<br>5 Month of large abaca sales in poblacion<br>6 Ubi roots available<br>7 Few begin to plow fields for corn planting (Sandolot)<br>8 Third corn crop planted in Tampaga<br>9 Harvesting rice (Caticugan) | 1 Begin first irrigated corn planting (B. Caticugan)<br>2 Plowing fields for first corn (Giliga-on)<br>3 Caingin clearing and burning continues in mountains<br>4 Ubi available<br>5 Begin to plant gardens, eggplants, tomatoes, opo, etc. (Caticugan) |

[6]Irrigated corn is distinguished from non-irrigated corn in this calendar by stating that the former is irrigated. The calendar is devoted mainly to agricultural activities in Caticugan although some comparative data were gathered when traveling in the Siaton River valley and from informants living in other barrios.

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AGRICULTURAL CALENDAR OF CATICUGAN AND ENVIRONS (Continued)

| APRIL | MAY | JUNE |
|---|---|---|
| 1 Continue first irrigated corn planting (B. Caticugan)<br>2 Plowing fields for first corn crop (Caticugan) with several farmers planting<br>3 Plowing fields and planting first corn (Datag, Talo-ot, and Canaway)<br>4 Planting vegetables (Caticugan)<br>5 Caingins burning<br>6 Some caingin rice and corn planted | 1 Begin harvest of first irrigated corn (B. Caticugan)<br>2 Continue plowing fields and planting first corn (Caticugan)<br>3 Planting first corn while some corn 4"-5" high (Datag, Sandolot, Casala-an)<br>4 Planting vegetables (Caticugan)<br>5 Caingins burning and some planting rice<br>6 Some balatong planted. Opo mature<br>7 Rice beds planted (Canaway)<br>8 Mango season | 1 Continue harvest of first irrigated corn (B. Caticugan)<br>2 Planting second irrigated corn (B. Caticugan)<br>3 Planting rice beds (Caticugan)<br>4 Planting vegetables (Caticugan)<br>5 Planting bananas (Caticugan)<br>6 Caingin rice planted<br>7 Mango season<br>8 Stringbeans and opo available<br>9 Migrations to harvest corn in other barrios |

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AGRICULTURAL CALENDAR OF CATICUGAN AND ENVIRONS (Continued)

| JULY | AUGUST | SEPTEMBER |
|---|---|---|
| 1 Harvesting first irrigated corn and planting second irrigated corn (Caticugan)<br>2 Harvesting first corn crop (Caticugan)<br>3 All corn planted (Dangola)<br>4 All rice beds planted (Caticugan)<br>5 Transplanting rice in Canaway, Inalad, and Zamboanguita<br>6 Caingin rice planted<br>7 Stringbeans available<br>8 Planting corn and camotes in Bondo<br>9 Migration for corn harvests in other barrios<br>10 Cassava planted | 1 Harvesting first and second irrigated corn (B. Caticugan)<br>2 Transplanting rice in Caticugan, Datag, and Talo-ot<br>3 Plowing paddies for transplanting (Caticugan)<br>4 Rice beds planted in Dangola<br>5 Caingin rice planted<br>6 Migrations to harvest corn in other barrios<br>7 Harvest of caingin corn (Bokgay)<br>8 Planting first corn in Dangola | 1 Harvesting second irrigated corn (B. Caticugan)<br>2 Transplanting rice (Caticugan)<br>3 Harvesting caingin rice<br>4 Planting camotes (Dangola)<br>5 Transplanting rice (Dangola)<br>6 Harvesting peanuts (Caticugan and Dolog)<br>7 Wild mushroom gathered (Libgos variety) |

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AGRICULTURAL CALENDAR OF CATICUGAN AND ENVIRONS (Continued)

| OCTOBER | NOVEMBER | DECEMBER |
|---|---|---|
| 1 Plowing fields for second corn crop in Caticugan, Lamtoc, Sandolot, and Casala-an<br>2 End of month begin to plant second non-irrigated corn crop in Datag, Sandolot, and Caticugan<br>3 Planting bananas in Caticugan<br>4 Harvest of caingin rice<br>5 Plant second caingin corn | 1 Planting second corn in Caticugan<br>2 Drying balatong beans in Caticugan<br>3 Digging for lahia roots<br>4 Bondo rice harvested<br>5 Planting peanuts in Talo-ot<br>6 Rice mature in Dangpla<br>7 Camote season begins<br>8 Rice harvest in Mayabon, Zamboanguita<br>9 Plowing fields and planting second corn in Bacong and Dauin<br>10 Small cassava roots available<br>11 Caingin rice harvest | 1 Rice harvest in Caticugan, Dangola, Canaway and Datag<br>2 Big cassava roots available<br>3 Beginning of large abaca sales in poblacion<br>4 Camotes available |



141 121

little each year due to seasonal climatic fluctuations but the general pattern remains basically unchanged. 221 241

## CAINGIN AGRICULTURE: INTRODUCTION

Four of the five Philippine methods of agricultural land use are practiced in Negros. There are no extensive areas of terraced land, although some terraces are found in Siquijor Island. The three most common agricultural systems in Negros are lowland intensive, plantation and mechanized agriculture--the latter in conjunction with sugar and rice plantations. Caingin agriculture is practiced by both pagan and Christian Filipinos in the piedmont regions of the Central Mountains, the Central Mountain Range, and the Tablas plateau. 241 311

Caingin shifting agriculture has been defined tersely as:

> "...the most primitive type of agriculture...an economy of which the main characteristics are rotation of fields rather than crops; clearing by means of fire; absence of draft animals and of manuring; use of human labor only; employment of the dibble stick or hoe; short periods of soil occupancy alternating with long fallow periods.[7]

Caingin is not always limited to hills and uplands as typical in Formosa, Indochina, Thailand and the Philippines. Frequently, as in Indonesia, this land use technique occurs on level areas. Pelzer states:

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[7] Pelzer, op. cit., p. 17. Pelzer has written an excellent account on caingin agriculture in the Philippines: Chapter 2: "The Shifting Cultivator."

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When the pig tries to pass through the opening into the caingin it trips the vine and releases an attached bamboo spear.

Caingin Crop Yields (Rice and Corn)

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In 1951 the Siaton caingin rice harvest began in September. During October I noticed large quantities of palay drying on mats in the poblacion. This, said the owners, came "from the caingins in the mountains." A considerable number of people from the barrios and the poblacion go to the caingins to assist in the harvest. The following interview with a male informant from Naga tells of these forages to caingins and also of the importance caingins sometimes have in the food gathering activities of the lowland barriofolk.

> When the Japs left we were happy. After they left we went to the mountains to look for food like bananas and camotes. When the hot season comes the owners of the caingins let us clear the caingins of the camotes that remain. They had dug for camotes before but did not get all of them. We had to clean the entire caingin of vines and we got all the camotes we found in doing this. Sometimes we bartered salt for bananas. Sometimes we were given bananas for clearing the caingins. Sometimes caingin owners gave us two gantas [one cavan equals twenty-five gantas] of corn a day for clearing their caingins. Sometimes many people go especially if they hear of a caingin which has plenty of camotes left. Men, women and children go. It does not take long to clean one caingin. We do not go to the mountains during the rainy season.
>
> Many people go to harvest upland rice. We did not go because the children could not reach the place--it is very far. [The informant is referring to 1951]. The places are north of Giliga-on, called Bantolinao, and Cmlog and Bokgay. We sometimes dig camotes and cassava. There are owners of caingins who will let the people dig and slice [to dry] cassava. Sometimes we will get one-third

or two-fifths of all we dig and slice. The caingin owners are busy then making a new caingin, this is why they are glad to see us. It is as if we had planted our own cassava. We live there and help make slices. Some of the people bring their own food and others get food from the caingin owners. We live in their houses.

Last year my wife went to Dodong's field in Padang. Mostly women went because it was during the plowing season. It was March. I did not go, just my wife. Our share was four sacks of mixed dried cassava and camotes chips. People in Padang live differently than the people in Naga. In the mountains one can plant many things. Here we just plow in season. In the mountains one can plant red squash, gabi, pesula [a variety of squash] sikwa [commonly called patola: Luffa acutangula Linn.]. There are no big houses in the mountains. They are not permanent because after three years the caingin owners have to look for another place to caingin.

Women and children are usually the ones that go to the mountains to harvest the caingins. I was told by some informants that "men would be olao [ashamed or embarrassed] to harvest rice in someone else's caingin. The people would say they did not know how to make their own caingin." However, some men do go, particularly the unmarried men (olitaos) who are said to "follow the dalagas [unmarried] young women." This is an interesting comment; for a young man courts a girl in the barrio under many handicaps. To be able to work and talk with her, away from the surveillance of the family, would have many advantages.[14]

Rice is cut one stalk at the time with a small knife. Rice heads are put into small baskets strapped to the harvester's side; later they are emptied into larger baskets. Rice is threshed and corn is harvested by the

[14] I never observed a caingin corn or rice harvest.

LOWLAND RICE

Introduction

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When the Spaniards first visited Negros in the middle of the 16th century Filipinos were cultivating rice. Probably rice had been brought to the Philippines by nameless wanderers from Indo-China or south China in the late Neolithic period. The distribution of lowland rice in Negros and Siaton municipality has been described. As one travels up the Siaton River valley, the cultivation of lowland rice disappears north of Barrio Sandolot where there are only a few pilapils (rice paddies).

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The Agricultural Calendar (pages 273, 274, 275, and 276)[1] does not present a sharp picture of farming activities. Table XV presents a more detailed account of the planting and harvesting of rice and corn, the two major crops of Caticugan

TABLE XV

AGRICULTURAL CALENDAR FOR RICE AND CORN
CATICUGAN, 1951

| CROP | PLANTING BEGAN | PLANTING FINISHED | TRANSPLANTING BEGAN | TRANSPLANTING FINISHED |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Rice Seed Beds | | | |
| Lowland rice | June 19 | July 14 | August 22 | September 26 |

1 [Category 116 -- Analyst]

TABLE XV (cont.)



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| CORN | PLANTING BEGAN | PLANTING FINISHED | HARVEST BEGAN | HARVEST FINISHED |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| First irrigated corn | March 7 | April 23 | May 28 | July 9 |
| Second irrigated corn | June 19 | June 25 | August 27 | September 2 |
| First dry corn | April 27 | May 12 | August 4 | August 29 |
| Second dry corn | October 5 | November 23 | See Footnote 23 | See Footnote 23 |

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The most popular rice variety planted in Siaton is Macan Sta. Rosa.

> The Macan Sta. Rosa is grown on a large scale in Nueva Ecija and Bulacan [provinces in Luzon]. It matures in about 180 days, giving an average production of about 60 cavans per hectare [or 24 cavans an acre]. It turns out a first-class rice of good eating quality.[24]

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Records of the provincial agricultural office in Dumaguete show that more than 75 per cent of the total acreage devoted to lowland rice in Siaton municipality is planted with Macan Sta. Rosa.

Table XVI[1] gives the varieties and acreage of lowland and upland rice planted in Siaton municipality in 1951, according to the Provincial Agriculture Office of Dumaguete.

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[23] The exact dates for the rice and the second non-irrigated corn harvests are not given since I arrived after the former was nearly finished and I left before the latter began.

[24] Uichanco, op. cit., I, p. 4.

1 [See p. 302, cat 245 or 311 -- Analyst]

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476
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Corn stalks from the first paddy corn harvest are given to those who cut them. At this time the nearby grazing areas are green and fodder is plentiful. During the harvest or shortly afterwards men or young boys come to cut the stalks and carry them home for their animals. However, in the later corn and rice harvests the cultivators do not donate the harvested stalks. By this time the pastures have begun to dry up; the corn and rice stalks are retained by the owners for their own animals.

Local Harvest Migrations

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During July many people from Caticugan, the poblacion and nearby barrios go to Omanod to help in the corn harvest. Corn is usually harvested earlier in Omanod than in Siaton.[49] Omanod is situated in a small riverine plain in Sta. Catalina municipality, about three or four miles west of Barrio Bonawon. In 1951 people came from Bacong and Dauin to help in the Omanod corn harvest. Some took the bus and others from Siaton poblacion walked or rode horses. Women and young children outnumbered men. Several families in Caticugan and the poblacion left younger children under the care of an elder daughter while mother and father went to Omanod.

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[49] Siaton corn harvests sometimes occur before those of Omanod. Normally, however, the earlier rains of Omanod make it possible for the barriofolk to plant (and harvest) their corn before Siaton. However, in 1952, fewer harvesters went to Omanod from Siaton because both harvests occurred about the same period.

Most barriofolk go to Omanod to work as harvesters while some women and young girls go to barter bread, matches, used American clothing and other wares for corn. These vendors rarely sell their wares for money. They barter for corn, and get more corn than they could if they sold their articles. Sometimes, when the harvest is over, the vendors will sell their remaining merchandise rather than carry it home. Others go to Omanod solely to buy corn for the price is lower than in Siaton poblacion. The people usually stay with relatives or friends in Omanod during the harvest period.

Unhusked corn is usually stored in the house, the ears piled in a corner of the room or in a bin. Corn is not husked until it is ready to be shelled and ground. Lagit stones or sea shells may be put with the corn to protect it from the weevils that often do considerable damage. Perhaps only one out of every twenty families in Caticugan has a separate storehouse for corn. The average family's corn supply is small and consumed steadily so individual storehouses are unnecessary. Storehouses that exist are usually built near the residences, although in a few cases they may be at the field's edge. Theft is rare because many would be afraid to steal corn for fear of barang.[50]

[50] Barang is the belief in the supernatural ability of certain persons to cause illness or death to their enemies. These specialists are said to own magical bees that are trained to penetrate the victim's body at their owner's command. Several cases of deaths allegedly due to barang motivated by thievery were reported by the barriofolk of Caticugan.

20: Hart E-5 (1951) 1954 OA1 Philippines
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# CHAPTER VI

## HUNTING AND FOOD GATHERING

### INTRODUCTION

This chapter describes the hunting and food gathering activities in Catiougan.[1] The largest and most frequently hunted animal is the wild pig. Plants gathered are edible wild tubers, mushrooms, a few vegetables and various fruits. Some people trap pigeons, quail, doves and other wild birds. In emergencies the pith of several varieties of palms is processed into an edible flour. 221

Since most of the barriofolk exist at a dietary level which seems barely adequate, the food obtained by hunting and gathering, though usually small in amount, is relatively important. Between the harvests of the wet and dry season corn--the "starvation months"--most barriofolk spend more time gathering wild plants than in any other season. When the first corn harvest begins, the gathering activities decrease. The wild plants and tubers [511] [146]

[1] Gathering of aquatic snails and mollusks is included in Chapter VII, SECURING AQUATIC PRODUCTS.

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are regarded as inferior to their staples, except for fruits and mushrooms that are considered delicacies. Food gathering activities in Caticugan reflect inadequate harvests or small fields. If the fields' harvests and sizes were increased and the people less dependent on a somewhat erratically distributed precipitation, food gathering would almost entirely disappear. Under normal conditions only a minority of families regularly collect food each year; a poor corn harvest, however, increases considerably the number of collectors.

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## WILD PIG HUNTING AND ASSOCIATED RITES

Besides being the most destructive wild animal in the Siaton River valley, the wild pig is the only animal hunted by the barriofolk, save for a few wild birds and a large iguana-type lizard, ibid. There are no monkeys in Caticugan and the men do not purposely hunt them, although they eat the meat if available. In the past wild deer were hunted near Caticugan with the bow and arrow, but both the deer and the bow and arrow have vanished. Many men hunt wild pigs with homemade spears. It is said in Caticugan that no one has ever owned a gun.

Wild pigs occur in the hills and mountains west and north of Caticugan. One young man killed twelve large pigs, "not counting the little ones," within several months; another man in Barrio Canaway killed twenty-three pigs in nine months. A noted hunter of Naga was said to have killed as many as fifty wild pigs in a year. Though the meat of the wild pig is stringy and tough, it is a not

The dogs receive little special training. When young they are taken on hunts with older, more experienced dogs and learn the necessary skills. One major purpose for having a dog, besides serving as a protector of the barrio residence, is to hunt pigs. One informant said: "The credit for all my successful hunts belongs to my dogs. This is why I always take good care of my dogs. I feed them well, just like my own children."[5]

The best places to hunt wild pigs are the sogon grass regions, around springs, or in areas where there are large boulders or many hollow logs where the pigs live. Oraeion's Magahat informants said another place to hunt pigs was the creeks where they liked to wallow. Localities where the bangkal (Nauclea junghuhnii (Miq.) Merr.) trees grow are said to be favorite haunts of wild pigs, for they eat the dropped fruit of this tree. A hunter of Barrio Canaway thought the best place to hunt wild pigs is near Barrio Calanan, but that there were many good sites as close as Sitio Balayagolang (Barrio Canaway). (See Plate XX, page 157.)

While wild pigs are hunted all year, hunting is done mostly during the dry season when traveling is easier in the hills and mountains. This is also the time when the cogon grass is burned and "it is easier for the dogs

[5]Some said if the table used in making an annual bood was discovered, the hunter would take a piece of the bamboo "and smoke his dogs." This would make the dogs brave and inordinately skillful in finding a wild pig scent.

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[796]

to find and follow the wild pigs." Some people believe that the wild pigs do not run as fast or as far as normal on Holy Friday for "they are then very grave." This is one of a number of beliefs associated with Holy Week in Caticugan.

When the pig is killed, division of the animal may be made in various ways. Apparently the most common division is one-half to the man who kills the pig, the remainder divided equally among the other hunters. If only one hunter has dogs, he receives two-thirds of the pig he kills and others share the remaining one-third. Some hunters said that if the "main hunter" (the one who held the annual bood) kills the pig he receives three-fourths and the others receive equal parts of the remainder. If another member of the group kills the pig, the "main hunter" receives only one-half, the man killing the pig one-fourth, and the remainder to the other members of the party. If the person who kills the pig is not a member of the hunting group he receives one-fourth of the animal, the "main hunter" one-half, and the remainder is divided among the rest. For example, a pursued boar might pass through a caingin where a man was watching his crops; if he killed the pig, one-fourth would be given to him. The head, liver, heart and tail always are given to the man who kills the pig.

Sometimes men who hunt without dogs are given one-half; or the meat may be divided according to the dogs they have on the hunt. The division is not standardized

It is a frequent saingin volunteer and one could see plants growing in poblacion vacant lots. Igao has been studied so there is some information on its nutritional value.[11] The igao's petioles are boiled and fed to the pigs (but never eaten by the people in Caticugan) while the corms are gathered for food.

All wild corms are dug during the dry or hot season. When the rainy season appears the roots become very fibrous and less agreeable to eat. It is fortunate for the barriofolk that the corms are most palatable during the period when they are most needed. With the coming of the rains the igao leafs out and the corms turn black. They may still be dug to feed to pigs but this is not a common practice in Caticugan. Barriofolk regard the corms as most palatable in March and April.

Both men and women dig for wild roots. However, when the roots are shallow and easily dug, women and children normally dig them. If the vines are very thorny

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[11] Brown, op. cit., I, p. 344. The Tagalog name for igao is pungapung. R. F. Bacon, "Starch Production in the Philippines," Phil. Journal of Science, A 3 (1908), states the highest yield of starch obtainable from the igao corms is 4.5 per cent; this study cited in Brown, ibid. More recent studies by Wester and Hermano give the following data on the constituents of the igao corm: moisture 77.8 (74.8) per cent; ash 1.3 (0.7); fat 0.13 (0.6); protein 1.4 (5.1); and giving 574 (1,000) calories per 2.2 pounds. Hermano's study is cited in Brown, op. cit., I, pp. 344-348. Hermano's figures are enclosed in (). P. J. Wester, The Food Plants of the Philippines. 3rd revised edition. Manila, Bureau of Agriculture Bulletin No. 39, Bureau of Printing, 1925, p. 218.

(kinogay), cooked in green bamboo tubes, or prepared in the sinakol manner (steam cooked), often mixed with tiktik or binlod (finely ground cornmeal). Sometimes the people from the northern barrios in the Siaton River valley come to Caticugan to barter this type of flour for corn and rice. This was not done, to my knowledge, during this field research. 252 [438]

Hunting and food gathering activities are related to the inadequate food supply of the barriofolk. The wild pig is not a serious agricultural problem in Caticugan and the meat is admittedly inferior to that of the domesticated pig. Most wild plants are considered as "emergency foods" to be gathered and eaten only when staples are low; i.e., when the corn and rice from the last harvest are low and new crops are not ready to harvest. For barriofolk during this period the foods collected may be important; however, this is true only of a minority in Caticugan unless there is a poor harvest or crop failure. 262 221 511 433

If the cultivated food supply were adequate all year long, hunting and, particularly, food gathering, probably would cease. Young men might continue to hunt wild pigs for sport and some wild foods would, most likely, be gathered (the "delicacies" such as mushrooms, lumboy, etc.). The role hunting and food gathering play in the daily life of the barriofolk of Caticugan today is a reflection of seasonal inadequacy of food supply and low living standards.

20: Hart E-5 (1951) 1954 OA1 Philippines OA1 576
Central Bisayas OA14

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These two types of fish corrals, Leyte and Binatural, are found in Tanjay. (See Plate XLII.)[1] The Leyte fish corral is quite similar to the Siaton bonsod; the former is said to have been introduced to Tanjay by Leyte fishermen. The Leyte fish corral is built in depths thirty to sixty-five feet deep; whereas the Binatural is constructed in shallow waters; as a result the Binatural catches smaller fish. Two similar types of fish corrals are built in Siaton, the large bonsod, similar to the Quinavite and Leyte, and the smaller, shallow-water pahubas that resembles the Binatural and Natural. Siaton pahubas have a small trap, like the bobo, at the exit of the last section of the corral. (See Plate XLIII.)[2]

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Fish corral and bobo activities in Siaton are keyed to the monsoons. The southwest monsoon brings winds and rough seas that destroy the bonsods and make it difficult to lay or retrieve the bobo. Each year the bonsods are rebuilt and each year the southwest monsoon wrecks them, usually in July or August. Sometimes a typhoon sweeps across southern Negros, as in 1951 and 1952, destroying the bonsods earlier than usual. In 1951 all Siaton bonsods except one were destroyed by an early May typhoon; in 1952 the fish corrals were ruined by an early June typhoon. For this reason pelagic fish are less plentiful in Siaton during most of the rainy season.

1 [See p.575, cat. 226 -- Analyst]

2 [See p.575A, cat. 226 -- Analyst]

In Tanjay fish corrals are built in March and April and last until the northeast monsoon in November. In October, 1950, the fish corrals in this area were destroyed by early northeast winds. Sometimes, the people said, fish corrals are damaged even earlier by an east wind that they call timog.

The northeast monsoon destroys most of the fish corrals along Negros' eastern coast and fish supplies move from southern Negros to Dumaguete; during the southwest monsoon this situation is reversed. Little fresh fish, however, is brought to Siaton from Dumaguete for sale during the rainy season.

Older informants in Siaton said that once the most common type of fish corral was the Binatural; today's bonsod did not exist. A Binatural was built off Barrio Mantuyop in 1950 but, for the most part, this type is no longer used in Siaton. The fish catch, in the Binatural, was driven into the "last pocket" or section where it was scooped out with small hand nets (salok). One informant explained this type of fish corral "was very expensive to build and hard to catch the fish inside." This may partially explain why the Binatural is rarely built.

Siaton municipality's coastline is divided into three zones according to the abundance of fish normally caught in bonsods. The first class bonsod zone is from the Zamboanguita-Siaton municipality boundaries to Barrio Sumalaring "in front of the residence of Mr. ---- and the pandan tree." This zone is a most desirable location because

cuttings to protect them from ants. During this period of several months kalamongay greens are relatively scarce.

Tangkong

Another popular but not as widely grown vegetable is tangkong (Ipomoea aquatica Forsk, previously known as Ipomoea reptans (Linn.) Poir.) Tangkong is an aquatic morning glory that trails on mud or floats on the water of quiet pools. Tangkong was grown in Caticugan only along the banks of the Caticugan creek. Caticugan tangkong had a local reputation for being "very fat and big."

Brown incorrectly writes: "The plant [tangkong] is not cultivated but grows wild."[73] While wild tangkong is gathered in some of Caticugan's paddies during the rainy period it is smaller and less succulent. The tangkong patches along the creek are planted and cared for by female owners. Tangkong is usually planted at the end of the rainy season. During the wet season the heavy rains swell the Siaton River, flood the Caticugan creek, and wash away tangkong patches planted at the beginning of the previous year's dry season. During the dry season tangkong is splashed with water once or twice a day or the plant is said to wilt and the leaves to become dry and yellow.

The price of tangkong varies throughout the year. When kalamongay is scarce, just after it is trimmed in

[73] Brown, op. cit., III, p. 258.

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[825]

Farther north there are said to be a considerable number of manok ihalas (Red Jungle Fowl: Gallus gallus gallus, Linne.) that the barriofolk hunt; some are merely domesticated fowl that have gone wild. There were no wild chickens in Catiougan and the men did not hunt for them. While the trapping of wild birds is done by both sexes, it is often the sport of young boys. Wild birds furnish a very small part of the diet of only a few families in Catiougan.

LIZARDS

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One large lizard (ibid) is hunted by some barriofolk although most of them hunt ibid only in periods of acute food shortage. This lizard is usually found in bamboo groves or in the kamansilis trees near the river; it is hunted with the blow-gun, trapped with grated coconut meat, or run down by dogs. Large ibid are said to weigh as much as 10 pounds. The meat, boiled in coconut "milk," "tastes like chicken." Another large lizard (halo) found in the locality is not eaten.

[252]

COLLECTING WILD HONEY

222

Once the hives of wild honey bees (potyakan) were hunted for their honey. Few wild beehives are found today in Catiougan or environs. When the hives are found accidentally, the honey is collected; the people are fond of it. One informant said that when he was a young man

he found many hives each year "but I have not found a hive for more than ten years." March and April are the best months to look for hives. 222

A fire was built usually under a hive in order to smoke out the bees. Burning torches were also carried into the tree. The torch was slung over one's shoulder so that in climbing a tree the smoke rose above the person's head. One informant said the torch was made with split bamboo, wrapped with betel nut leaves, and tied with rattan. "One must not cut the rattan with one's teeth or one will be bitten by the many bees."

Sometimes a special torch was made from the green leaves of the palasan palm and wrapped with split bamboo. This torch contained three leaves of the banban plant, three or four patikan (also called bendita) palm leaves, and a pinch of dirt from an earthworm mound. The dirt was to prevent the person from being stung by the bees--"the earth is very soft"--while the banban and patikan were "good medicine if one were stung." After the wild bees were smoked from the hive, the lower portion was severed and permitted to fall to the ground for "it contains only young bees, no honey." The remaining part of the hive was put into a container and the honey expressed.

No insects are collected or eaten by the barrio-folk except during periods of acute food shortage when some people may eat the daging beetle or locust (dolon or lupad). The locusts are gathered, de-winged and

de-legged and then fried in lard until a crispy brown.[10] 222

GATHERING WILD ROOTS

The most frequently gathered wild plant food is a variety of roots or corms; most barriofolk speak of these wild roots as "emergency food." When their food supply runs short many people in Caticugan hunt for and dig these wild roots to supplement their diet. My assistant wrote in the summer of 1952:

> The harvests are no good this year. The kids as well as the old folks in Caticugan, and especially Naga and Dangola, are busy all day looking and digging for wild roots as substitutes for corn and rice.

Sometimes the women will dry and store the roots against the "starvation months," particularly if the harvest be poor. For the poorer people of the barrio, the wild roots are a fairly important item of daily fare during the "starvation months," although the barriofolk with more abundant larders rarely utilize them.

Eight different types of wild roots are gathered by the barriofolk: balyakag, bolbo, bolot, igao, kobong, labia, olabi and taposi. The most commonly used are: igao, balyakag, and labia.

Igao (Amorphophallus campanulatus (Roxb.) Blume) grows abundantly, both in the lowlands and in the mountains.

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[10] Phelps Whitmarsh, "A Visit to the Visayas," Outlook, LXVI, No. 3, (September 15, 1900), p. 170. Whitmarsh wrote that in the marketplace at Iloilo City he saw women selling fried grasshoppers.

It is a frequent saingin volunteer and one could see plants growing in poblacion vacant lots. Igao has been studied so there is some information on its nutritional value.[11] The igao's petioles are boiled and fed to the pigs (but never eaten by the people in Caticugan) while the corms are gathered for food.

All wild corms are dug during the dry or hot season. When the rainy season appears the roots become very fibrous and less agreeable to eat. It is fortunate for the barriofolk that the corms are most palatable during the period when they are most needed. With the coming of the rains the igao leafs out and the corms turn black. They may still be dug to feed to pigs but this is not a common practice in Caticugan. Barriofolk regard the corms as most palatable in March and April.

Both men and women dig for wild roots. However, when the roots are shallow and easily dug, women and children normally dig them. If the vines are very thorny

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[11] Brown, op. cit., I, p. 344. The Tagalog name for igao is pungapung. R. F. Bacon, "Starch Production in the Philippines," Phil. Journal of Science, A 3 (1908), states the highest yield of starch obtainable from the igao corms is 4.5 per cent; this study cited in Brown, ibid. More recent studies by Wester and Hermano give the following data on the constituents of the igao corm: moisture 77.8 (74.8) per cent; ash 1.3 (0.7); fat 0.13 (0.6); protein 1.4 (5.1); and giving 574 (1,000) calories per 2.2 pounds. Hermano's study is cited in Brown, op. cit., I, pp. 344-348. Hermano's figures are enclosed in (). P. J. Wester, The Food Plants of the Philippines. 3rd revised edition. Manila, Bureau of Agriculture Bulletin No. 39, Bureau of Printing, 1925, p. 218.

and the roots deep, as with belyakag and bolot, the men usually obtain the corms. Now and then one sees two or three men with broad-pointed iron-tipped digging sticks (sakal) set off for the hills. 222 [412]

In digging for igao one looks for a place where a plant has withered and died. The sakal is pushed gently into the opening in the earth at the base of the plant to see if there is a root; since the roots are shallow, they are easily obtained. Once the root has been uncovered, it is stuck through with a stick that serves as a handle; juice from the leaves and the corm makes the skin itch if contact occurs. There are no associated beliefs connected with igao because "it is easy to dig, always shallow in the earth."

Preparation of the igao corm takes considerable time; this is one reason why it is utilized only during food shortages. The root is first sliced into chips that are dried until they become brittle. The dried chips are pounded to powder in the rice mortar. This flour is strained through sbaga cloth, dampened and repounded until it "is like wet cotton." One woman said the damp igao flour should be "pounded continuously for two hours"; if not adequately processed one becomes dizzy from eating igao porridge. A few women in Caticugan had stored small amounts of igao flour. 252 [251]

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Another wild root frequently dug is the balyakag (Dioscorea divaricata Blanco).[12] Like other roots balyakag is dug only during the dry season before the vine begins to produce new leaves and the corms become fibrous. Balyakag roots are quite deep and difficult to dig, so men usually gather them. The best place to dig for the tubers is opposite to the direction in which the vine leans. If the vine leans toward the north, then one begins a foot or so away from the base of the plant, toward the south. If the thorns of the vine point upward, this is a sign that the tubers are shallow while if the thorns point downward, the roots are deep. Some people do not dig balyakag when the thorns point downward.

A belief connected with balyakag is that one should not talk or joke while digging for the corms. As one woman said: "If one jokes by saying 'My! I bet we shall find big roots on this plant' then the roots disappear or are very deep." Not all of the barriofolk accept this belief; as one man said scoffingly: "Who would be talking to himself in the forest anyway?" The

[12] Brown writes: "The underground tubers are fleshy, slender, and attain a length of over two meters and at the thickest part hardly exceed ten centimeters in diameter...They are of fair quality either baked, boiled, or fried...The fact that the tubers are so far underground affords them great protection against wild hogs. They are, however, much sought after and dug up by the Negritos." Brown, op. cit., I, p. 392. Encarnacion, op. cit., p. 31, writes that the baliacag is a climbing vine with an edible cylindrical white root.

only other wild root that is included in this belief is 222
olabi. All other corms may be dug while the diggers talk and laugh. The reason given is that "these plants have roots that are shallow and easy to dig while balyakag and olabi are hard work to get."

Lahia is an easily obtainable corm; sometimes they protrude above the surface of the ground. The lahia corm looks much like the bulb of a gladiola; it is a species of Dioscorea. Small girls sometimes dig for lahia in the hills near Catiougan. These corms are said to have less starch and to be more fibrous than balyakag. One family in Talo-ot planted lahia corms in the hills near their house and reported that people living in the mountains planted lahia "like corn." Lahia are prepared [231] like the balyakag and the peelings often fed to pigs.

Balyakag and the other corms are washed, peeled, and boiled or roasted over the fire. Igao and kobong, however, must be carefully processed to remove certain toxins. Balyakag corms, some people said, were sometimes sold in the poblacion marketplace; this did not occur during my residence.

Taposi, olabi and bolbo also are dug during the dry season--mostly by women because the corms are shallow. Since the bolot (a species of Dioscorea) is a thorny vine and the tubers are deep, men dig for them more often than women. In digging the bolot it is important not to cut the long root leading to the corm "or you may never find it." The barriofolk said that people living in the northern

The barriofolk said that people living in the northern 526
barrios sometimes came to Caticugan to barter bolot for 438
corn. The corms are diced, boiled in coconut "milk" and 252
then salted or sugared to taste.

Kobong (Tag: nami; Dioscorea hispida Dennst.), a 222
native yam, is also gathered. Like igao, kobong tubers 252
must be carefully processed before consumption. Encarnacion states that if kobong corms are eaten without proper preparation they may produce death; the corms contain a poisonous alkaloid called dioscorine.[13] Kobong are sliced into thin chips and dried for several days. Then they are put in water, usually in a creek, on mats weighted with stones. Each morning, for several days, "one must stir the still water so the powder soaked off will float away." Then the chips are squeezed and put under the sun. This process removes the dioscorine and most of the sugar and starch leaving mainly the fiber. When thoroughly dried, kobong chips are pounded into a coarse flour that is used to make porridge or stored. One should not dig kobong when the wind moves the vine, according to some informants, because if one does and later eats the tubers dizziness results.

No wild seeds of any sort are gathered, or were in 222
the past, by the barriofolk of Caticugan. They do not 262
gather many wild vegetables, except for these corms. Some collect wild tangkong or halum (often in the flooded

[13] Brown, op. cit., I, pp. 398-401.

paddies) and a few use the leaves of the dapdap (Erythrina variegata L. var. orientalis (L.) Merr.) tree as greens. Sometimes the blossoms of wild bananas are gathered, boiled, and eaten. 222 262

MUSHROOMS

Wild mushrooms, though not very plentiful, are gathered by the barriofolk. Most people are fond of mushrooms, and consider them a delicacy. Individuals rarely make special searches for mushrooms; they watch for them when traveling in the mountains. Mushrooms are usually collected during the rainy season; they are found growing in bamboo groves, on dead logs, rotting banana or abaca stalks (often in saingina) and other shady places.[14] 222

Eleven different types of edible mushrooms (obong) are gathered by the barriofolk: amamakol, libgos, kolambop, lavat, saha-an, kotmava, obong (a poisonous type is also known by the same name), talope, tangogtangog, lavalava and songadsongad. The most common varieties that grow near Caticugan

[14] Few cases of fatal mushroom poisoning occur in the Philippines since the poisonous species rarely grow in the lowlands; they thrive best in cool places in the mountains. "It is a common belief in the Philippines that thunder and lightning have something to do with the spontaneous appearance of mushrooms. When thunder begins to rumble, especially during May or early June, at the start of the rainy season, young and old in rural communities rush out to the open fields and meadows to search for mushrooms." The general name for edible mushrooms in Tagalog is kabute, in Negros and Panay, obong, and Leyte ulaping. Jose M. Mendoza, "Philippine Mushrooms." The Philippines Journal of Science, LXV, Nos. 1-2, (January-February, 1938), pp. 13-15. My collection of mushrooms for identification spoiled: for this reason the English or scientific names are not given. Mendoza's study did not list the Cebuano names for these mushrooms. [811] [146]

are libgos, kolakdop, layat and tangogtangog. Amamakol is said to be available throughout the year while the layat, songadsongad and layalaya are gathered mostly in May and June.

Sometimes a lucky person finds a lot of mushrooms and sells them in the marketplace; they are quickly purchased. One day a young man came to Siaton poblacion with a half a gunny sack of libgos that he sold for five cents a hatful. Mushrooms are normally sliced and mixed with vegetables or fried in lard.

WILD FRUITS

Certain wild fruits are eaten in season. One popular fruit, somewhat similar to a cherry, is the lumboy (Tag: duhat; Syzygium cumini (Linn.) Skeels).[15] Lumboys ripen in April and May; children often gather large quantities and sell them in the poblacion. In Sitio Katogasan (Barrio Datag), lumboy trees are said to be very plentiful.

Wild guavas (bayabas) are fairly plentiful in Caticugan; they occur mostly in the nearby hills.[16]

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[15] An analysis of the mineral content and food value of fresh and oven-dried lumboy samples has been made. The analyses indicate that lumboy is a good source of calcium and fair in iron. Brown, op. cit., III, pp. 156-9.

[16] Guavas are one of the commonest and best known fruits in the Philippines, a native of tropical America that has become thoroughly naturalized. Brown, op. cit., III, pp. 152-3.

Guavas ripen in August and September. Rarely, the barrio-folk make guava dulce which is pulverized guava pulp, boiled in a frying pan filled with water until tender. The cooked pulp is eaten mixed with brown sugar.

The small round fruit of the ano-on tree is eaten usually in April. The fruit is red when mature, it is often gathered by the children although the tree is not abundant in the vicinity of Caticugan. Fruit of the kamansilis (Pithecolobium dulce (Roxb.) Benth) is also gathered and eaten, particularly by the children. Many kamansilis trees grow in Caticugan, especially along the Siaton River bank. The fruit is small and flat and only the inner pulp is eaten. The bark of this tree is used also in tanning.

Some small wild mangoes are gathered in August and September. The domesticated mango is quite popular in Siaton and the demand always exceeds supply. People who have large mango trees often send boxes of the fruit to Dumaguete where they bring a higher price than in Siaton poblacion. Sometimes low fires are built under the mango trees to force early production of fruit.

PALM FLOUR

A coarse flour can be made from the saksak, ediok and buri palms. This flour is an "emergency food" in Caticugan but some people in northern communities, like Dolog, use flour made from the saksak rather frequently before the first corn harvest. During the last war the

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Marine mollusks are gathered mainly by women and young girls; men and young boys infrequently participate. The mollusks are gathered at low tide usually during or just before a full moon; the women enjoy collecting snails and clams. They bathe, gossip, playfully splash water on friends while dipping coconut shells into the sand for the clams. The marine clams most frequently gathered are Kalaykay and Toway; the marine snails are Tabono and Tandaday.

At the July full moon I visited the seashore one afternoon. The most popular place to collect snails and clams is a rocky stretch of beach just east of the Siaton River mouth. About seventy individuals were hunting along the rocky beach; they were women or young girls and a very few elderly men. Ten were from Catiogan; others came from the poblacion, from Barrios Mantuyop, and from Sumalering. Some dug in the sand for clams, and put them into a container or popped them into their mouths. When their mouths were full they walked to the beach and put these clams in a container. Some women dropped the clams into their blouse fronts.

The most abundant of all these marine snails and clams is the Kalaykay; about the size of a quarter. The Tandagay, said to be "very good eating," are often collected on rainy days when they stick to stones in shallow water.

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Barriofolk rarely go to the nipa swamps just to collect clams and snails. They usually combine this task with getting nipa leaves.

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task with getting nipa leaves. The largest clam found in these areas is the Toway; one pokes a bolo (brought to cut nipa leaves) or a stick into a soft mount or bubbling hole in the damp sand of the swamp to get Toways. Four types of snails that are found in nipa swamps are: Dalodalo, Hagonipa, Libodbod, and Taboysoy (the latter clings to the palm trunks and leaves).

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Two types of seaweed are gathered and eaten by the barriofolk: a green moss, lumot, and a brownish moss, lagot. Lagot is put in hot water, then drained and garlic, salt, and vinegar added. These two seaweeds are gathered during the dry season along the beach. When the rainy season begins the mosses "become slippery and are not good to eat." Only a few families in Cateugan were observed eating these mosses.

## METHODS OF OBTAINING RIVER FISH

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[262]
[435]
[433]

A large share of the fish eaten locally is caught in the Siaton River. Many families eat more river fish than sea fish. They either lack money to buy sea fish or there may be none for sale in the marketplace.

Table XXIX[1] lists local names, and in most cases, scientific identification, of types of fish caught in the Siaton River.

River fish are caught in eight different ways: (1) with nets (ta-an and tangkop); (2) with bamboo-rattan traps (saag, balantak and bobo); (3) with fish poisons; (4) by the salobog method; (5) by a process called

1 [See p. 540, cat. 226 or 116 -- Analyst]

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FOWLING

Only a few barriofolk in Caticugan practice fowling. The birds caught are minor food items. One fairly common method of trapping the galangsiyang (Philippine Glossy Starling: Apolonis panayensis (Scop.)) is to place a large bamboo in a tree. Small openings are cut into each section so the birds will build nests inside. When the young starlings are ready to fly they are taken from the nest, plucked, gutted, salted, and soaked in tuba vinegar. I visited a family in Talo-ot when they were having Sunday meal of about twenty two-week old starlings that had been roasted over coals. I saw about four or five such bamboo nest-traps in Caticugan. (See Plate XXXIII.)[1]

A number of other wild birds are trapped and eaten. The most common are the bontog (both the Barred Button Quail: Turnix suscitator nigrescens (Tweed); and Painted Quail, pitao, Coturnix chinensis lineata (Scop.)); ponay (Pink-necked Green Pigeon: Treron vernans vernans (Linne.)); and the tokmo (Philippine Turtle Dove: Streptopelia bitorquata dusumieri (Temm.)).[8]

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[8] Identification of these birds was made through the use of Jean Delacour and Ernst Mayr, Birds of the Philippines, Macmillan, New York, 1946, and by consultation with Professor Dioscoro S. Rabor, a noted ornithologist of Silliman University, and one especially well-informed on the birds of Negros. Other birds trapped are dalag-dalag or antolihao (Black-naped Oriole: Oriolus chinensis suluensis Sharpe); tibalas (Brown Shrike: Lanius cristatus lucionensis Linn.); tangol-ol (Yellow-vented Bulbul: Pycnonotus goiavier goiavier (Scop.)); manatad (Green-winged Ground Dove: Chalcophaps indica indica (Linne.);

1 [See p. 516, cat 223 or 116 -- Analyst]

2 [Footnote 8, continued on p. 517, cat. 223 or 116 -- Analyst]

20: Hart E-5 (1951) 1954 OA1 Philippines
Central Bisayan OA14

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Plate XXXIII



BIRD TRAPS

IN BARRIO CATICUGAN

BALAG-ONG TRAP

SABAY SNARE

CALANGSIYANG TRAP

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Another type of bird trap is the balag-ong. (See Plate XXXIII.)[1] A small noose is suspended from two pieces of bamboo that are placed between bushes where the birds frequently pass, particularly the bontog. The lit-ag is a bird trap in which a noose is placed on the ground while the other end of the twine is tied to a bent branch. The bird steps in the noose, pulls it to escape, releasing the branch, that tightens the noose around the bird's leg. The lit-ag is a popular method of trapping the tangol-ol and tagbaya, particularly in October, although it is not solely limited to these two birds.

Another method of trapping wild birds is a snare (sabay) that is put in the bird nest. (See Plate XXXIII.)[1] One woman trapped three manatads in this manner but when she returned to get the snare "the wild cats had eaten most of them." It is reported that some people throw a butterfly-like net over a nest of wild birds. No such net was seen in Caticugan. Polot is the name for bird liming. The sticky sap of the salngan tree (Agathis Philippinensis Warb.), called salong (known best as Manila copal), is

8 (Continued) sal-ing (Coleto: Sarcops calvus melanonotus Grant); manatael or mana-ol (White-breasted Sea Eagle: Haliaeetus leucogaster (Gmelin)); and the tagbaya (Philippine Bulbul: Microscelis gularis guimarasensis (Steere)). References in Delacour and Mayr, op. cit., are given in the order the birds are mentioned: pp. 241-2; 56; 54; 180-1; 180; 93-4; 253; 170; 175; 94-5; 244-5; 48; and 175-6. One family in the poblacion had two coletos in a cage, for the birds are said to be able to learn to talk. These birds died without learning this skill. Vide Austin L. Rand, "Birds of Negros," Fieldiana, Zoology. Chicago Natural History Museum, V. XXXI, No. 48, (July 12, 1951), pp. 571-96.

1 [See p. 516, cat. 223, --Analyst]

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smeared on branches where the birds often light. I doubt if any Caticugan barriofolk trap birds in this manner.

Birds are sometimes, but rarely, hunted with the blow-gun (supot) and fairly frequently by young boys with sling-shots (tirador). Lake Linao ("calm"; also called danao, i.e., "pool"), above Barrio Balanan, was created by the 1925 earthquake. This small lake attracts flocks of wild ducks. While Caticugan residents rarely hunt the ducks here men from Dumaguete come to hunt them with guns.

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The blow-gun is made from the thornless bamboo, bagakay. This bamboo's long internodes make it excellent for blow-guns. Few blow-guns were seen in Caticugan; the weapon, however, becomes more common in the northern barrios of the Siaton River valley. One blow-gun measured was 6-1/2 feet long, made of several pieces of bagakay glued with a substance obtained from the kiwot insect. The darts (gapasan) are made from thin sticks of bamboo about 2-1/2 feet long, including a 10 inch iron tip; no poison is used. The dart's end is wrapped with kapok to hold compression in the blow-gun barrel. The blow-gun is employed only to hunt wild birds and, more rarely, to shoot river fish.[9] It is my opinion that blow-guns in the Siaton River valley will disappear in a few generations; at least, they seem to have very few useful functions today.

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[9] The Magahats also have a blow-gun (sopot) that is made from bagakay bamboo or reeds. The darts also are wrapped with kapok and the main use appears to be for shooting river fish. No poison is used on the darts. Orasion, op. cit., pp. 75-6.

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Farther north there are said to be a considerable number of manok ihalas (Red Jungle Fowl: Gallus gallus gallus, Linne.) that the barriofolk hunt; some are merely domesticated fowl that have gone wild. There were no wild chickens in Catiesugan and the men did not hunt for them. While the trapping of wild birds is done by both sexes, it is often the sport of young boys. Wild birds furnish a very small part of the diet of only a few families in Catiesugan.

LIZARDS

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One large lizard (ibid) is hunted by some barriofolk although most of them hunt ibid only in periods of acute food shortage. This lizard is usually found in bamboo groves or in the kamansilis trees near the river; it is hunted with the blow-gun, trapped with grated coconut meat, or run down by dogs. Large ibid are said to weigh as much as 10 pounds. The meat, boiled in coconut "milk," "tastes like chicken." Another large lizard (halo) found in the locality is not eaten. [252]

COLLECTING WILD HONEY

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Once the hives of wild honey bees (potyaken) were hunted for their honey. Few wild beehives are found today in Catiesugan or environs. When the hives are found accidentally, the honey is collected; the people are fond of it. One informant said that when he was a young man

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decreases the harvests decline. However, these are secondary factors in abandonment of caingins, according to the people. The average caingin is not cultivated long enough to permit the soil to deteriorate to the point where yields are uneconomic.

The associated rites of caingin planting are like those used in the lowland rice and corn fields and will be discussed later. One caingin farmer said he never had held a planting ceremony until one year his corn was ruined by dalabdab, a disease that turns the corn leaves variegated colors. He harvested no corn, so the following year he began a planting rite suggested by friends.

Caingin Pests

Wild pigs and monkeys are a serious problem for most caingin farmers. Many caingins are surrounded with [417] sturdy bamboo fences that take considerable time to build to keep out the marauding pigs. Flimsy "watch houses" frequently are built in the caingins; the cultivator or a member of his family then stays to protect the crop from the pigs and monkeys. There are no magical rites to protect a caingin from wild pigs. One informant laughingly replied when questioned about this matter that the "best way to protect your caingin from wild pigs is to use a shot-gun." Unfortunately, few farmers own guns.

Some caingins have a wild pig trap called balatki. 241 224 A small opening is made in the fence surrounding the caingin and a taut vine is stretched across the entrance.

When the pig tries to pass through the opening into the caingin it trips the vine and releases an attached bamboo spear. 241 224

Caingin Crop Yields (Rice and Corn)

In 1951 the Siaton caingin rice harvest began in September. During October I noticed large quantities of palay drying on mats in the poblacion. This, said the owners, came "from the caingins in the mountains." A considerable number of people from the barrios and the poblacion go to the caingins to assist in the harvest. The following interview with a male informant from Naga tells of these forages to caingins and also of the importance caingins sometimes have in the food gathering activities of the lowland barriofolk. 241 221

> When the Japs left we were happy. After they left we went to the mountains to look for food like bananas and camotes. When the hot season comes the owners of the caingins let us clear the caingins of the camotes that remain. They had dug for camotes before but did not get all of them. We had to clean the entire caingin of vines and we got all the camotes we found in doing this. Sometimes we bartered salt for bananas. Sometimes we were given bananas for clearing the caingins. Sometimes caingin owners gave us two gantas [one cavan equals twenty-five gantas] of corn a day for clearing their caingins. Sometimes many people go especially if they hear of a caingin which has plenty of camotes left. Men, women and children go. It does not take long to clean one caingin. We do not go to the mountains during the rainy season.
>
> Many people go to harvest upland rice. We did not go because the children could not reach the place--it is very far. [The informant is referring to 1951]. The places are north of Giliga-on, called Bantolinao, and Cmaleg and Bokgay. We sometimes dig camotes and cassava. There are owners of caingins who will let the people dig and slice [to dry] cassava. Sometimes we will get one-third

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are regarded as inferior to their staples, except for fruits and mushrooms that are considered delicacies. Food gathering activities in Caticugan reflect inadequate harvests or small fields. If the fields' harvests and sizes were increased and the people less dependent on a somewhat erratically distributed precipitation, food gathering would almost entirely disappear. Under normal conditions only a minority of families regularly collect food each year; a poor corn harvest, however, increases considerably the number of collectors.

## WILD PIG HUNTING AND ASSOCIATED RITES

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Besides being the most destructive wild animal in the Siaton River valley, the wild pig is the only animal hunted by the barriofolk, save for a few wild birds and a large iguana-type lizard, ibid. There are no monkeys in Caticugan and the men do not purposely hunt them, although they eat the meat if available. In the past wild deer were hunted near Caticugan with the bow and arrow, but both the deer and the bow and arrow have vanished. Many men hunt wild pigs with homemade spears. It is said in Caticugan that no one has ever owned a gun.

Wild pigs occur in the hills and mountains west and north of Caticugan. One young man killed twelve large pigs, "not counting the little ones," within several months; another man in Barrio Canaway killed twenty-three pigs in nine months. A noted hunter of Naga was said to have killed as many as fifty wild pigs in a year. Though the meat of the wild pig is stringy and tough, it is a not

unwelcome addition to the generally meatless diet of the barriofolk.[2]

Hunting wild pig is a strenuous, often dangerous, task. One may trot behind barking dogs for hours, up and down hills, across ravines, through tangled undergrowth and knife-like dry grass. When the exhausted pig is cornered it is vicious. Now and then a hunter is badly mauled and frequently dogs are killed by a wounded pig. There are stories of hunters killed by a wild boar (tangwan) but such tragedies are rare.[3] The following incident describes a hunt that occurred in the vicinity of Barrio Cahangahan.

> One time my brother and I and two other people went out hunting wild pigs. Our dogs found a scent of a wild pig and the chase began. After two hours of chasing the tangwan that had badly

[2]Every Christmas season the young people of Caticugan carol for the residents of the barrio and the poblacion. The donations of money or food they receive are used for a party. One group of fourteen young men in 1952 decided instead of contributing chickens for the party to hunt wild pigs and donate whatever meat they killed. The group, with twenty-two dogs, was able to kill, in one morning, four pigs that each weighed from thirty to forty-five pounds.

[3]I never participated in a wild pig hunt. Several times I was invited to accompany a group on a hunt but refused on the basis that a previous operation (I exhibited my scar!) made it impossible for me to trot after the dogs for hours. This was not true but I was rather certain I could not maintain the necessary pace for a hunt. I did not wish to endanger my position among the young men by becoming an object of humorous ridicule. Gathering information on the hunting of wild pigs was not difficult except for the data on the hood--which I would not have been permitted, most likely, to witness had I participated in a hunt.

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wounded one of our dogs we cornered the tired boar. The first to arrive at the place where the dogs had cornered the boar was my brother who thrust his spear at it. Unfortunately, his spear was dull so it glanced off the boar's hide, and my brother was bitten in the back of the leg. My dogs, sensing that my brother's life was in danger, rushed the boar which killed another dog. The boar was able to escape because we had to tend my wounded brother.

The boar, now very tired and thirsty, went down into the valley to seek some water. But the rest of my dogs were still after him. In the valley, there was a guhang tree where a group of men were drinking. The boar ran in the direction of this group of men. One of the men in the group seeing the boar coming shouted and advised the rest to seek shelter. But one man who was no longer sober boasted he could kill the tusk boar with his bolo. He met the on-charging boar and stabbed it with his bolo. But his bolo was for weeding purposes and was very dull. The boar was not killed and attacked the man; one of his legs was deeply lacerated from the heel to his thigh. He was also wounded on both arms. The rest of his companions did not dare to help him. All that the men could do was to shout at the boar. I saved the life of this man by my timely arrival and killed the boar on the spot.

While hunting wild pigs with a spear is dangerous, the meat is often needed and there is a certain excitement in starting off early in the morning with one's friends and a yapping pack of dogs.

A ceremony, called bood, is connected with the hunting of wild pigs, although not all hunters observe it.[4] Those who do not practice the bood explain

[4]The bood was said by the oldest inhabitant of Catiogan (reported to be "over ninety years") and several other aged informants originally to have had two purposes. First, the ceremony served as "rent" to the spirits for the land the people cultivated. Second, the bood made the animals living on the land "tame" and placated their "spirit owners" for their losses during the hunt. Today, however, the bood is made only for hunting wild pigs. It is unnecessary to hold a bood for the lowland fields since there are no wild pigs to "tame" or hunt on the land. Possibly the dulot may be a modified form of the bood.

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that they (1) do not believe in it ("I trust to my luck, my dogs and God"); (2) do not know how to conduct the bood; or (3) are afraid of a mistake that might cause them trouble. One informant from Pinac-an said:

> I do not practice the bood. I just depend on my luck. The reason why I do not practice this bood is because I do not know how the old people do it. And besides I am afraid to try because if one makes a mistake in what he says during the bood all his dogs die.

While many hunters in Caticugan do not hold the bood, the men who hunt most frequently and are noted for skill normally practice the bood. However, the bood appears to be a dying custom in Caticugan, due to disappear within several generations. [178]

A bood is held for every wild pig killed, usually after the hunt in a participant's house. An annual bood is held in a secluded spot known only to the participants. One informant in Barrio Caticugan reported:

> The reason why they [the hunters] do it [bood] secretly is because they do not want other hunters to discover their place, even by accident. If their bood place is found by another hunter he will be lucky in his future hunts by feeding his dogs with the food found on the bamboo table used in the offering to the spirits. [Evidently the food is not eaten but remains on the abandoned table.] Dogs that eat this food will become successful in finding wild pig scents and brave in fighting them; they will never be hurt. But if only the dogs, and not the hunter, discover the bood place--or just happen to pass it--the dogs will become tired as if they are sick. This happened to my dogs once. The men who made the bood in the place discovered will become unlucky in their hunts and their dogs will get sick and eventually die. One time I requested Tonio [a hunter in Caticugan] not to mention anything that would make me unlucky or hurt my dogs. Tonio assured me that he was not selfish enough to do that in his bood.

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The purposes of the annual bood are: (1) to ensure an easy kill; (2) to protect hunters and dogs from injury; (3) to placate or thank the spirits who might be angered because the pigs lived in their territory; and (4) to hex any other hunters or dogs that hunt wild pigs in the locality delimited during the bood. The implicit assumption is that the spirits own the animals living in their vicinity.

One hunter made his bood in the area where he planned to seek wild pigs. Sometimes the bood may be made "in places where the pigs disappear easily like the headwaters of creeks or woody tangled places"--localities where the spirits are most likely to live. Others state that the bood frequently is made on a knoll of a hill to facilitate delimitation of the locality to be hunted. The bood offering consists of cooked rice, binaluksan, puso, bingka, coconut tuba and sometimes Mallorca.

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The hunter holding the bood may say, for example; "I (We) plan to hunt from this big tree to the top of that hill, down in the valley to that creek, etc." If a stranger should try to hunt in this delimited region he is believed to endanger himself and his dogs. "His dogs will get hurt or they will get sick slowly, becoming thin, not wanting to bark any more and finally they die." After the locality is delimited the hunter will invite all the spirits (naming the places where they are supposed to live, sometimes in distant localities), to come and eat the food offering. The hunter may say, according to one informant:

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> I am doing this [making the bood] because I have five dogs for hunting. I hope I can surely catch a wild pig because I have done this. Do not be selfish because I have done these things already. If there are other hunters who enter this area I ask you do not give it [pigs] to them. I hope also that their dogs will be hurt.

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One of the most noted boar hunters and expert in the bood (I was always referred to him when inquiring about the practice), who lived in Naga, stated:

> When I used to hunt wild pigs I always performed a yearly bood. But since my wife died I no longer hunt because there is no one to care for my dogs while I work in the fields. I made my yearly bood in the mountains where nobody knew the place except myself. I used a live chicken and other food for the offering. The feathers of the chicken were like those I saw in my dreams. You see when you are familiar with these practices the taglogal [another name for encangtos] will let you dream and the following day you will make the bood.

Some hunters hold a bood for a premicias (thanksgiving) for every pig killed. This bood is often held because during the annual bood the hunter promised to make an offering for every pig killed. The food offered is similar to all offerings made to spirits except that the head, liver, heart and tail of each pig killed is added, cooked without any seasoning. One hunter said this was done because these parts "symbolize the whole pig." If a hunter killed three pigs, then he would use the three heads, livers, hearts, and tails. The offering is made under the house; the food is placed on a table. The hunter invites the spirits to come from various localities, shakes the table vigorously, and thanks them for the kill. Then the parts of the pig are taken to the kitchen, recooked with seasoning, and eaten by the hunter's family.

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For the hunt, iron spear points (ohas or silab) are purchased in the poblacion for about one dollar and fifty cents. The points are eleven to twelve inches long and about two to three inches wide. They are attached to wooden handles (tugdanan) four or five feet long. The spear point is fixed to the handle with rattan wrapping; the base of the point has a sharp prong that is driven into the handle's top. Sometimes brass tubing (pekit) is put around the handle where the spear point is attached; a sharp iron point (alimayo) may be fixed to the handle's base. Usually a scabbard (sakob) is made to cover the point when the spear (bankaw) is stored; two thin pieces of wood, the general shape of the point, are bound together with rattan or small strips of tin. (See Plate XXXII.)[1]

224.

Frequently wild pigs are hunted by groups of three to five men. Some like to hunt alone; this means, normally, that there is no sharing of the kill. The dogs go ahead of the hunters, sniffing the ground until the scent of a wild pig is discovered. Then they run after the pig wildly barking. The hunters trot behind the dogs, yelling words of encouragement. If the hunters fail to shout constantly, or stay close enough to the dogs so their voices can be heard, the dogs become discouraged and abandon the chase. Such a chase may continue for several hours until a pig is cornered and killed or the scent lost.

1 [See p. 509, Cat. 411 + 116 -- Analysis]

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When the exhausted pig is cornered, it will fight the barking dogs that try to surround the frightened beast. The hunters then spear the pig--a dangerous method of killing the animal; if a small pig is cornered the dogs kill the animal. The most effective place to spear a wild pig is behind the animal's shoulder; sometimes, however, it takes many thrusts to kill a large boar. One informant said it took twenty-three jabs of his spear to kill one boar he cornered while hunting alone. Another hunter had a special anting-anting (amulet) for hunting wild pigs, a spear in which a fragment of a boar's tusk had been embedded during a previous hunt. He was reported to be a lucky hunter for awhile but later was badly mauled by a wounded boar.

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One noted hunter of Caticugan occasionally fed his dogs food mixed with the powdered bark of the hangot tree. Hangot bark "makes the dogs unusually sensitive to the wild pigs' scents and increases their courage." This hunter could not recognize the hangot tree but he bartered two chickens for some bark from a resident of Sta. Catalina municipality.

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Hunters state that when a wild pig is lost it often disappears mysteriously near or under a dalakit tree (Ficus pavapa Blanco; also known as balete); the spirits are believed to inhabit this tree. Some hunters state this is how the spirits protect "their" pigs.

[824]

The dogs receive little special training. When young they are taken on hunts with older, more experienced dogs and learn the necessary skills. One major purpose for having a dog, besides serving as a protector of the barrio residence, is to hunt pigs. One informant said: "The credit for all my successful hunts belongs to my dogs. This is why I always take good care of my dogs. I feed them well, just like my own children."[5]

The best places to hunt wild pigs are the cogon grass regions, around springs, or in areas where there are large boulders or many hollow logs where the pigs live. Oracion's Magahat informants said another place to hunt pigs was the creeks where they liked to wallow. Localities where the bangkal (Naucles junghuhnii (Miq.) Merr.) trees grow are said to be favorite haunts of wild pigs, for they eat the dropped fruit of this tree. A hunter of Barrio Canaway thought the best place to hunt wild pigs is near Barrio Calanan, but that there were many good sites as close as Sitio Balayagolang (Barrio Canaway). (See Plate XX, page 157.)

While wild pigs are hunted all year, hunting is done mostly during the dry season when traveling is easier in the hills and mountains. This is also the time when the cogon grass is burned and "it is easier for the dogs

[5]Some said if the table used in making an annual bood was discovered, the hunter would take a piece of the bamboo "and smoke his dogs." This would make the dogs brave and inordinately skillful in finding a wild pig scent.

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to find and follow the wild pigs." Some people believe that the wild pigs do not run as fast or as far as normal on Holy Friday for "they are then very grave." This is one of a number of beliefs associated with Holy Week in Caticugan.

When the pig is killed, division of the animal may be made in various ways. Apparently the most common division is one-half to the man who kills the pig, the remainder divided equally among the other hunters. If only one hunter has dogs, he receives two-thirds of the pig he kills and others share the remaining one-third. Some hunters said that if the "main hunter" (the one who held the annual bood) kills the pig he receives three-fourths and the others receive equal parts of the remainder. If another member of the group kills the pig, the "main hunter" receives only one-half, the man killing the pig one-fourth, and the remainder to the other members of the party. If the person who kills the pig is not a member of the hunting group he receives one-fourth of the animal, the "main hunter" one-half, and the remainder is divided among the rest. For example, a pursued boar might pass through a caingin where a man was watching his crops; if he killed the pig, one-fourth would be given to him. The head, liver, heart and tail always are given to the man who kills the pig.

Sometimes men who hunt without dogs are given one-half; or the meat may be divided according to the dogs they have on the hunt. The division is not standardized

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except for the share of the person who kills the pig, if he is not a member of the hunt.[6] One hunter said that since the members of a party are usually friends he gives them one-half of a pig he kills whether they have dogs or not. One man in Caticugan complained that he was not given a fair share of one wild pig because the other hunter took three-fourths of the animal (he had three dogs in the chase) while my informant received only one-fourth yet he had two dogs along on the hunt. Sometimes, however, if the hunting group is composed of four or five men and the "main hunter" kills the pig (supposedly meriting three-fourths) "he usually shares some with his friends," i.e., gives them more than would be their customary share under the circumstances.

A young man who lives in Barrio Canaway said that one day he was near the river when a pursued boar appeared, exhausted from the chase. He had a .22 rifle and shot the pig. While he could have taken the animal easily--"I could not even hear the dogs barking"--"I did not because I might have become sick." The bood has this practical advantage; those who believe in its efficacy know the holder of the bood requests the spirits to make sick anyone who illegally takes their kill.

Later the hunting party arrived and the young man was given one-fourth of the boar. He reported that then a brief ceremony was held by the river. The "main hunter"

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[6] This is also true for the Magahats. Oracion, op. cit., p. 66.

seared the hair from the pig, butchered and cleaned it. 224 As he removed the hair from the pig he said softly: "Thanks [speaking to the spirits] for this boar. I hope the next time we hunt we can get a bigger one and it will not be so difficult to kill." He let the dogs drink some of the pig's blood from his cupped hands and eat pieces of the intestines for them to eat. Hunting dogs usually get the pig's intestines as their share. Some hunters, however, said "if you really like the intestines you keep some for yourself."[7]

Hunting wild pigs by Caticugan men does not furnish most families with sizable quantities of meat. Only 224 262 twice during my residence did I see slaughtered wild pigs in barrio kitchens. Frequently I was invited to eat with the barriofolk yet I was never served wild pig. There are a few men who do spend considerable time during the dry season hunting wild pigs; for the majority, however, hunting wild pigs is only an occasional activity. It is my opinion that a few men (perhaps one in Caticugan) specialize in hunting wild pigs, selling or bartering the meat for staples. The young men usually hunt for the enjoyment they receive from the chase.

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[7] Oracion's account of wild pig hunting among the Magahats does not mention any ceremony similar to the bood. However, when a pig is killed its liver is removed on the spot, chopped into small pieces and scattered on the ground. "This is his offering to the spirits." Oracion, on. cit., p. 67.

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Farther north there are said to be a considerable number of manok ihalas (Red Jungle Fowl: Gallus gallus gallus, Linne.) that the barriofolk hunt; some are merely domesticated fowl that have gone wild. There were no wild chickens in Catieugan and the men did not hunt for them. While the trapping of wild birds is done by both sexes, it is often the sport of young boys. Wild birds furnish a very small part of the diet of only a few families in Catieugan.

LIZARDS

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One large lizard (ibid) is hunted by some barriofolk although most of them hunt ibid only in periods of acute food shortage. This lizard is usually found in bamboo groves or in the kamansilis trees near the river; it is hunted with the blow-gun, trapped with grated coconut meat, or run down by dogs. Large ibid are said to weigh as much as 10 pounds. The meat, boiled in coconut "milk," "tastes like chicken." Another large lizard (halo) found in the locality is not eaten.

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COLLECTING WILD HONEY

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Once the hives of wild honey bees (potyakan) were hunted for their honey. Few wild beehives are found today in Catieugan or environs. When the hives are found accidentally, the honey is collected; the people are fond of it. One informant said that when he was a young man

20: Hart E-5 (1951) 1954 OA1 Philippines
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# CHAPTER VII

## SECURING AQUATIC PRODUCTS

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This chapter describes techniques by which the barriofolk secure aquatic products from creek, river and sea. Pelagic products have been mentioned by various writers as important in the rural diet; the study of the aquatic foods obtained from the rivers and creeks, however, has been neglected in the Philippines. The first part of this chapter describes the catching of "non-commercial" aquatic life from the Caticugan Creek and Siaton River--namely, snails, crabs, shrimp and fish. The latter half of the chapter is devoted to the commercial aspects of pelagic fishing, mainly the fish corral, other types of fish traps, nets, and fishermen's boats. This division is arbitrary; owners of commercial fish corrals consume part of their catch, and some barriofolk have traps merely to obtain fish for their own tables. However, the quantities of fish obtained with the fish corral are much greater than those obtained in any other manner; fish corrals are the "big business" of Siaton municipality.[1]

[1] Various charts are placed at the end of this chapter as a more convenient place, in case the reader wishes to consult them, than the appendix.

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**Fresh-Water Snails**

Fresh-water snails are gathered for food; their thin shells are processed to make lime for tilad ("fixings" for betel nut chewing ). Table XXVII lists the snails gathered for food in the Siaton River.

TABLE XXVII

FRESH-WATER SNAILS GATHERED IN THE SIATON RIVER

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| LOCAL NAME (SIATON) | SCIENTIFIC NAME | EXTENT OF COLLECTION |
|---|---|---|
| Alipunti (Alapunte) | Balanocochlis gians (V. D. Bush) | Infrequently |
| White-mouth Alipunti | Balanocochlis inermis Lesson | Infrequently |
| Bokgay (White-mouth Ungka) | Neritina pulligera (Linn.) and Neritina squaminiota (Recluz) | Infrequently |
| Boong-Boong | Thiara cancellata (Roding) | Infrequently |
| Kapis | Septaria porcellana (Linn.) | FREQUENTLY |
| Soso or Igalso | Genus Stenomelania, species crenulata (Deshayes); uniformis (Quoy and Gaimard); hastula (Lea); and tiroumi (Deshayes) | Infrequently |
| Tibo-Tibo | Tarebia granifera (Lamarck) | FREQUENTLY |
| Ungka (Red-mouth) | Clithon bicolor (Recluz) | FREQUENTLY |

Dr. James P. E. Morrison, Associate Curator, Division of Molluska, Smithsonian Institution, writes regarding the species covered by the words used by the barriofolk:

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> As you will note, the mixture of species under two of the common names are mixtures of what we understand as biological species in the same genus; in other words, the people, in identifying these snails by common names, are pretty closely following the lines of their biological relationships. In the case of the 'Bokgay', the two species of Neritina are very closely related. Again, in the case of the snails called 'Soso', the four species mixed thereunder are very closely related.[2]

The most common snails in the Siaton River, and therefore those most frequently gathered, are the Red-Mouth Ungka, Kapia and Tibo-Tibo. The other less abundant types are collected when available. While most barriofolk insisted that Soso and Igalao were the same snail with different names, others said they were different--that the Soso was larger, blacker and had a different coloration around the orifice than the Igalao. The White-Mouth Ungka (Bokgay) was reported to be "most plentiful ~~when there are many stars~~ in the sky." Bokgay snails, rarely found in the vicinity of Caticugan, are more common in the Siaton River beyond Sandolot and Balanan, and "in mountain streams." Bong-Bong are uncommon in the river near Caticugan and disappear north of Sitio Lamtoc. One resident of Datag said when Bong-Bong are found in the Siaton River near his barrio it was a sign of a coming flood.

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[2]Personal communication to the writer from Dr. Morrison, August 6, 1951. Identification of these snails and other aquatic life was made possible through the courtesy of Dr. Morrison and Dr. Harold A. Rehder, Curator, Division of Mollusks, Smithsonian Institution.

226 Snails are gathered all year except when the river is flooded and too swift to collect them. Even during the rainy season, the snails are collected between floods. Another factor that discourages people from gathering snails during the rainy season is the appearance in the river of the poisonous golden-colored fish, lupo. When stepped on, this fish inflicts a painful wound.

226 462 Both sexes gather snails in the river, although it is done mostly by women and young children. As one female informant explained: "Women are easier to group together than men and in the evening the men like to drink guhang." Snails are collected in the day or at night by moonlight or a flashlight.

226 Kapia, Ungka and Bong-Bong are usually found on top of stones at night or under them during the day. The people explain that at night the snails come from under the stones to feed. Soso and Tibo-Tibo normally occur on the sandy river bottom. When snails are gathered during the day stones are turned over along the river edge where the water is shallow. The people wear a small bamboo container or carry a can in which to put the snails.

252 262 Snails are boiled, sometimes with vegetables, to make soup (sabao). The meat is then extracted from the shell and eaten. Most houses have a nearby kitchen midden of discarded snail and clam shells.

276 To make lime (apog) for betel nut chewing, snail shells are put in a half section of dry bamboo that is

placed on dry palm leaves. The other half of the bamboo, the "lid," is fitted on top and covered with more leaves. Then the leaves are fired. When the fire burns out, the burnt shells are carefully picked up lest they shatter and are put in a container of water. The water is then thoroughly stirred; after the lime has settled, the water is poured off. Some wash the burnt shells after firing and crush them without soaking in water. A bamboo container for carrying lime for betel nut chewing is called sugong; a container carved from carabao horn is called luka.

Marine Snails and Clams

Table XXVIII, Varieties of Marine Clams and Snails Gathered in Siaton, presents pertinent data regarding local names, scientific identification and frequency of catch of marine snails and clams. (See Pages 636 - 637.) These mollusks, a fairly frequent part of the diet of barriofolk, give both variety and flavor to their daily fare. Like the fresh-water snails, they may be boiled to make a weak soup, eaten as meat, or cooked with vegetables. In the northern barrios marine mollusks are rarely eaten owing to the distance from the sea. Whereas a few people gather marine mollusks all the year, the southwest monsoon's arrival makes it difficult for the sea becomes rough. Like the fres-water mollusks, the marine snails and clams are collected mainly during the dry season.

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Marine mollusks are gathered mainly by women and young girls; men and young boys infrequently participate. The mollusks are gathered at low tide usually during or just before a full moon; the women enjoy collecting snails and clams. They bathe, gossip, playfully splash water on friends while dipping coconut shells into the sand for the clams. The marine clams most frequently gathered are Kalaykay and Toway; the marine snails are Tabono and Tandaday.

At the July full moon I visited the seashore one afternoon. The most popular place to collect snails and clams is a rocky stretch of beach just east of the Siaton River mouth. About seventy individuals were hunting along the rocky beach; they were women or young girls and a very few elderly men. Ten were from Catiugan; others came from the poblacion, from Barrios Mantuyop, and from Sumalaring. Some dug in the sand for clams, and put them into a container or popped them into their mouths. When their mouths were full they walked to the beach and put these clams in a container. Some women dropped the clams into their blouse fronts.

The most abundant of all these marine snails and clams is the Kalaykay; about the size of a quarter. The Tandagay, said to be "very good eating," are often collected on rainy days when they stick to stones in shallow water.

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Barriofolk rarely go to the nipa swamps just to collect clams and snails. They usually combine this task with getting nipa leaves.

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task with getting nipa leaves. The largest clam found in these areas is the Toway; one pokes a bolo (brought to cut nipa leaves) or a stick into a soft mount or bubbling hole in the damp sand of the swamp to get Toways. Four types of snails that are found in nipa swamps are: Dalodalo, Hagonipa, Libodbod, and Taboysoy (the latter clings to the palm trunks and leaves).

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Two types of seaweed are gathered and eaten by the barriofolk: a green moss, lumot, and a brownish moss, lagot. Lagot is put in hot water, then drained and garlic, salt, and vinegar added. These two seaweeds are gathered during the dry season along the beach. When the rainy season begins the mosses "become slippery and are not good to eat." Only a few families in Catiougan were observed eating these mosses.

## METHODS OF OBTAINING RIVER FISH

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A large share of the fish eaten locally is caught in the Siaton River. Many families eat more river fish than sea fish. They either lack money to buy sea fish or there may be none for sale in the marketplace.

Table XXIX[1] lists local names, and in most cases, scientific identification, of types of fish caught in the Siaton River.

River fish are caught in eight different ways: (1) with nets (te-an and tangkop); (2) with bamboo-rattan traps (sasag, balantak and bobo); (3) with fish poisons; (4) by the galobog method; (5) by a process called

1 [See p. 540, cat. 226 or 116 -- Analyst]

Panangkop; (6) by gamala ("drying the stream"); (7) with "fish guns" (pana sa isda); and (8) by hook and line and gaff (kao-it), and fish spears called togsad. These eight methods of obtaining fish from the Siaton River are described below. 226

TABLE XXIX

Varieties of Fish Caught in the Siaton River Negros Oriental 226 136

| Local Names | | Identification[4] |
|---|---|---|
| Siaton | Tanjay[3] | |
| Amapan | Palangan[5] | Mugilidae sp.[6] |
| Bais or Kawo-Kawo | Bais | Anguilla mauritiana Benn. |
| Bogsikan | - | - |
| Bulan-Bulan | - | - |
| Capasgapas | - | - |
| Gisao[7] | Gisao | Mugil dussumieri C. & V. |
| Halo-an[8] | - | - |
| Hilihol | Hilihol | Brachysomiophis (Achirophichthys) W. & P. Kampeni |
| Hipon[9] | - | - |
| Ilabo | Ilabo | Bunaka pinguis Herre. |
| Inid[10] | - | - |
| Kahoykahoy | Koikog | Belonichthys fluviatilis Peters |
| Labongan | - | - |
| Mambot or Tibiw | Tibiw | Sicyopterus lacrymosus Herre. |
| Mangat | - | - |
| Oga-ot[11] | - | - |
| Ontangol | - | - |
| Palangan[12] | - | Ambassis nalua (Ham. Buch.) |
| Pili[13] | - | - |
| Pigot | - | - |
| Subadsubad | - | Caranx malabaricus Bloch and Schneider |
| Toghod | Bonog[14] | Chonophorous ocellaris Brousonet |
| Tokotoko | Lagnas | Biat luzonicus Seale |

[3]Prior to sending my Siaton collection to Manila a visiting fisherman from Tanjay (Negros Oriental) examined the preserved specimens and furnished the above local names. Some specimens were added after his visit to Siaton and others he did not recognize.

RIVER FISH NETS

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Three types of nets are used in river fishing; the ta-an, tangkop and salok. The salok is a butterfly-like net, infrequently seen, used to catch shrimp that cling to the muddy banks of the river during the rainy season. The tangkop net is used for panangkop to be described later. The ta-an is the net most widely used for Hipon. (See Plate XXIV.)

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[4]Identification was made with specimens preserved in a 70 per cent solution of alcohol through the cooperation of Dr. D. V. Villadolid, Director, I. Ronquillo and A. Sarenas, Bureau of Fisheries, Manila.

[5]The Anapan of Siaton is the Palangan of Tanjay. Palangan in Herre and Umali, op. cit., is said to be the "Slipmouth" (Family Leiognathidae) which is not the same fish identified as the Anapan or Palangan of Siaton.

[6]The Anapan specimen in the collection was a juvenile mullet. Differential characteristics of the different genera are not only difficult to see at such a stage but may overlap. Dr. Villadolid thinks possibly that the Anapan and Gisao may be the same fish.

[7]Gisao in Herre and Umali, op. cit., is called "Mullet Fingerling" (Family Mugilidae).

[8]Some Filipinos said the Halo-an is the "Mudfish" called Dalag (Tag.)

[9]Hipon are Family Gobiidae according to Herre and Umali, op. cit.

[10]Inid and Bulan-Bulan are also caught in the sea.

[11]Oga-oi is normally caught in river traps only during the rainy season.

[12]See Nos. 5 and 6.

[13]Pili, Lebongan and Bogaikan are usually found farther north than Catiougan "where the river is swifter and deeper."

[14]Bonog in Herre and Umali, op. cit., is "Goby" (Chonophorus melanocephalus or Glossogobius giurus.)

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(i.e., the last quarter of the moon, often seen in the sky at noon), several days after the "dying moon" (himatayon) and two or three days after the full moon (subang). During the full moon, however, only the "fine type" are said to be caught. Examination of the types of Hipon caught during these runs did not bear out this folk-statement. Others said that in years when mushrooms are scarce Hipon are most plentiful. During a Hipon run several hundred people, from the poblacion and the barrios, can be seen catching the fish in the river; Caticugan is almost deserted during these runs.

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Ta-an Nets

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Ta-an nets are placed in shallow water near the banks or on sand bars of the Siaton River. Usually low walls of stone and palm leaves are built to make a channel that leads the water into the net. The net, tied to stakes driven into the river bed, is usually four or five feet long and two or three feet wide. The net opening faces downstream since the Hipon swim upstream. Fish pass into the first section of the net, over the front flap that is weighted with stones or sticks. This flap is weighted so it is only partly submerged, not touching the net bottom, but tied by strings at a five or ten degree angle. (See Plate XXXV, Detail B.)[1] This makes it impossible for fish, once they swim over the flap and into the first section of the net, to escape. Eventually they swim from the first section through the two small openings (galao) into the second section of the net;

[1] [this plate (p. 544) is missing -- Analyst]

(see Plate XXXV, Detail A)[1] the catch is scooped out of this section. 227

Ta-an nets have the advantage of not having to be watched constantly; they are set up by men. Ta-an catches are for family consumption. One group that netted Hipon with a tangkop near the Siaton River mouth caught two cavans in an afternoon. Large catches usually are made near the mouth or just off the mouth of the river, with bigger nets; Hipon sell in the marketplace for about five dollars per five-gallon can. The owner of a big net receives one-half of the catch, and his assistants divide the remainder equally. Young girls or women vendors from Caticugan and other barrios go to the mouth of the rivers during Hipon runs to sell or barter boiled bananas and other foods. 226 [435] [265]

The Asag and Balantak River Fish Traps

Two common types of fish traps used in Siaton River are the balantak and the larger asag. Small bobo fish traps may be placed in the river but this type of trap usually is put in the sea. The largest asag seen, at Sitio Daliw (north of Casala-an), was 12 feet long. (See Plate XXXVI.) This asag, owned by one family, had stone retaining walls three to four feet high, several feet thick, and about 25 feet long. The walls ordinarily last until rainy season when they are washed away by the flooded river. Fish smaller than four or five inches could have passed 227

2 [See p. 546, Cat. 227 – Analyst]

1 [this plate (p. 544) is missing -- Analyst]

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Asags or balantaks are rarely used in the part of the Siaton River that runs past Talo-ot and Datag because of its depth, even during the dry season. The Mantuyop River, shallower and more rocky, is ideal for such traps. Many Naga barriofolk put either type of trap, especially balantak, in this river. Traps are checked several times a day to remove the catch or to clear away debris from the mouth of the channel or the trap. During the rainy season some asags remain in the river; a few are washed away.[16]

GAMALA

Gamala ("drying up the stream") is another method by which fish, shrimp and crabs are caught in the river. Along the Siaton River there are sandy flats--often created during the rainy season. Here small channels are dug, several inches deep, so water from the river flows through them. These artificial streams are called malad-om ("little streams that can be made dry.") Water flows through these channels for several weeks "so the fish and shrimp will get used to it." Sometimes a little grated coconut is sprinkled in the channels to attract shrimp and fish. Often coconut fronds are put along both edges of the channel to increase the shade that the fish and shrimp seem to prefer.

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[16] The Magahats have the balantak fish trap that is called bali-at. They bait their traps with roasted nuts or the entrails of birds, which is not done in Caticugan. Oracion, op. cit., pp. 76-7.

After several weeks the flow of water into these channels is stopped by blocking with stones, sand or a piece of old matting. At the channel's lower end a balantak trap is placed; the water runs out through the trap, catching most of the fish or shrimp. When all the water has run out, the people search the dry bed of the channel, to pick up stranded shrimp, fish and crabs. 226

One man in Talo-ot had been using the same malad-om channel for three years; any person may make a channel as long as they do not interfere with others. Sometimes an abaca net (also called balantak) is used in gamala but the balantak trap is much more common. During the rainy season it is impossible to use this method of catching fish; the sandy river flats are flooded with deep water.[17]

LOCAL PISCICIDES

The most common method of fish poisoning is to crush plant materials (roots, leaves, fruits, seeds or bark) and dump them into the water. Plant material may be soused in a container of water and this mixture poured into the place to be poisoned--a method best suited to plants of high toxicity. Plant poison may be ground, mixed with other materials (fish, worms, etc.) 226 278

[17]Capistrano describes a similar method of fishing in Mindanao that is called pamala. In pamala small pools are emptied by using large kerosene cans or bamboo dippers in order to get the fish in the pool, usually halo-an. Ramon J. Capistrano, "The Fishing Industry in Cagayan, Manila, 1915." Manila, Bisaya Ethnology, Beyer Collection, I-V, No. 110, 1918, p. 9. Typescript.

and made into small pellets of bait. Some people use inorganic chemical poisons like lime. The toxins in the plants vary; some are stomach poisons, others affect the functioning of the respiratory system through haemolysis of the red blood corpuscles. The plants most commonly used as piscicides contain toxins of saponins, alkaloids and glucosides. Most piscicides act fairly rapidly; the full effect is achieved normally within half an hour.[18]

Five different plants are known or used by the barriofolk of Caticugan as fish poisons for both river and pelagic fishing. These piscicides are: the vines lagtang (Anamirta cocculus (Linn.) W. & A.) and tubli (Derris elliptica (Roxb.) Benth.), a bush called soro-soro (Euphorbia neriifolia L.), the kasay tree bark and the fruit and bark of the bito-on (Barringtonia asiatica (Linn.) Kurz) tree. The most popular one is lagtang.

I never saw Caticugan barriofolk use fish poisons, although they were well-informed about the techniques. The Siaton River near Caticugan does not lend itself to such a method of fishing; it lacks small riverside pools and the current is fairly swift. In the northern barrios of the Siaton River valley the people utilize piscicides more frequently. There are more creeks, the river's current is gentler with many shallow pools.

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[18] Robert F. Heizer, "Aboriginal Fish Poisons," Anthropological Papers, No. 33-42, Bulletin 151, Bureau of American Ethnology, Washington, D.C., 1953, pp. 231-2, 239.

In the fishing barrios lagtang is used for certain types of pelagic fishing.[19] 226

When the fish corrals are destroyed by the south-west monsoon, the men in fishing communities like Malabuhan fish with hook and line when weather permits. They use lagtang as a piscicide, frequently to obtain live bait. Lagtang's fruit is red when ripe, the seeds are brown. The vine flowers in March and the fruits are collected in May. In Malabuhan the people often buy lagtang seeds for five cents a pound; lagtang does not grow near Malabuhan and has to be sought in the hills. Lagtang seeds contain picrotoxin, other bitter principles and two alkaloids. One of the best known of Asian piscicides, lagtang, is "one of the commonest [plants] used as a fish poison in the Philippines."[20] 226 278

The fruit of the lagtang is dried in the sun with care not to over-dry, since this is said to make the

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[19] Piscicides are still widely used in the Philippines. An author from Camiguin Island, off the northern coast of Mindanao, recently wrote: "Aside from fishing with TNT, more than a few fishermen in Camiguin still use poison herbs, including tubli and lagtang to kill fish. This practice is almost as destructive as dynamite fishing itself." Rafael A. Bautista, "Disappearing Paradise," The Philippines Free Press, XLIV, No. 8 (February 21, 1953), pp. 20-1. Dynamite fishing became a serious problem after the last war that left large supplies of explosives in various parts of the Philippines.

[20] Brown states "The fruit is used as a fish poison and is also poisonous to other animals...In preparing the poison the fruit is heated until dry and then crushed and powdered." Brown, op. cit., I, p. 530. Encarnacion wrote that the juice obtained from the lagtang roots, mixed with water, was used as a medicine for sore eyes and the fruit was used as a piscicide. Quisumbing, op. cit., pp. 145-6.

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seeds very toxic. Once dried, the outer skin is peeled off and the seeds are roasted in a frying pan. Lagtang seeds must not be heated too long or they become so toxic that the fish sink instead of floundering stupefied on the surface. Then the seeds are pounded and mixed with finely-cut fish, cooked cornmeal or mashed land crabs and sand; sand makes the mixture heavy so it will sink. When the fish eat this mixture they "come to the surface very dizzy and act crazy and we scoop them up with the sikpas"—a butterfly-like net with a handle. Since all the fish do not come to the surface this type of fishing is wasteful, particularly if the poison is very potent.

Tubli is another common piscicide. Wray's description of the use of tubli by the Malays approximates the technique used in the Philippines—and in Caticugan.[21] The stem and roots of this vine are cut, sometimes mashed, then placed in water to soak out the toxin. Tubli is used in the river and in rocky pools along the seashore. The lack of such pools between Malabuhan and the Siaton River mouth may be one reason why tubli is used so infrequently.

Soro-soro is not as potent a piscicide as tubli. Both soro-soro leaves and its fleshy branches are utilized. Soro-soro is cultivated in Manila and some large towns; Quisumbing believes it is an introduced species.[22]

[21] Quisumbing, op. cit., p. 149 who quotes Wray; tubli is said to be cultivated in Malaya for use as a piscicide.

[22] Ibid., p. 156. Soro-soro is also used as a fish poison by the Igorots.

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Scrapings from the bark of the kasay tree are used as a fish poison. Both soro-soro and kasay are rarely used in Siaton.

The bito-on is a common tree that grows along the seashore in the Philippines. The tree's seeds contain a glucoside, barringtonin; both the bark and the seeds are used as a fish poison.[23] The flesh of bito-on fruits is eaten when ripe, in Siaton; the grated bark is also mixed with binakhao (finely-diced raw fish that many people consider a delicacy). In Caticugan the flesh of the fruit is used also as a piscicide; it is chopped or rubbed against sharp coral rocks in the pools. Sometimes the bito-on flesh is roasted, powdered and mixed with fine ashes or chopped fish. One informant reported an experience with bito-on that is probably typical of its use by many barriofolk.

> One day while my cousin and I were taking a bath in the river he became excited to discover plenty of fish in a deep part of the river. I told him that we could not do anything to catch the fish. But my cousin said we should go home and get some of the fruit and bark of a bito-on tree that grew near his house. We did this and threw it [bito-on fruit] into the water where the fish were swimming. We caught plenty of fish and shrimp and eels.

Not all Caticugan barriofolk, however, knew that bito-on could be used as a piscicide.

Povedano's manuscript (1578) states that the early inhabitants of Negros used two piscicides, tubli

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[23] Ibid., p. 165. Bito-on has been found to be most effective as a piscicide when used at dawn.

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and laktang (i.e., lagtang). Tubli roots were crushed; laktang fruits were roasted and pulverized with dried shrimp. Both Palencia and Capistrano mention Filipinos using tubli as a piscicide.[24] Povedano also wrote that tigao leaves were mixed with those of the lampuyan to make a fish poison.[25] Aguirre reports (1916) that the people of Negros Occidental used lagtang seeds; the roasted seeds were pounded and mixed with algae that stunned but did not kill the fish. Aguirre also mentions the use of tuba (Jatropha curcas Linn.) or kasla, producing a piscicide that killed not merely stupefied the fish.[26] Tuba was introduced into the Philippines from Mexico by the Spaniards; it is now pantropic in distribution. Tuba's English name is "Physic Nut" tree and the seeds contain a toxin called toxalbumin curcin.[27]

[24]Teofilo Panencia "The Life of a Bisaya Fisherman," Manila, Bisaya Ethnology, I-V, Beyer Collection, 1918, p. 4. Typescript. Vide Capistrano, op. cit., p. 10.

[25]Probably Povedano's lampuyan is lampuyang (Curcuma longa Linn.) that is a source of tumeric. However, the lampuyang that grows in Caticugan, identified by a specimen, is Curcuma zedoaria (Berg.) Rosc.; Brown makes no mention of it being used as a fish poison. Povedano's tigao is probably tigau (Callicarpa cana Linn.), a shrub whose leaves are used as a piscicide, according to Brown. Neither of these two plants, lampuyang or tigau, were used as fish poisons in Caticugan. Brown, op. cit., I, pp. 425-8 and Brown, op. cit., III, p. 277.

[26]Eulogio Aguirre "How the Early People in Occidental Negros Obtained Their Food." Manila, Bisaya Ethnology, Beyer Collection, I-V, 1918, pp. 3-4. Typescript. Magahats use tuba as a fish poison, soaking the pounded fruits in a container of water and then pouring the mixture into the river or creek. It is reported the toxin takes about 20 minutes to stupefy the fish. Magahats also use tubli and lagtang. Oracion, op. cit., pp. 77-8.

[27]Eduardo Quisumbing "Philippine Plants Used for Arrow Poisons," The Philippine Journal of Science, LXXVII, No. 2 (June 1947), pp. 137-8. In Caticugan there is also a plant called tuba-tuba (Jatropha gossypifolia Linn.)

GALOBOG

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Galobog ("to make the water muddy") is another method of fishing practiced in Caticugan. Part of Caticugan creek is fairly wide and flows sluggishly. The people tie branches to several carabaos and have them drag the branches in the creek, which makes the water muddy. The shrimp (olang) scurry to the water level at the creek bank edges where they are caught. For the most part, this method serves to collect shrimp, although a few small fish are sometimes caught. Often a small net is used, but generally the people pick up the shrimp with their hands. In Barrio Caticugan galobog is done every two or three months. In one galobog about twenty people participated--men, women and children--and each person kept the shrimp collected. No one got less than half a coconut shell of shrimp; some gathered more.[28]

PANANGKOP

Panangkop is another method of obtaining small fish, shrimp and crabs from the Siaton River. Small piles of stones (tapok), two to three feet high, are made along the river banks in the shallow water. The stone piles line the river from the seashore to Casala-an.

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[28] Galobog is similar to the palubog method of obtaining fish in Cagayan, Mindanao. The people muddy the water of a pool, killing large fish with sticks and netting smaller ones. Capistrano, op. cit., p. 9.

20: Hart E-5 (195.) 1954 OA1 Philippines
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Dead palm fronds often are put on top of the stone piles to increase the shade; fish, shrimp and crabs soon make their homes here. Every week or so, sometimes more frequently, a net (tangkop) is used to catch the fish living in the stone piles. 226.

The tangkop net is made of abaca with small wooden floats at the top to keep it afloat. A long funnel-like sleeve (paboto) is attached to the center portion of the net. The net is placed around the stone pile and the bottom weighted to the bed with stones; then the stones are removed, one by one, and piled outside the net. Gradually the bottom of the net is drawn together as the stones are replaced. When all the rocks from the pile are removed, the bottom edges of the net are completely drawn together. Most of the fish caught inside the net try to escape into the paboto. The catch usually consists of small shrimp, crabs, and Mambot, Ilabo, Bais and sometimes Halo-an. For example, from six stone piles one man caught a 6-inch bais (eel), and filled a pint-sized bamboo container with small fish, shrimp and crabs.

Anyone can build a stone pile for panangkop "as long as there is room." However, some families in Caticugan have maintained the same location for a number of years. During the rainy season river floods either swept away the stone piles or covered them. Panangkop is normally a man's job, although small girls sometimes assist their fathers and brothers.

(See Plate XL. Figure B was seen in Pangasinan province, Luzon.)[1] Pana sa isda are usually from five to ten 227
inches long, the arrows from fifteen to twenty inches; posil-posil sa isda may be from one and one-half to five feet in length whereas the arrows are from twenty to forty inches long. I shot a posil-posil sa isda that hurled a 40-inch arrow 20 feet, penetrating half way through a medium-sized banana trunk. Often a posil-posil sa isda may have as many as four to six rubber bands to increase the arrow's velocity; some will shoot an arrow 150 feet, although after the first twenty or thirty feet the flight is not straight.

The posil-posil sa isda is used more for "shooting" 226 ●
larger fish in the sea; the pana sa isda is for river fishing. Most boys, as young as seven or eight years, 462
have a pana sa isda that they use with considerable skill. Women never and young girls rarely "shoot" fish, either in the river or the sea. Young boys go to the river wearing home-made goggles and stand for hours in the water, now and then ducking their heads beneath the surface to look for small fish. The goggles are made of wood with pieces of broken glass for lenses. The glass is sometimes affixed to the handcarved wooden frames with the wax of wild honeycomb. Usually a boy wears a bamboo container at his waist for catch.

Morning or afternoon, one might see two or three small boys, standing in the river, with their heads popping in and out of the water. Sometimes they stayed

1 [See p. 562, cat. 227 -- Analyst]

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in the water so long that they shivered from the cold. The arrow rarely completely leaves the gun. Many small fish hide under stones; the boys gently lift the stones and shoot the fish as they dart away. Some young lads said "the fish just stick their heads out from the stones and we shoot them."

The best places to hunt fish are where the water runs noisily over shallow stony stretches. Larger boys swim under water along the river banks where the water is deep and trees shade the pools. Here they find larger fish. Varieties most frequently shot are Halo-an, Gisao, Pigot, Managat and Ilabo. One man caught a Managat 3 feet long but this admittedly was exceptional. A "large" Siaton River fish rarely is longer than eight or ten

River fish also are caught by hook and lin (called palagdas), and with a fish spear (togsad) and gaff (kao-it); the latter is used mainly to catch eels. Halo-an often are caught with a home-made hook (taga), line and bamboo fishing pole (pamingwit). Along the east side of the Siaton River, in Barrio Datag, a few pools exist that refill each year when the river overflows. There are often a few Halo-an in these pools. Sometimes small fish, earthworm, or cricket is used as bait; the pole may be left with its butt pushed into the sand. The owner returns later to inspect his line. I never saw a woman fish with a hook and line. Fewer

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fish are caught by hook and line than by other methods since most of the river fish are small.

Eels are caught in the Siaton River; my assistant caught an eel as thick as his forearm. A hook baited with a Tibiw or a small frog is thrown into the river, and the line is tied to a stump or tree. Another method of catching eels is called pangao-it. A young man dives into a deep hole, usually near the bank, locates a large eel. The diver gently pets the eel until he is able to gaff it with the kao-it; they say the eel remains motionless while its back is being rubbed. The togsad (see Plate XLI)[1] of which only one was seen in Caticugan, is a spear with a number of barbs attached to the tip. It is used mainly to spear small fish--sometimes at night with the aid of a torch. I saw only one togsad in Caticugan.

FRESH-WATER SHRIMP AND CRABS

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These crustaceans occur in the river all year although they are easier to catch during the dry season. Table XXX[2] gives local and identification names.

1 [See p. 565, cat. 116 -- Analyst]

2 [See p. 566, cat. 226 -- Analyst]

TABLE XXX

Shrimp and Crabs Caught in the Siaton River[29]

| Local Names | | Identification |
|---|---|---|
| Caticugan | Tanjay | |
| SHRIMP | | |
| Analsalon | Mangoyod | Palaemon lanceifrous (?) |
| Magus | Mayes | Atya serrata Spence Bate |
| Naturale | Mistersa | Caranx malabaricus Bloch and Schneider |
| Olang | - | Macrobrachium australe (Guerin-Meneville) |
| CRABS | | |
| Kalampay | - | Varuna litterata (Fabricius) |
| Katang | - | Pseudograpsus crassus A. Milne Edwards |
| Tolo | - | Varuna spinicarpa (Ortmann) and Ptychognathus riedelii A. Milne Edwards |

Concerning the Olang Dr. Chace writes:

This species ranges from Madagascar to Oceania and is widespread over this area, although it has apparently not previously been recorded from the Philippines. It is always somewhat dangerous to assign a definite specific name to a single female of this genus, inasmuch as most of the diagnostic characters are found only in males. However, this specimen appears to fit the description of M. australe fairly well and there is no reason to believe that such a widespread species should not be found in the Philippines.

In regard to the Katang crab, Dr. Chace reports:

This species has been recorded from fresh water in the Celebes, Flores, Halmahera, Ceram, and possibly Japan. It has also been found on coral reefs of the Talaud Islands...and it has not been recorded in the literature from the Philippines... Your remarks on the migration of this species to and from the sea are very interesting. I am quite

[29]Identification made from specimens I furnished the Bureau of Fisheries, Manila, and the Division of Marine Invertebrates, Smithsonian Institution.

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sure that no such observations have been made previously regarding this species. Such a migration readily explains the presence of the Talaud specimens in a marine habitat.

Dr. Chace wrote concerning the Tolo crab:

> This species has been recorded in the literature from Celebes, Flores, Ceram, northern Sumatra, and the Andamans. There are specimens in our collection from Uki Island in the Dutch East Indies and the Baganga River, Mindanao. I do not believe that this species has been recorded in the literature from the Philippines.[30]

Shrimp

The reddish-black Analsalon is the smallest of the four types of shrimp in the river and creeks. The blackish Magus has an indistinct white stripe on its back; the female is said to have no pincers. The Naturale, a whitish-grey shrimp, is not found as frequently as other types in Caticugan Creek. Shrimp are frequently boiled with vegetables to give a better flavor.

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The shrimp caught are small, from one to three inches. However, during the rainy season in the river and creeks near Caticugan shrimp are caught from four to six inches long. The people say these bigger shrimp are washed down from the upper reaches of the Siaton River and its tributaries by the swift currents of the rainy season. I have seen shrimp from eight to nine inches long that had been caught in creeks near Balanan.

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[30] Personal communications to the writer from Dr. Fenner A. Chace, Jr., April 15 and November 6, 1952.

Crabs

When the brown shrike begins to sing in September or October the Katang, Kalampay and Tolo crabs are said to begin their migration down river. The crabs spawn at the mouth of the river; they begin late in September and continue until early in November. October is the chief month of migration for these crabs.

The mature Katang and Kalampay are about the same size; the Tolo is smaller. A mature Katang is as large as the back of one's hand; a Tolo rarely grows larger than a fifty-cent coin. The Katang receives its name from a C-like mark on its back. When Katang and Kalampay migrate the barriofolk turn out in force to obtain them with traps, nets and by hand. Some young men stand in the river and feel with their feet for the crabs on the bottom. When a crab is felt (or bites their foot) they duck under the surface to grab it. Female Katang are prized because they carry good-sized bunches of orange-colored eggs; the male Katang, however, has large pincers and more meat than the female.

In December or January the Katang young (Lavagay) begin their migration upstream. They move by thousands along the river edges, over the stones in the shallow water, marching like well-drilled cadets. The barriofolk catch the Lavagay, sometimes with blankets, then pound and salt them to make a variety of ginamos. Some people

say Lavagay that escape will not return to the sea for seven years. 226

The Tolo crab is usually found around rocks in shallow water; more live in the river than in Caticugan Creek. They are caught in the balantak, ta-an and asag along with the Hipon, shrimp and fish. 226 136

The Alimango is a large crab, growing to the size of a small coconut, that lives in nipa and mangrove swamps or in the tidal reaches of the river. They are caught by digging them from their holes in the sand or mud. Another method is to put a fish trap baited with chicken guts or fish in the swamp. One man living in Baybay caught eight good-sized Alimangos in two days with such a baited trap.

River fish, shrimp and crabs form a considerable part of the aquatic food. Caticugan barriofolk eat more aquatic food from the river and creek than from the sea. As one travels to barrios farther from the sea, the importance of the sea as a source of food diminishes. The sea food eaten in Casala-an, for example, consists mainly of dried fish or canned sardines bought in the poblacion. Caticugan people do not prefer river to marine aquatic food; they often lack money to buy sea fish in the marketplace. During the rainy season the supply is often inadequate for the demand, whereas prices are higher. Although the people of Caticugan live only a mile from the sea they lack the necessary equipment to 226 262 433 435 226 471

catch fish in the sea and the money necessary to construct a fish corral.

PELAGIC FISHING: INTRODUCTION

The South Mindanao Sea is considered one of the richest fishing grounds in the Philippines, according to Dr. Villadolid, Director, Bureau of Fisheries. This section describes the methods of catching fish, types caught, and commercial aspects of pelagic fishing. In the past, cattle was the "big business" of Siaton municipality. Today, with the depletion of the herds during the last war, the fish corral has become the municipality's "big business."[31]

Four major methods of catching sea fish are used in Siaton municipality. First, the bonsod or bongsod (fish corral); second, various types of twine or abaca nets; third, the bobo fish trap; and fourth, hook and line fishing from small boats. As has been noted previously, piscicides cannot be considered a major method of catching pelagic fish in Siaton.

[31] I did not live in a fishing barrio. However, I spent a great deal of time in Baybay and Malabuhan, often staying in the villages for several days at the time, observing and talking with the residents. Most commercial fishermen lived in the poblacion. Mr. Francisco Baldebrin, vice mayor of the municipality, was one of my most intelligent and willing informants; he managed several fish corrals off Baybay. Other fishermen such as Mr. Pedro Solde and Carding Alonzo, Malabuhan, spent a great deal of time with me, showing me their equipment and explaining their work. For comparative data on Philippine fish traps, types of nets, etc., vide Agustin F. Umali, Guide to the Classification of Fishing Gear in the Philippines. Research Report 17. Washington, D. C., Fish and Wildlife Service, United States Department of the Interior, Government Printing Office, 1950.

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produced in the Philippines. This type of land use is most common along the northern coast of Panay and the Cavite and Pampangan sections of Manila Bay. In Negros Oriental there are several hundreds of acres of fishponds south of Tanjay whereas other ponds are found in Manjuyod and between Guihulngan and Vallehermoso. There were no fish ponds in Siaton municipality.

The Bonsod (Fish Corral)

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Bonsods are a pre-Hispanic method of catching fish. Antonio de Morga describes a type of fish corral used by Filipinos living near Manila in the 17th century.

> The natives' [Filipinos'] method of catching them [fish] is by making corrals of bejucos, which are certain slender canes or rushes, solid and very pliant and strong; these are employed for making cables for the natives' boats, as well as other kinds of ropes. They catch the fish inside these corrals, having made the enclosures fast by means of stakes. They also catch the fish in wicker baskets made from the bejucos, but most generally with atarrayas [a type of fish net], esparaveles [a round fish net that is jerked along in shallow water], and other small barrederas, [a net with a tighter mesh than the usual type] and with hand lines and hooks...[36]

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[14]

Retana, who published an annotated edition of de Morga, speculates that the bonsod originally came from Borneo.

Fish corral varieties in the Philippines have yet to be thoroughly studied and classified. They vary in size and design, from small shallow-water corrals to

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[36] Antonio de Morga, Blair and Robertson, op. cit., XVI, p. 96. Povedano, writing in 1572, mentions the fish corrals of the people of Negros. E. D. Hester (ed.) The Robertson Text and Translation of the Povedano Manuscript of 1572. Transcript No. 2. Chicago, Philippine Sutides Program, Department of Anthropology, University of Chicago, 1954, p. 48. Mimeographed. Unfortunately, this translation was not completed in time for me to use it throughout my report.

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those built in deep water where large nets and boats are needed to get the catch. Plate XLII[1] presents sketches of fish corral types found in Luzon, Cebu and Negros Oriental. The Quingavite is built in depths thirty to sixty-five feet deep while the Boholano, Pangalato, and Natural are shallow water fish corrals constructed in water six to twelve feet deep. Umali writes that the shallow water fish corrals cost from $50 to $150 to build whereas deep-water fish corrals are more expensive. These costs, however, are pre-war and are greater today.[37]

Victoria stated that in 1928 the baclad (Tagalog for fish corral) was the most important method of fishing in Cebu. He wrote that some large fish corrals required as much as $3,000 to build; smaller ones cost from $250 to $1,000.[38] As Umali reported "enormous sums of money are invested annually" in Philippine fish corrals.[39]

There appears to be two basic types of Philippine fish corrals. First, the large deep-water variety where the catch is obtained with boats and large nets, taking considerable capital to construct. Second, the smaller shallow-water variety, built in wading depths along the beaches or rivers, where the catch is collected with small hand nets.

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[37]Agustin F. Umali "The Fishing Industries of Ragay Gulf [Luzon]" The Philippine Journal of Science, Manila, LXV, No. 3 (March, 1938), pp. 189-91.

[38]Soledad De la Victoria "The Fishing Industry in Cebu (October 1928)." Manila, Philippine Customary Law, X, Beyer Collection, 1931, pp. 44-5. Typescript.

[39]Umali, op. cit., p. 189.

1 [See p. 575, cat. 226 -- Analyst]

PLATE XLII
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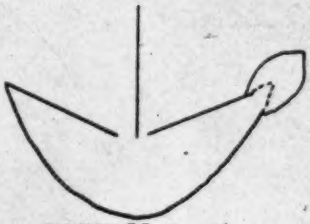


QUINAVITE (Luzon)

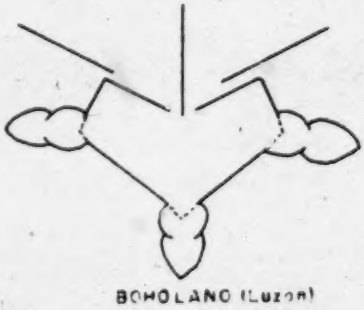
BACLAD (Cebu)

PANGALATO
(Luzon)

LEYTE (Tanjay)

NATURAL or ORDINARIO

BINATURAL (Tanjay)



BOHOLANO (Luzon)

VARIETIES OF FISH
CORRALS
PHILIPPINES

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Plate XL
Page 575A

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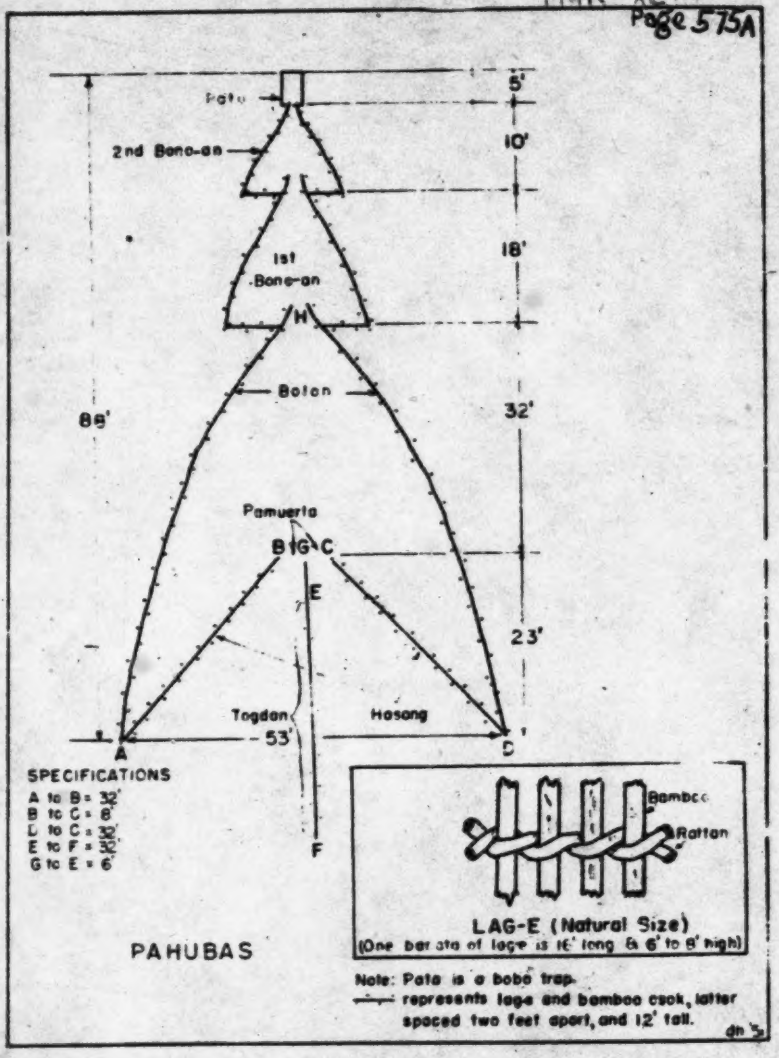

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These two types of fish corrals, Leyte and Binatural, are found in Tanjay. (See Plate XLII.)[1] The Leyte fish corral is quite similar to the Siaton bonsod; the former is said to have been introduced to Tanjay by Leyte fishermen. The Leyte fish corral is built in depths thirty to sixty-five feet deep; whereas the Binatural is constructed in shallow waters; as a result the Binatural catches smaller fish. Two similar types of fish corrals are built in Siaton, the large bonsod, similar to the Quinavite and Leyte, and the smaller, shallow-water pahubas that resembles the Binatural and Natural. Siaton pahubas have a small trap, like the bobo, at the exit of the last section of the corral. (See Plate XLIII.)[2]

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Fish corral and bobo activities in Siaton are keyed to the monsoons. The southwest monsoon brings winds and rough seas that destroy the bonsods and make it difficult to lay or retrieve the bobo. Each year the bonsods are rebuilt and each year the southwest monsoon wrecks them, usually in July or August. Sometimes a typhoon sweeps across southern Negros, as in 1951 and 1952, destroying the bonsods earlier than usual. In 1951 all Siaton bonsods except one were destroyed by an early May typhoon; in 1952 the fish corrals were ruined by an early June typhoon. For this reason pelagic fish are less plentiful in Siaton during most of the rainy season.

1 [See p.575, cat. 226 -- Analyst]

2 [See p.575A, cat. 226 -- Analyst]

₱275 in Ragay Gulf. These figures illustrate the inflation that has occurred in the Philippines since 1938.

Table XXXIV, at the end of this chapter, lists the local, English and scientific names (whenever possible) of fish caught in Siaton bonsods; Table XXXV gives the frequency of their catch and class accorded them by people living in both the barrio and Siaton poblacion.[1]

## Construction of the Fish Corral

Construction of bonsods in Siaton begins in late October or early November. Bonsods are built, for the most part, between Malabuhan and Salag Point; few bonsods are erected west of Salag Point because the coral sea floor makes it almost impossible to embed the posts. (See Plates XLIV and XLV.) In the past the long bamboos needed to build a bonsod could be cut in Caticugan and other barrios near the sea. Today bamboo is cut in Lamtoc, Balanan, and Casala-an and floated as rafts down the river since nearby bamboo resources have been exhausted. Some fish corral owners advance to the cutters in the barrios part of the money to be paid for the bamboo with full payment made on delivery. Long thick poles usually cost about twenty cents each; in Tanjay similar bamboos are reported to bring twice this amount.

Most of the rattan obtained to build the bonsods comes from Tolong municipality. The people said that once rattan grew abundantly in the hills near Caticugan;

[1] [see pp. 640-645 -- Analyst]

[2] [See pp. 586A and B, cat. 116 -- Analyst]

prices vary according to size and quality. Needed supplies as wire and rope normally are purchased in Dumaguete. 226 458

Plate XLVI[1] illustrates the general shape and size of the typical Siaton bonsod. Bamboo poles (osok) used to make the bonsod walls (bolon and paniko) are sharpened at one end with a large bolo or saw; a small slit is made in the internodes of the bamboo that will be submerged. These slits permit water and sand to enter the bamboos making them heavier and easier to push into the sea floor. Usually a number of these internodes at the ends of the poles are filled with sand for the same purpose. A chisel (gobia) is used to make the slits. 226 335

From 120 to 130 bamboos are used to make the banata or matting of the bonsod. (See Plate XVLII)[2] Each section of the banata is from 78 to 84 feet long and about 20 feet wide. The bamboo splints (lag-e) that are woven together to make the banata are one-half inch wide. Sometimes the banata is called lag-e although, technically, the lag-e are the long bamboo splints of the banata. For the typical Siaton bonsod fourteen banatas are used. The banata enclose the bonsod to prevent the escape of the fish caught inside the corral.

Bamboo poles are split by the golayan. A long bamboo is split for a few feet at the end and a small piece of bamboo is jammed into the split end. The pole is placed on a raised platform consisting of two horizontal crossbars supported by two uprights. Two vertical bamboos are attached to the horizontal crossbars making

1 [See p. 589, cat. 226 or 335 -- Analyst]
2 [See p. 590, cat. 226 or 335 -- Analyst]

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Plate XLVI
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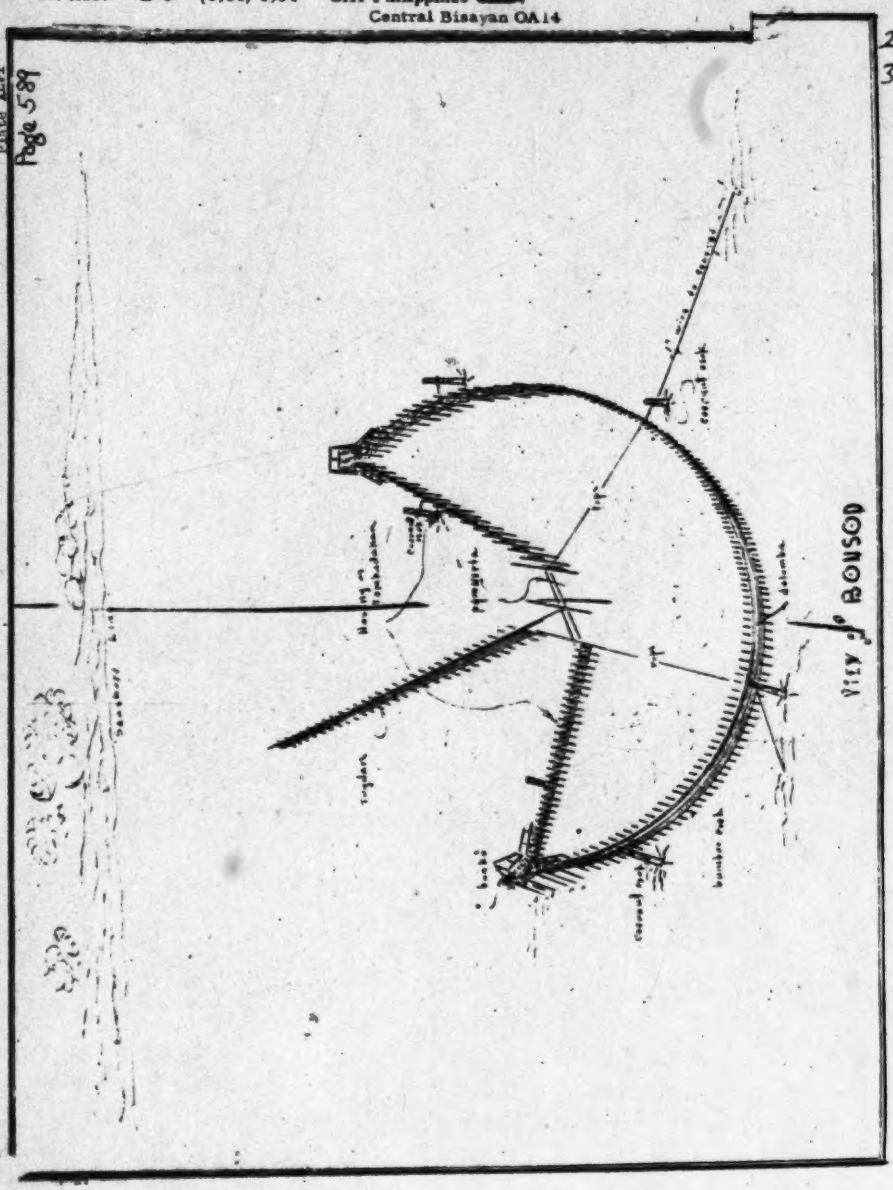

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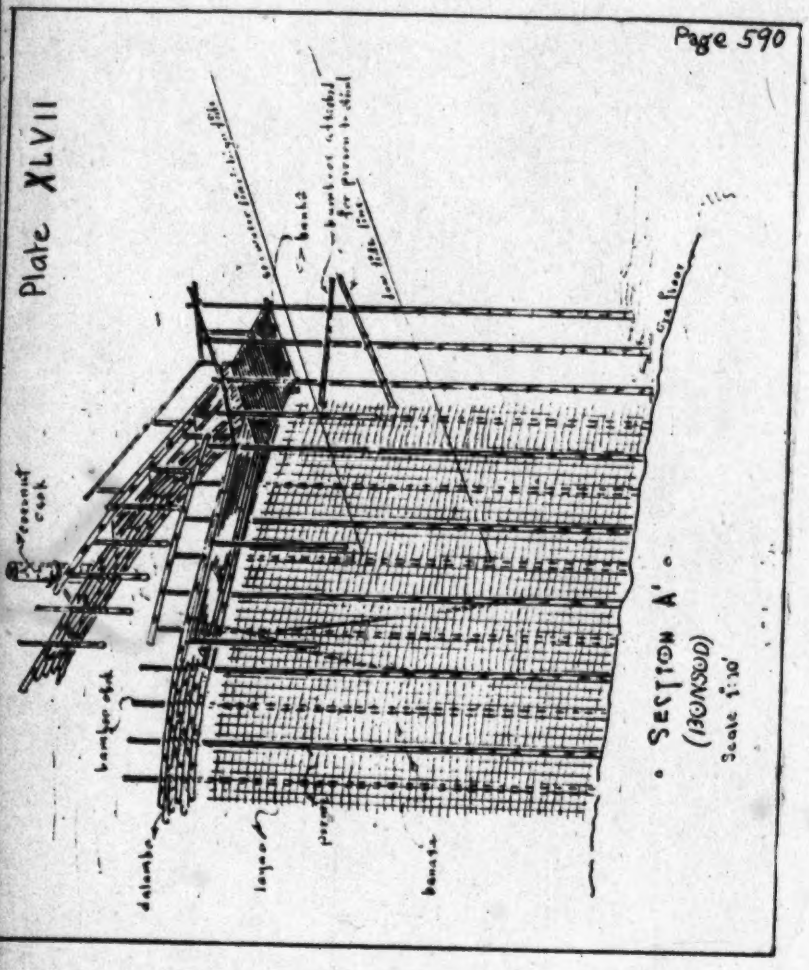
Plate XLVII



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a small square entrance. The ends of the stick in the split end of the bamboo are forced against these two vertical bamboos and the pole is pushed through the entrance. Since the stick in the split end of the bamboo cannot pass through the entrance it splits the bamboo down its entire length. The end of the bamboo, as it is being pushed, is "threaded" through a large rattan ring beyond the entrance of the golayan so the two bamboo splints (golay) will not spring outward during the process. Usually one man guides the bamboo through the rattan ring whereas another pushes; a 70-foot bamboo can be split within a few minutes. The golay are then split into thinner splints with a bolo and become the lag-e.

There are certain times deemed best to start the banata weaving. Workers of one bonsod constructor started their banata on Sunday "because the church is full and the bonsod will have good luck, catching many fish." The men worked only a short period on the banata; the idea was to start the banata on Sunday, not to finish it. Older men are said to believe it is wise "to end the banata at one's heart so one can feel when fish are inside the bonsod." Others say the banata should be ended "at one's mouth so one can always eat what one catches inside the bonsod." Some fishermen believe it is best to begin the weaving of the banata on either a Wednesday or Saturday with a full moon.

Lag-e splints are placed on the ground about 4 inches apart; they are woven into a banata with rattan

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lashings by open twining. Each row of open twining is separated from the other by about 6 inches. Sig-id vine is used more frequently than rattan in Tanjay because of the scarcity of the latter. In Siaton builders said sig-id vine is not as strong as rattan and, for this reason, rarely use it in constructing their bonsods. If the materials have been prepared previously, an individual can weave one banata section in a day. When the individual banatas are finished they are rolled, placed on the raft, and floated to the fish corral site.

When the bonsod construction begins, a raft (balsa) is built from fifty or sixty bamboos. Sharpened bamboo osoks are loaded on the raft that is poled to the site. Often osoks remain from the last fish corral that furnish builders with the bonsod outline. If not, the first osok is sunk in the center of the entrance to the bonsod pamuerta ("gate"); the gate is usually thirty to thirty-five feet wide and is where the fish enter the bonsod. Then two osoks are pushed into the seafloor on each side of the center one, about 15 feet to the left and to the right. Three or four men move the osok back and forth, gradually pushing it into the bottom.

Once the three pamuerta osoks are embedded, if the bonsod is being built on a new site or no poles remain from the previous fish corral, the balangsan ("ruler") is used to get the proper crescentric shape of the bonsod. The balangsan is a bamboo about fifty

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feet long; a large stone is tied to each end so it will sink. A rope is then tied to the balangsan's center so the workers may move the submerged bamboo. From the center entrance bamboo (see Plate XLVIII, E)[1] another bamboo is sunk at the end of the togdan. Using this pole and the pamuerta bamboo a straight line 85 feet long is made seaward; at the terminus another pole is sunk. (See Plate XLVIII, F.)[1] The rope tied to the balangsan is fixed to the center pamuerta pole; an arc is gradually made either way from the bolon, the fish corral's center section. It is impossible to see the submerged balangsan, but the men can feel when a pole, being pushed downward, bumps against the balangsan. As they move either way, in making the panikos, they reduce the length of the rope tied to the balangsan; by this method the bonsod's crescentric shape is achieved.

The hasang (or tombadahan) walls of the bonsod are called "gills." (See Plate XLVIII, A to B and C to D.)[1] Once the poles are embedded, the dalamba is added--a row of five to seven bamboos to which the osoks are lashed. (See Plate XLVIII, View of Lag-o.)[1] However, until the banata are installed, only every other pole is tied to the dalamba; otherwise the banata could not be placed alternately between the poles. Bamboo poles on the outside of the banata are called perme; those on the inside are known as layao. Normally from 300 to 350 poles are used to make the bolon, panikos, and hasang.

1 [See p.593A, cat. 226 or 335 -- Analyst]

Plate XLVIII

Page 593a

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Some builders use more bamboo to make the fish corral walls stronger.

The togdan is usually from 150 to 200 feet long; the bamboos are firmly fixed to the dalamba. The togdan guides the fish into the bonsod; once inside the fish rarely escape through the open entrance by which they entered. The togdan does not have a banata for the bamboos are close enough to guide the fish into the bonsod.

The next step is to make platforms (lantay or banko) at the ends of the bonsod. (See Plates XLVI and XLVII.[1] These platforms are where the men stand when they net the catch inside the fish corral. Some bonsods (none in Siaton) have a small hut on one of the platforms where a man stays at night to watch and call the workers if a school of fish enters. In Siaton the practice is to send a man in a boat to see if the bonsod caught any fish during the night.

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The final step is the installation of the banata; this process normally calls for a ladlad. To install the banata more men are needed for one day than employed to construct the fish corral. A ladlad is a traditional feast given by the builder mainly to attract volunteer workers to help install the banata. Table XXXVI[2] presents a breakdown of the cost of one ladlad given when the banata was installed in a bonsod off Sitio Baybay.

1 [See pp. 589, 590, cat. 226 or 335 -- Analyst]

2 [See p. 595, cat. 226 or 476 -- Analyst]

TABLE XXXVI

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Ladlad Expenses, Sitio Baybay, 1951

| Food Items | Cost (Dollars) |
|---|---|
| Small pig | $12.50 |
| Tahores (beans) | .30 |
| Spices (for pig) | .20 |
| Cornmeal | 3.75 |
| Bread | .40 |
| Guhang | 2.00 |
| | $19.15 |

This ladlad attracted only three volunteer workers and the host invited friends from the poblacion whom he did not expect to help with the banata's installation. I asked him if it would not have been cheaper to have paid wages to the three volunteer workers than to have held a ladlad. He replied: "Oh, yes. But the ladlad is traditional"; the prestige gained was adequate compensation to the host. Usually, however, ladlads attract more volunteer laborers and is cheaper than paying for extra workers.[57]

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After eating, the workers put the banata rolls on the raft and float them to the fish corral. A roll is pushed from the raft into the water and slowly maneuvered by swimmers to the proper position alongside the bonsod wall. Several men, standing on the bonsod catwalk, push the banata roll with a pole until it floats vertically,

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[57] In Tanjay the ladlad is called labod. One Tanjay informant said it was necessary to kill the labod pig inside the fish corral; this is not done in Siaton to my knowledge. Some Siaton informants, however, said it was wise to stain the banata with pig blood before they were installed.

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A long pole is inserted into the roll's center as the swimmers unwind it. Gradually the banata is inserted between the perme and layao poles, the latter are not lashed to the dalamba. Once the banata is between the perme and layao bamboos, the layao again are only temporarily lashed. After several days the water-logged banata sinks to the bottom, and another banata is placed above it. When the second row of banata (sugabao) are installed, the layao are lashed permanently to the dalamba. The banata are attached to one another with bamboo "pins" (bulankit). If the banata were fixed to the perme and layao they would be unable to rise and fall with the tide; currents and swells would soon break them.

A few large coconut boles are pushed into the seafloor near the fish corral. (See Plate XLVIII, View of Lag-e.)[1] The dalamba is tied, with wire or rope, to these supports to strengthen the bonsod. These coconut trunks are sometimes made firmer by an anchor embedded in the seafloor and tied to the coconut tree. (See Plate XLVI.)[2]

The wood anchor's crossbar has slits in each internode so it will fill with water and sand and become heavier when submerged. (See Plate XLIX.)[3] An anchor may also be hooked to the dalamba, and the other end of the rope tied to the coconut. The strength and movement of the currents determines the number and positions of these coconut supports and anchors.

1 [See p. 593A, cat. 226 or 335 -- Analyst]
2 [See p. 589, cat. 226 or 335 -- " ]
3 [See p. 597, cat. 226 or 335 -- " ]

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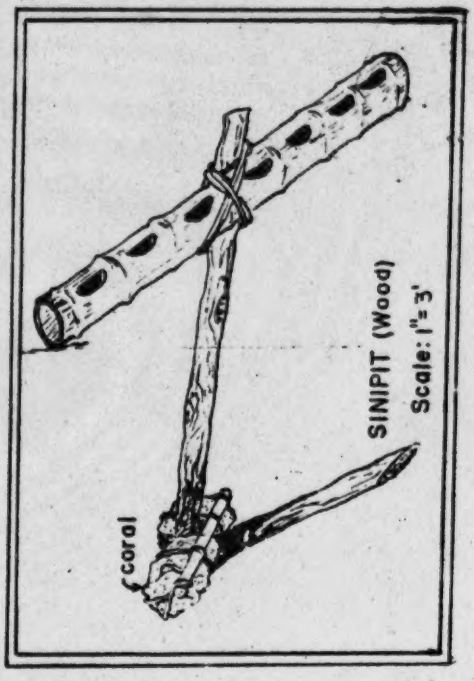
Plate XLIX



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Several Siaton builders said that a bonsod could be built within ten to twelve days, with seven or eight workers, if the materials were prepared. However, the construction of a bonsod usually extends over a longer period since rough seas may delay the work for several days at a time.

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Associated Beliefs of the Bonsod

When the bonsod (or pahubas) is completed a pa-anod is held by many of the owners or builders.[58] A small raft (gakit) is loaded with a roasted or live white chicken and other foods and set adrift in the sea. The food offering is usually made in sevens and includes the same foods previously described for the agricultural ceremonies. Many fishermen believe the fish are owned by sea spirits; by making a pa-anod they will be lucky and catch many fish. The person releasing the little raft may say: "Spirits, here is your share. We hope this is enough. If not, spirits, please excuse us and give us good catches in our bonsod." Some said the raft is set adrift the third night after the completion of the bonsod and when a bobo fish trap is first used. The pa-anod may be done at night since many believe it is unwise to permit strangers to witness the ceremony.

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[58] Pa-anod means "to float away" or "to be carried away by the current." The same ceremony is practiced in Tanjay; some people in Siaton refer to the pa-anod as a diwata.

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One informant described a pa-anod made by his uncle when a new bobo was first submerged in the sea.

> The pa-anod is a sort of lihi for the bobo, bonsod, and other types of fishing. I have seen one, when my uncle put his bobo for the first time into the sea. He made a raft out of a banana trunk and [put on it] a roasted chicken and other food. At the same time the bobo was put into the sea, the raft was also put into the sea and left to be carried away by the current. A pig can be killed and used in this lihi if one can afford it and some bobo owners do. My uncle's bobo caught plenty of fish everytime it was taken to the sea. Maybe the fish have an unseen owner and this owner will be glad if we do this lihi and will allow us to catch plenty of fish.

The Tanjayano who built several pahuba corrals in Siaton held a similar pa-anod. He used a small live white chicken instead of a roasted one. He said:

> If by chance another fisherman finds the raft loaded with things, that fisherman is lucky. He may eat or take all of them to his home. The white chicken will be reared and trained for the cockpit; these chickens always win their fights. The pa-anod is done to please the spirits who own the fish.

I was told of one fisherman who found a live chicken on a pa-anod raft and trained it to fight in the cockpit. He was reported to have won a large sum of money with the chicken that was said to be unusually ferocious.

Many superstitions are connected with the fish corral. One of the most successful bonsod operators has a secret method of determining the month, day and type of moon on which to begin to build his fish corral. However, he would not share his secret with me. The quotation below is from the life history of a poblacion resident; it describes many widespread customs associated with the fish corral in Siaton.

My father had many bonsods, from Malabuhan to Salag. He did not believe in lihis. But if there was a long time in which no fish were caught in his bonsod, then he believed in lihis. Sometimes he would build a raft, this was secret and I never witnessed one of these pa-anods, on which were put seven tostos, seven tilad, seven puso, a roasted white chicken, etc. Then it was let drift away; I never found one. If my father caught a sea turtle in his bonsod he never killed it but engraved his initials on the shell and released it. You know turtles cry tears when they are caught--probably due to a change of environment but my father was not a scientific man. You ask anyone, after a turtle has been caught in a bonsod, no fish will enter for weeks. They would rub the banok and dalamba with tanlad ("lemon grass", a spice used in cooking), to get rid of the turtle odor...

My wife's grandfather, Gregorio, lived near the bonsods and he came to tell my father when fish were inside. For this job my father gave him a baroto [a type of boat] full of fish. Andohao [mackerel] then sold for about two for five centavos. I mended twine net. We did not use abaca net like today but genuine twine net bought from Aguinaldo's [a large store] in Manila. My! how I hated the job of mending net. My father was a disciplinarian. He whipped us if we did not work; yet we were given liberal compensation. We could take fish and sell them and keep the money.

Sometimes I cooked during the construction of the bonsod. Every afternoon after school, Saturdays and Sundays, I had to go to the beach to mend nets or to work. My father used to take bolos to the mountains to barter for bamboos needed to build his bonsod. He could build a bonsod cheaper than any man here...

He did not like anyone to go near the bonsod when they were wearing [hair] pomade and no women. Other fishermen--I don't know if my father believed in this or not--would go to the cemetery at 8 p.m., and get a piece of wood from an exposed coffin or a skull; these were placed in the pamuerta as a charm so the fish would enter the bonsod. They also used a bamboo joint in which there were no holes yet ants and insects lived inside.[59]

[59]Owners will not permit women to go to their bonsods especially those menstruating, for it is believed they will cause the fish corral "to lose its luck."

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One story was told of a man named Jose who found a bamboo section with no visible holes yet contained black ants. Jose loaned the bamboo to a bonsod owner who promised him all the free fish he could eat. Later Jose was asked by the bonsod owner's brother why he was receiving so much free fish. He explained and the owner's brother scolded Jose "in front of many people." As a result Jose took back his bamboo charm; after this incident the bonsod never caught many fish.

Bonsod Financing and Profits

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Various arrangements exist in Siaton for paying bonsod workers and dividing the profits among both workers and partners. One method is to pay the workers wages while building the bonsod and after completion to share with them part of the profits. One bonsod owner shared 10 per cent of the net profits with his helpers. Another bonsod was owned by two partners. Before any division of profits, the cost of constructing the fish corral was deducted. The partner who owned the net received 20 per cent of the net profits; the remainder (80 per cent) was divided in half and shared equally by the two partners (20 per cent each) and their workers (40 per cent among them). Under another arrangement the owner receives two-thirds of the gross sales and his helpers one-third; the cost of the bonsod is not deducted prior to the division of profits. In all cases the bonsod workers are given fish for their families.

Twine nets are repaired with a bamboo shuttle-like device called sikhohan; sikhohan are made in several different sizes. (See Plate L.)[1] In repairing twine nets all loose or "false" threads are cut; "false" threads are those that if unravelled sufficiently are not fixed to an untorn part of the net. New twine is woven into the holes with the sikhohan. Net mending is a man's job, "especially if we cannot go to the sea"; women rarely mend nets.

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[426]

Bobo Fish Traps

The bobo, a bamboo fish trap, is widely used in Siaton for obtaining pelagic fish; the trap is distributed throughout the Philippines. Victoria has written of the bobo of Cebu. He states that its fishermen bait the bobo;[68] however, Siaton bobos are not baited. Kangleon reported that Leyte fishermen put bobos in water as deep as 180 feet where they may stay for 3 months.

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[171]
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[68] De la Victoria, op. cit., p. 46. Umali calls the bobo "a fish pot" and writes that recently they have been made of chicken wire. Umali, op. cit., p. 106.

[1] [this plate is missing -- Analyst]

Kangleon's description of the bobo and its use in Leyte corresponds closely to Siaton practices.[69] More fish are caught in bobos in Siaton than by any other method except the fish corrals and large nets. 226 322

The bobo is made of slender pieces of bamboo, either woven together or lashed with rattan or sig-id. Though all bobos have the same general shape, three different types of weave are found in Siaton: (1) minata; (2) tinap-anan; and (3) tinagik. Minata bobos are woven with bamboo splints whereas tinap-anan and tinagik are tied with rattan or sig-id. (See Plates LI-LIV.)[1]

Bobo sizes vary. If they are too small they are unprofitable; if too large fishermen cannot surface them. The smallest bobo measured was 2 feet 7 inches long, 2 feet 8 inches wide, and 10 inches high, whereas the largest bobo was 12 feet long, 9 feet 8 inches wide, and 4 feet in height. The "hooded mouth" section of the largest bobo was 8 feet high. Most bobos, however, are from 7 to 10 feet in length, 6 to 8 feet in width and 8 to 10 feet in height at the rear.

Bobos are built on two sturdy bamboos; coral is tied to the front and rear of the trap for weight. The entrance passageway tapers off to a narrow opening inside the bobo. Sharpened bamboo sticks protrude from the end of this passage, making it all but impossible for fish inside to escape.

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[69] Ruperto Kangleon, "Fishing in Southern Leyte." Manila, Bisaya Ethnography, I-V, Bisaya Paper No. 104 (1916), Beyer Collection, 1918, p. 4. Typescript.

1 [See p. 613ff, cat. 226 or 322 -- Analyst]

40: Mart E-5 (.95.) 1954 - OA1 Philippines
Central Bisayan OA 16

Plate II

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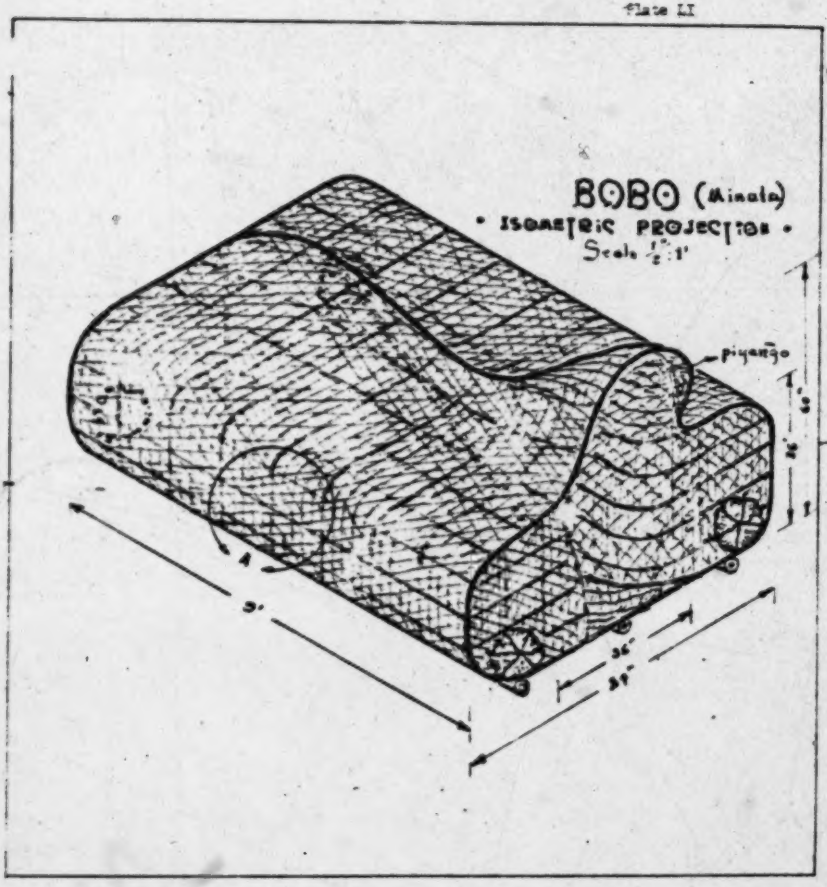


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Plate LII

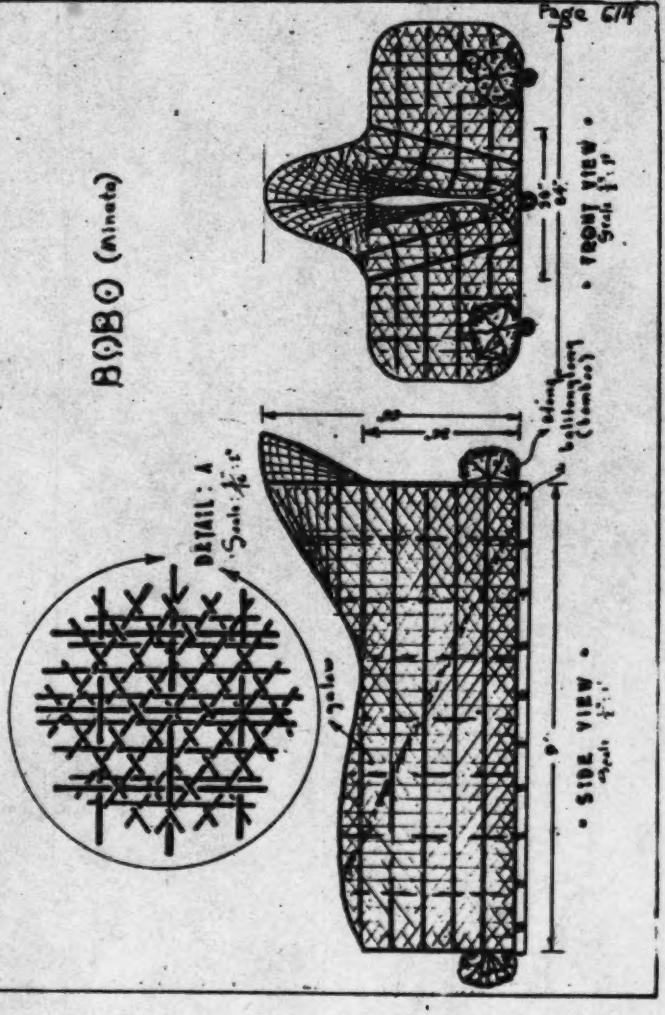

Plate LIII

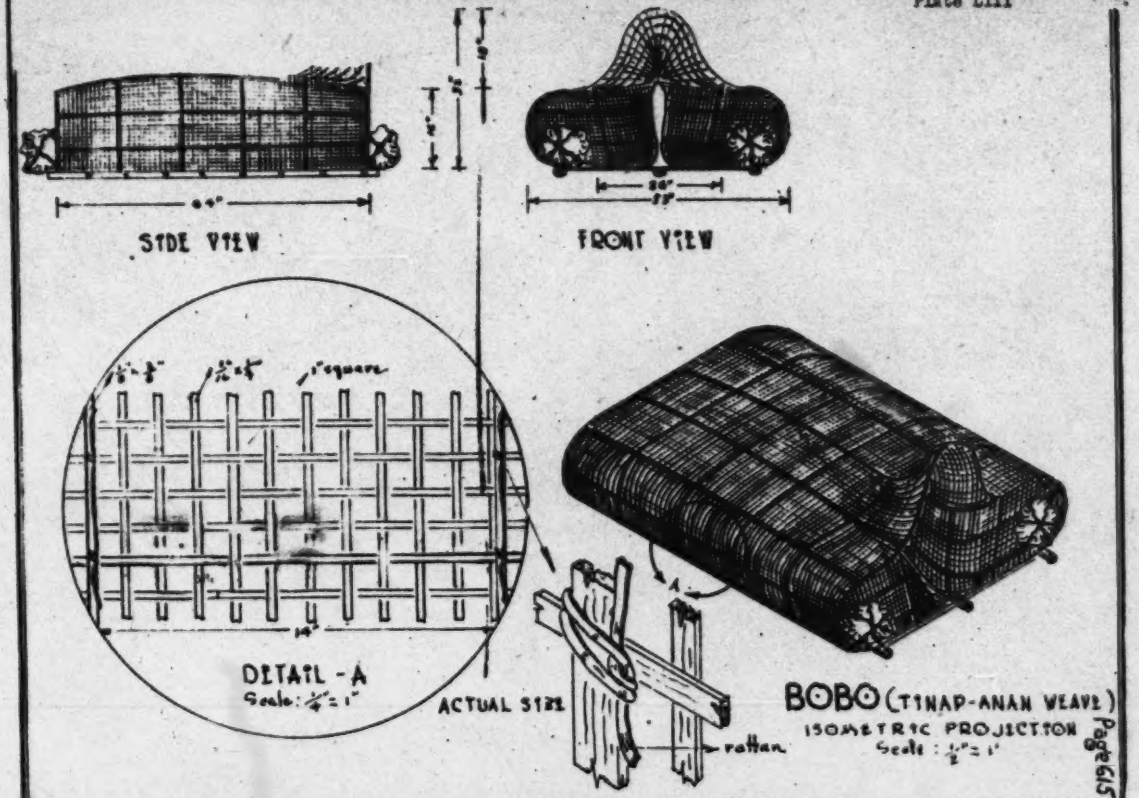


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Plate LIV




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20: Hart E-5 (1951) 1954 OAI Philippines
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Nearly all of the boats are equipped with a coconut shell or bamboo bailer. One baroto had a hole in the bottom of the hull, from which a wooden plug could be removed to empty the boat of water. Paddles (bogsay) are made from a light, sturdy wood. When boats are beached they usually are covered with palm fronds to protect them from the heat and rain. Some large bancas are kept in palm leaf sheds when not in use.

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A young boy who lives in a seaside barrio becomes adept at handling a baroto; the young girls have less chance to learn. While women may ride as passengers in boats they rarely, if ever, go fishing; almost all aspects of pelagic fishing are masculine. No toy boats or small boats were seen in the fishing barrios for teaching young boys skills necessary when they become adults.

Summary

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Securing aquatic products, from creeks, rivers and sea, consumes more time on the part of the barriofolk than any other activity except agriculture. It is necessary to make traps and nets, keep them in repair, and inspect them for catches. The people of Caticugan, however, depended little upon the sea for aquatic foods although the community is near the coast. When the cost of a fish corral is known, it is apparent that most barriofolk lack the necessary capital for the initial investment in boat, nets, building supplies, etc. Although a bobo trap could be made by most of the Caticugan barriofolk, one reason why so few have bobos is the lack of a boat. No

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one in the barrio owned a boat. One man had a partnership with a resident of a seaside barrio; the former made the bobo, the latter furnished the boat and they shared the catch equally. This was the only such partnership discovered in Caticugan. The barriofolk of Caticugan depend largely on products of the creek and river for their proteins. Data of diet indicate that pelagic products are not common in the daily diet. The small fish, eels, shrimp, crabs and snails obtained from the creek and river compose the bulk of aquatic foods eaten in Caticugan. The importance of this source of food for rural Filipinos has been overlooked almost entirely.[75]

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As with agricultural and food-gathering activities, pre-Hispanic animism appears in aquatic techniques. The ceremonies related to the construction of boats, fish corrals and the rituals connected with the installation of these devices, reflect deep-rooted beliefs in unseen spirits who are the titular owners of sea products. While some poblacion residents who finance fish corrals are sceptical of these concepts, they usually are tolerant of their workers' attitudes. Perhaps these more sophisticated individuals, not thoroughly convinced of the falsity of these beliefs, take the attitude that "most superstitious practices do no harm and may do some good," a Cebuano saying. These attitudes and customs associated with securing

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[75] The Rivera-McMillan report includes several pages of "typical menus of rural households" (Appendix C) that make no mention of fresh-water shrimp or snails. However, one picture is included (p. 162) that shows a small family eating "rice, small shrimp, and snail for supper." The lack of this information in the typical menus may be due to the barriofolk's hesitation to admit eating snails. Rivera-McMillan, op. cit., pp. 212-3.

These attitudes and customs associated with securing aquatic products in Siaton illustrate how Catholicism overlaid the ancient religious concepts. Animism and Catholicism operate in different conceptual frames of reference and barriofolk shift from one to the other without any severe conflict. This situation may explain the relative ease with which the Spanish padres "converted" Filipinos to Catholicism in the past.

The technology of aquatic products, like that of agriculture, also illustrates the sexual division of labor. Some activities are strictly male or female; for a male to participate in women's activities would render him suspect. For example, the only men in Caticugan who were vendors of vegetables, guhang or rice cakes, were individuals known to the barriofolk as bayutes, highly feminine-acting men. There are some activities that either a male or a female may perform as far as the participants' physical strength is concerned, or take into consideration the restricted mobility of most women. The concept of menstrual pollution is another factor; e.g., women should not climb guheng trees (spoil flavor of drink), approach men making boats (the wood might crack), or approach the fish corral (the bonsod's luck might be lost). Age may modify one's role in certain activities. For example, old men may and do help women gather clams and snails at the seashore, an activity in which most young men would not think of participating.

The religious concepts of Caticugan barriofolk are integrated into most aspects of their culture. Religion

TABLE XXVIII

Varieties of Marine Clams and Snails Gathered in Siaton

| Local Name | Scientific Name | Frequency Gathered | Location | Clam or Snail |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Baliasla | Cafrarium equivoca (Dillwyn) | Infrequently | Beach | Clam |
| Baloso[76] | Conus muriculatus Sowerby | Infrequently | Beach[85] | Snail |
| Bogatan[77] | Trachycaridum roguosum (Lamarck) | Infrequently | Beach | Clam |
| Dahikdahik[78] | Nassarius ? sordidus (A. Ad.) | Infrequently | Beach | Snail |
| Dalodalo | ? | Infrequently | Nipa swamp | Snail |
| Hagonipa | Neritina zigzac (Gmelin) | Infrequently | Nipa swamp | Snail |
| Riloghilog[79] | Lunella porphyrites (Gmelin) and Turbo (Marmorostomas) ticaonicus Rve | Infrequently | Beach | Snail |
| KALAYKAY | Venerupis (Ruditapes) variegata (Sowerby) | FREQUENTLY | Beach | Clam |
| Kapinan | Cana planulata (Lamarck) | Infrequently | Beach | Clam |
| Langoli and Tagimtim[80] | ? | Infrequently | (86) | Clam |
| Libodbod[81] | Cerithidea ornata A. Adams | Infrequently | Nipa swamp | Snail |
| Lagang | Nautilus pompilius Linne | Rarely | Deep sea | Snail |
| Manilsil | Faunus nitidus (V. D. Busch) and Stenomelania haasula (Lea)[84] | Infrequently | Beach[85] | Snail |
| Matamata[82] | Thais intermedia (Kiener) | Infrequently | Beach | Snail |
| Poki | Cypraea tigris Linne | Rarely | Deep sea | Snail |
| Ponan | Fabia (Trotanea) tristis (Lamarck) | Infrequently | Beach | Clam |
| Sali-ot | Tridacna noae Roding | Rarely | Deep sea | Clam |
| Sigay | Erosaria erosa (Linne) and Monetaria annulus (Linne) | Rarely | Beach | Snail |
| Sihi | Narita undata Linne | Infrequently | Beach[85] | Snail |
| Tabag sa Dagat | Phinoclavis sinensis (Gmelin) | Infrequently | Beach | Clam |
| TABONO[83] | Cerithium morus Lamarck | FREQUENTLY | Beach | Snail |

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| Local Name | Scientific Name | Frequency Gathered | Location | Clam or Snail |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Taboysoy | ? | Infrequently | Nipa swamp | Snail |
| Tabong | Mactra (Mactrotoma) depressa/Spengler | Infrequently | Beach[85] | Clam |
| Talabo | Ostrea glomerata Gould | Infrequently | Beach[86] | Clam |
| TAPDAGAY | Nerita patula Recluz | FREQUENTLY | Beach[85] | Snail |
| Torong-torong | (See Bogatan) | Infrequently | Beach | Snail |
| TOWAY | Caloina papua (Lesson) (?) | FREQUENTLY | Nipa swamp | Clam |

[76]Baloso are sometimes called Kibol.

[77]Bogatan are sometimes called Torong-Torong and Litob.

[78]Dahikdahik is sometimes called Darodaro.

[79]Mixture of two different genera although informants identified both as Hiloghilog.

[80]Smaller Langoli are called Tagimtin; they are found attached to the fish corral poles and traps and often are washed ashore.

[81]Lagang are rarely gathered because they are found in the deep water but sometimes they are caught in the fish traps.

[82]Matamata are sometimes called Mata sa Baboy ("Pig's eye").

[83]Large Tabono are called Tapaktapak.

[84]Mixture of species for Stenomelania are more slender, acuminate, and less glossy than the Faunus.

[85]Also found at the mouths of the Siaton and Canaway Rivers within the tidal reaches of the sea.

[86]Larger varieties are obtained by diving in deep water.

20: Hart E-5 (1951) 1954 OAI Philippines
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I obtained a collection of shells from Siquijor Island through the kindness of a fisherman of Enrique Villanueva municipality. With few exceptions the mollusks were gathered at the seashore in the shallow water; Tamboli and Samong were found in the deep water and Tagongon and Dalodalo were collected in nipa swamps. The following identification was made by the Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D. C.

| Local Name (Siquijor) | Scientific Name |
|---|---|
| Tamboli | Cassis cornuta Linne |
| Tagongon | Telescopium telescopium Linne |
| Poki | Cypraea tigris Linne |
| Kahingtong | Ovula ovum Linne |
| Lisway | Strombus luhuanus Linne |
| Kibol | Melongena galeodes Lamarck |
| Samong | Trochus niloticus Linne |
| Tagmanok | Strombus aurisdianae Linne |
| Taobtaob | Auricina vespertilio Linne |
| Lumban | Calcar calcar Linne |
| Botabota | Angaria distorta Linne |
| Baloso | Conus ebraeus Linne and Conus nigropunctatus Sowerby |
| Tuigtuig | Vesica ampulla Linne |
| "Thorn" of the Sanay | Spine of Slate-pencil sea urchin |
| Aninikad | Strombus urceus Linne |
| Bulanbulan | Polinices flemingiana Recluz |
| Hanlasan | Oliva duclois Reeve |
| Dalodalo | Terebralia sulcatus Born |
| Sigay | Monetaria (Ornamentaria) annulus Linne |
| Tibo-Tibo | Massarius bimaculosa H. Adams |
| Tabagsoy | Cerithium morus Lamarck and Cerithium cerallinum Dufresne |
| Corzaon | Corculum cardissa Linne |

Cross-comparison between Siquijor and Siaton marine mollusk collection illustrates the need for scientific identification of this type of material due to variations of local names. For example, the Tibo-Tibo of Siaton is a fresh-water snail, whereas the Tibo-Tibo of Siquijor is a completely different mollusk. The Tabono and Tabagsay

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of Siaton and Siquijor are the same mollusk with different names. The Balogo of Siaton and Siquijor are of the same genera but different species, whereas the Sigay of Siaton and Siquijor are entirely different mollusks and the Poki of these two areas are identical. This information regarding the variation of local names for marine mollusks might be considered as evidence, slim as it is, that early settlers of the Siaton area were probably not emigrants from this part of Siquijor Island.

RIVER FISH NETS

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Three types of nets are used in river fishing; the ta-an, tangkop and salok. The salok is a butterfly-like net, infrequently seen, used to catch shrimp that cling to the muddy banks of the river during the rainy season. The tangkop net is used for pangangkop to be described later. The ta-an is the net most widely used for Hipon. (See Plate XXXV.)

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[4]Identification was made with specimens preserved in a 70 per cent solution of alcohol through the cooperation of Dr. D. V. Villadolid, Director, I. Ronquillo and A. Sarenas, Bureau of Fisheries, Manila.

[5]The Anapan of Siaton is the Palangan of Tanjay. Palangan in Herre and Umali, op. cit., is said to be the "Slipmouth" (Family Leiognathidae) which is not the same fish identified as the Anapan or Palangan of Siaton.

[6]The Anapan specimen in the collection was a juvenile mullet. Differential characteristics of the different genera are not only difficult to see at such a stage but may overlap. Dr. Villadolid thinks possibly that the Anapan and Gisao may be the same fish.

[7]Gisao in Herre and Umali, op. cit., is called "Mullet Fingerling" (Family Mugilidae).

[8]Some Filipinos said the Halo-an is the "Mudfish" called Dalag (Tag.)

[9]Hipon are Family Gobiidae according to Herre and Umali, op. cit.

[10]Inid and Bulan-Bulan are also caught in the sea.

[11]Oga-oi is normally caught in river traps only during the rainy season.

[12]See Nos. 5 and 6.

[13]Pili, Lebongan and Bogsikan are usually found farther north than Caticugan "where the river is swifter and deeper."

[14]Bonog in Herre and Umali, op. cit., is "Goby" (Chonophorus melanocephalus or Glossogobius giurus.)

(i.e., the last quarter of the moon, often seen in the sky at noon), several days after the "dying moon" (himatayon) and two or three days after the full moon (subang). During the full moon, however, only the "fine type" are said to be caught. Examination of the types of Hipon caught during these runs did not bear out this folk-statement. Others said that in years when mushrooms are scarce Hipon are most plentiful. During a Hipon run several hundred people, from the poblacion and the barrios, can be seen catching the fish in the river; Caticugan is almost deserted during these runs.

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811
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Ta-an Nets

Ta-an nets are placed in shallow water near the banks or on sand bars of the Siaton River. Usually low walls of stone and palm leaves are built to make a channel that leads the water into the net. The net, tied to stakes driven into the river bed, is usually four or five feet long and two or three feet wide. The net opening faces downstream since the Hipon swim upstream. Fish pass into the first section of the net, over the front flap that is weighted with stones or sticks. This flap is weighted so it is only partly submerged, not touching the net bottom, but tied by strings at a five or ten degree angle. (See Plate XXXV, Detail B.)[1] This makes it impossible for fish, once they swim over the flap and into the first section of the net, to escape. Eventually they swim from the first section through the two small openings (galao) into the second section of the net;

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[1] [this plate (p. 544) is missing -- Analyst]

(see Plate XXXV, Detail A)[1] the catch is scooped out of this section. 227

Ta-an nets have the advantage of not having to be watched constantly; they are set up by men. Ta-an catches are for family consumption. One group that netted Hipon with a tangkop near the Siaton River mouth caught two cavans in an afternoon. Large catches usually are made near the mouth or just off the mouth of the river, with bigger nets; Hipon sell in the marketplace for about five dollars per five-gallon can. The owner of a big net receives one-half of the catch, and his assistants divide the remainder equally. Young girls or women vendors from Caticugan and other barrios go to the mouth of the rivers during Hipon runs to sell or barter boiled bananas and other foods. 226 [435] [265]

The Asag and Balantak River Fish Traps

Two common types of fish traps used in Siaton River are the balantak and the larger asag. Small bobo fish traps may be placed in the river but this type of trap usually is put in the sea. The largest asag seen, at Sitio Daliw (north of Casala-an), was 12 feet long. (See Plate XXXVI.)[2] This asag, owned by one family, had stone retaining walls three to four feet high, several feet thick, and about 25 feet long. The walls ordinarily last until rainy season when they are washed away by the flooded river. Fish smaller than four or five inches could have passed 227

2 [See p. 546, Cat. 227 -- Analyst]

1 [this plate (p. 544) is missing -- Analyst]

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p. 546

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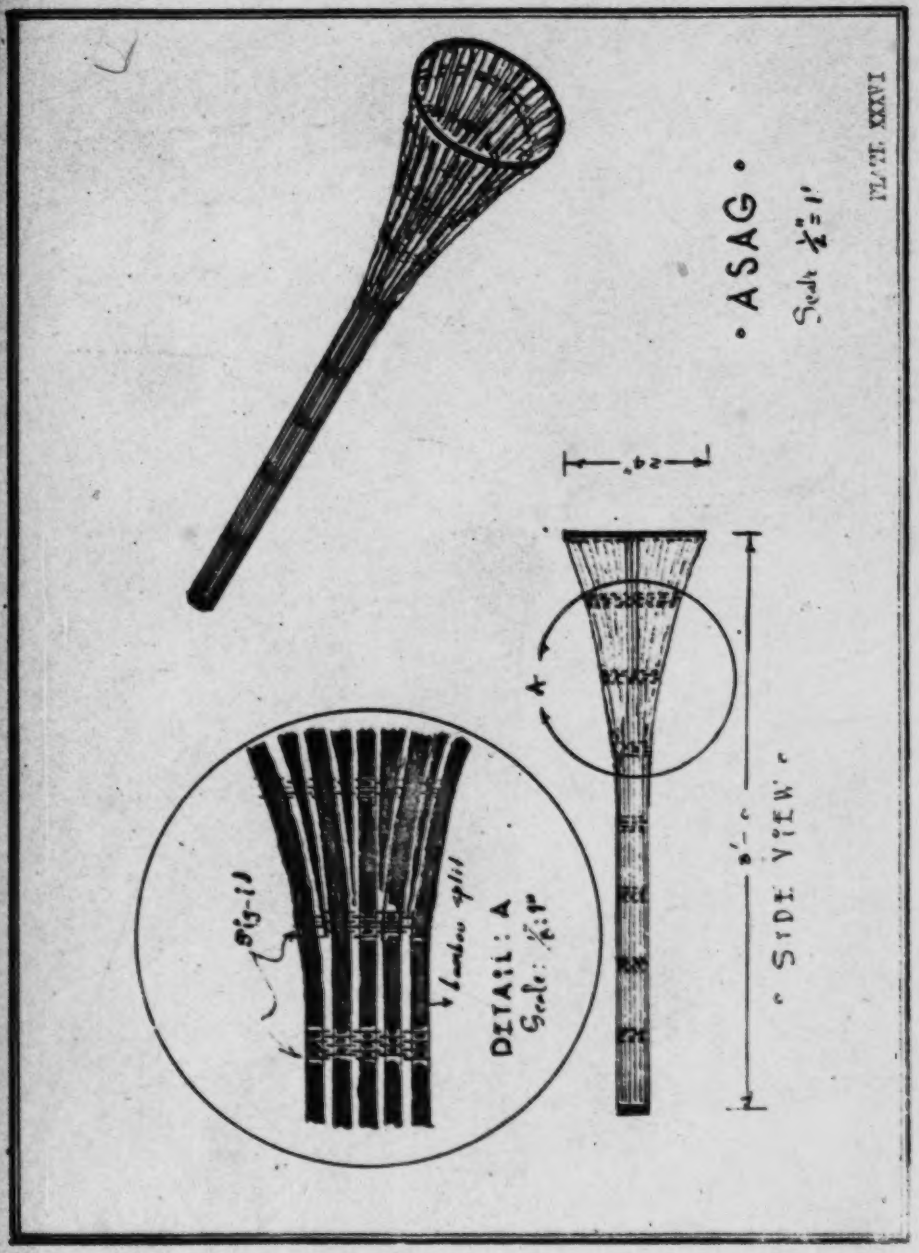

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through the interstices of this trap. Besides large shrimp and fish, this trap had caught a few water snakes and once a small wild pig. The trap had stood in the same location for 2 years, even through the height of rainy seasons. Few traps are left in the river during this season, lest they be lost.

To make an asag a thick bamboo is split into many thin strips almost to the end of the pole. The tips of the strips are spread apart to make the mouth and then are tied in place with sig-id vine or rattan.

BALANTAK

The balantak, shaped like a Coca-Cola bottle, is made of strips of thin bamboo woven together with rattan. (See Plate ~~XXXVII~~, Detail A.)[1] The narrow end is stuffed with abaca fiber or coconut matting so that small shrimp and fish cannot escape. The balantak is used in catching fish by the gamala process to be described shortly. At Barrio Casala-an, where the river is fished more extensively than farther south, a retaining wall about 50 feet long had been built to separate one small pool from the main river; this was a cooperative project of twenty people who divided the catch equally. A large balantak had been inserted in a small opening in this wall, through which the river water ran slowly into the pool. The many small fish in the pool tried to escape through the mouth of the trap.

1 [See p. 548, cat. 227-- Analyst]

20: Hart E-5 (1951) 1954 OA1 Philippines
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BALANTAK FISH TRAP (bamboo)
Scale 1/6 : 1"

Plate XXXVII

P. 548
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**The Fish Guns**

"Fish guns" are another technique for catching fish in river and sea. The smaller variety is known as pana sa isda ("fish bow and arrow") or baslay (said to be the Ilonggo term); a larger type is called posil-posil sa isda. English-speaking Filipinos, however, refer to both varieties as "fish guns." The "fish gun" is found in most parts of the Philippines; I have seen them from the upper Chico River (Luzon) to northern Mindanao.

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The "fish gun" is probably a 20th century innovation in the Philippines--an adaptation of the bow and arrow and the sling-shot. Once the people of Catiougan used bows and arrows to shoot fish in the river; in fact, informants say this was their only use. The bow was bamboo, the string twisted abaca twine, and the arrows bamboo tipped with iron points made from discarded umbrella ribs. "With the Spaniards in the old days there was plenty of the umbrella ribs." With the advent of the automobile during the American period came the inner tube. Rubber used to make the "guns" is obtained by bartering food for punctured inner tubes; rubber strips are sold by the Chinese in Siaton poblacion.

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The "fish gun" is usually made of bamboo; sometimes a hole is drilled through the center of a soft piece of wood. (See Plate XXXVIII.)[1] The umbrella rib arrow (agoha) is sharpened at the tip; the other end is notched for insertion of the drawstring. The Posil-posil sa isda normally have a trigger. (See Plate XXXIX.)[2] There are many different types of triggers.

1[See p. 559, cat. 227 or 116 -- Analyst]
2[See p. 560, cat. 227 or 111 -- Analyst]

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PANA SA ISDA or BASLAY
(Scale: 1/4" = 1")

PLATE XXXVIII

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20: Hart E-5 (1951) 1954 OA1 Philippines
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PLATE XXXIX

# POSIL-POSIL or ISDA

(Scale: 1" = 1')







DETAIL - A.
(Scale: 1/4" = 1')




DETAIL - B
(Scale: 1/4" = 1")




DETAIL - C
(Scale: 1/4" = 1")

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(See Plate XL. Figure B was seen in Pangasinan province, Luzon.)[1] Pana sa isda are usually from five to ten inches long, the arrows from fifteen to twenty inches; posil-posil sa isda may be from one and one-half to five feet in length whereas the arrows are from twenty to forty inches long. I shot a posil-posil sa isda that hurled a 40-inch arrow 20 feet, penetrating half way through a medium-sized banana trunk. Often a posil-posil sa isda may have as many as four to six rubber bands to increase the arrow's velocity; some will shoot an arrow 150 feet, although after the first twenty or thirty feet the flight is not straight. 227

The posil-posil sa isda is used more for "shooting" larger fish in the sea; the pana-sa isda is for river fishing. Most boys, as young as seven or eight years, have a pana sa isda that they use with considerable skill. Women never and young girls rarely "shoot" fish, either in the river or the sea. Young boys go to the river wearing home-made goggles and stand for hours in the water, now and then ducking their heads beneath the surface to look for small fish. The goggles are made of wood with pieces of broken glass for lenses. The glass is sometimes affixed to the handcarved wooden frames with the wax of wild honeycomb. Usually a boy wears a bamboo container at his waist for catch. 226 462

Morning or afternoon, one might see two or three small boys, standing in the river, with their heads popping in and out of the water. Sometimes they stayed

1 [See p. 562, cat. 227 -- Analyst]

20: Hart E-5 (195.) 1954 OA1 Philippines
Central Bisayas OA14

Plate II

p 562

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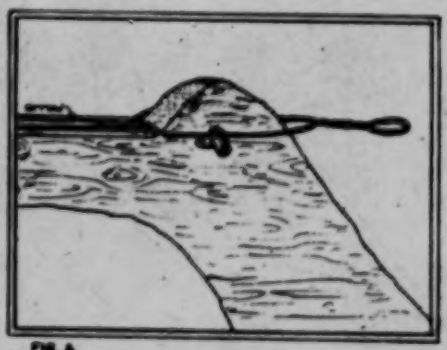

FIG. A

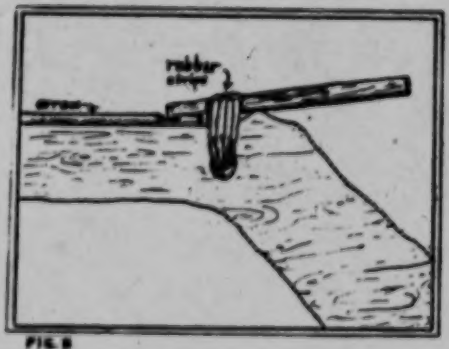


FIG. B

FISH GUN TRIGGER TYPES

20: Hart E-5 (195:) 1954 OA1 Philippines
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p.565

Plate XLI

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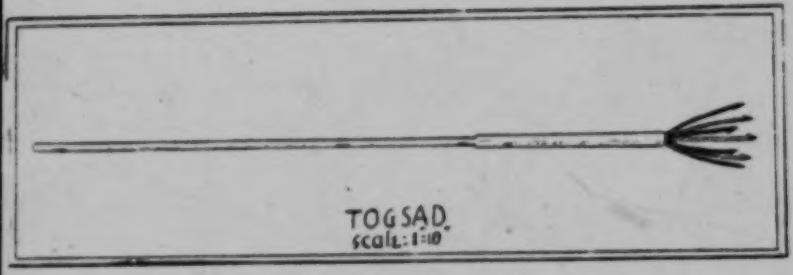
KAO-IT
scale: 1:4



TOGSAD
scale: 1:10

never sold there. The scarcity of fish may be somewhat atypical--although most residents claimed it was not--since the bonsod catches were small this year and the fish corrals destroyed earlier than usual. When the day's fish supply arrived in the marketplace, it was quickly sold; some days there were no fresh fish for sale. Since fish brings a higher price in Dumaguete even small amounts are taken to the city, draining Siaton of much of its fresh fish. For example, one afternoon a fish corral made a catch of more than thirty boxes of sardine. The owner sold a few boxes in Siaton, more from a sense of duty than for profit, at eleven dollars a box; the rest were sent to Dumaguete where they sold for thirteen dollars a box. As a result, whenever news comes to the poblacion that a large catch has been made, either in the bonsod or by netting, the people flock to the seashore to buy fish for their personal use or to sell in the local market.

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FISH NETS IN SIATON

Since the last war abaca nets have replaced the cotton twine nets once widely used in Siaton; twine nets are very expensive owing to inflation. In the past many large twine nets used were made in Japan whereas today most of them are said to be imported from the United States. Nets made of cotton twine are called pokot or sigin; those made of abaca are called sahid or sinsoro.

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[439]

One Malabuhan fisherman had an abaca net 1,290 feet long and 18 feet wide. 227

Nets are used in netting bonsod catches. The net is taken to the fish corral in a bokaran (a boat that does not have an outrigger); netted fish are scooped from the large net with a small hand net (sibot). Large nets are also used to catch schools of fish that come near the beach. These nets are taken to the sea in a panahiran, a boat that has an outrigger, and cast into the sea. The two ends of the net are pulled shoreward by people standing on the beach. Sometimes nets will be a combination of twine and abaca, the latter material is used "to make [the net] easier to pull." Large abaca "patches" are also often found in twine nets to catch small fish like the Tugnos and Tolakhang (anchovies). Abaca nets may have a paboto (pocket) of finer abaca weave for catching fingerlings. These are beach seine nets (pukot). 228 227

One fisherman had built a platform between two coconut trees about 30 feet above the beach; here a man stayed to watch for schools of fish. When a school was sighted he called the men by blowing a shell horn (budyong)--the same shell once used to warn the people of Moro raids. Often men in boats search the offshore waters for schools of fish. Sometimes a net is put into the sea for a "blind" catch, i.e., no school of fish is sighted. When a school is seen the panahiran is launched and the school surrounded. If the school is large the news quickly reaches the poblacion. People rush to the beach to help 228

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pull the net. When the fish are emptied from the net those who helped receive small shares of the catch. Vendors come with guhang and other foods to sell to the crowd or barter for fish; the people often eat their fish at the beach. The whole affair becomes an impromptu picnic with eating, drinking and swimming.

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A few women in Siaton poblacion weave abaca for fish netting. However, most abaca material used to make nets is woven in Dauin and Bacong municipalities; more abaca is grown here and the women have a reputation for weaving. I saw far more looms in Dauin and Bacong poblaciones than in Siaton. The material is sold in rolls forty to fifty feet long and thirty-five to forty inches wide; one roll is often sold to Siaton fishermen for two or three dollars.[63]

Lava Net

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The lava is a circular twine net with many small lead sinkers attached to the outer edge.[64] Only one man in Barrio Caticugan owned a lava with a diameter of 11 feet. The lava, however, is rarely used in Siaton; only two were seen in the fishing sitio of Malabuhan. It is

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[63] One woman in Siaton poblacion sold three rolls of abaca (39 inches in width) for $9 to a Chinese store. The fiber cost $3. She estimated that it took her 60 hours to weave the three rolls so she made about 10 cents an hour. Another woman said she could weave 48 feet of abaca daily if the loom were loaded.

[64] De la Victoria, op. cit., p. 46, describes the identical net used in Cebu and also called lava. Lava is a general term for cast net: dala (Tag.), tabukol (Ilk.); sabukol (Pang.). Umali, Guide to the Classification of Fishing Gear in the Philippines, p. 119.

used for fishing in shallow waters, frequently around the mouths of the Siaton and Canaway Rivers; the catch is usually small Hinok, Subad-subad, Tigue (Tigi), Dalangan Balawis, Aso-os, and Ciseo. 228

Kayakag Net

The kayakag is a twine gill net used to catch Bangsi and Balo (flying fish and garfish). Umali states kayakag-pamalo is a "gill net for taking balo (garfish) in Negros Oriental Province."[65] The top of the net has floats made from the dried fruit of the bito-on tree to keep the net near the surface. There are two types of kayakag nets: one is about 1,000 feet long and 12 feet wide and used on moonlit nights. During moonless nights a shorter net is employed, about 600 feet long and only 6 feet wide. Some very short kayakags, 4 feet wide and 25 feet long, were seen in Barrio Cabangahan. 228 227

Tapsay Net

The tapsay, an abaca net (sometimes twine), is used only in shallow water. Two men each hold the top corners while two helpers step on the lower corners to submerge this part. Several assistants with pieces of coconut husk tied to strings pull (scarelines) these devices rapidly through the water, simulating a large fish's wake. This frightens smaller fish into the partially submerged net, that is jerked to the surface when the fish are in the center. This net is infrequently seen in Siaton; no 228 [227]

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[65] Umali, op. cit., p. 111.

tapsays were used in Malabuhan. One informant said the tapsay was quite popular in Bais municipality. 228

Net Preservatives

Tabigi tree bark (Xylocarpus granatum Koenig) and tanbark are used as net preservatives.[66] One Malabuhan fisherman said he purchased a sack of tabigi bark for seventy-five cents from a Tanjay resident. The bark is boiled down with water that is poured into a boat; the nets soaked in the mixture--and sometimes the fishermen's pants are added! This process is done twice a week, and gives the nets a rich brown color. Boiled tanbark and lime water also are used to preserve the nets. Normally only twine, not abaca nets, are soaked in these preservatives "for twine nets are very expensive." On the whole, these native net preservatives are not widely used by Siaton fishermen, probably because so few have twine nets. 227 [824]

Basnig or Lift Netter

The basnig is a bamboo structure that floats at the mouth of a river and can be moved upstream or downstream. Four tall poles with pulleys are used to lower a large square net into the water. When a school of fish passes over the submerged net it is pulled upward by ropes. In 1951 there was one basnig, owned by an Ilongo from Iloilo City at the mouth of the Canaway River.[67]

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[66] Brown, op. cit., III, p. 66.

[67] Villadolid, op. cit., p. 22. The basnig (as pictured by Umali, page 48) is called salambaw. His use of basnig (pp. 103-4) describes a different net. Umali, op. cit., p. 148.

Twine nets are repaired with a bamboo shuttle-like device called sikhohan; sikhohan are made in several different sizes. (See Plate L.)[1] In repairing twine nets all loose or "false" threads are cut; "false" threads are those that if unravelled sufficiently are not fixed to an untorn part of the net. New twine is woven into the holes with the sikhohan. Net mending is a man's job, "especially if we cannot go to the sea"; women rarely mend nets.

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[426]

Bobo Fish Traps

The bobo, a bamboo fish trap, is widely used in Siaton for obtaining pelagic fish; the trap is distributed throughout the Philippines. Victoria has written of the bobo of Cebu. He states that its fishermen bait the bobo;[68] however, Siaton bobos are not baited. Kangleon reported that Leyte fishermen put bobos in water as deep as 180 feet where they may stay for 3 months.

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[171]
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[68] De la Victoria, op. cit., p. 46. Umali calls the bobo "a fish pot" and writes that recently they have been made of chicken wire. Umali, op. cit., p. 106.

[1] [this plate is missing -- Analyst]

20: Hart E-5 (1951) 1954 OA1 Philippines
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# CHAPTER VII

## SECURING AQUATIC PRODUCTS

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This chapter describes techniques by which the barriofolk secure aquatic products from creek, river and sea. Pelagic products have been mentioned by various writers as important in the rural diet; the study of the aquatic foods obtained from the rivers and creeks, however, has been neglected in the Philippines. The first part of this chapter describes the catching of "non-commercial" aquatic life from the Caticugan Creek and Siaton River--namely, snails, crabs, shrimp and fish. The latter half of the chapter is devoted to the commercial aspects of pelagic fishing, mainly the fish corral, other types of fish traps, nets, and fishermen's boats. This division is arbitrary; owners of commercial fish corrals consume part of their catch, and some barriofolk have traps merely to obtain fish for their own tables. However, the quantities of fish obtained with the fish corral are much greater than those obtained in any other manner; fish corrals are the "big business" of Siaton municipality.[1]

[1] Various charts are placed at the end of this chapter as a more convenient place, in case the reader wishes to consult them, than the appendix.

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catch fish in the sea and the money necessary to construct a fish corral.

PELAGIC FISHING: INTRODUCTION

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722
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The South Mindanao Sea is considered one of the richest fishing grounds in the Philippines, according to Dr. Villadolid, Director, Bureau of Fisheries. This section describes the methods of catching fish, types caught, and commercial aspects of pelagic fishing. In the past, cattle was the "big business" of Siaton municipality. Today, with the depletion of the herds during the last war, the fish corral has become the municipality's "big business."[31]

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Four major methods of catching sea fish are used in Siaton municipality. First, the bonsod or bongsod (fish corral); second, various types of twine or abaca nets; third, the bobo fish trap; and fourth, hook and line fishing from small boats. As has been noted previously, piscicides cannot be considered a major method of catching pelagic fish in Siaton.

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[31] I did not live in a fishing barrio. However, I spent a great deal of time in Baybay and Malabuhan, often staying in the villages for several days at the time, observing and talking with the residents. Most commercial fishermen lived in the poblacion. Mr. Francisco Baldebrin, vice mayor of the municipality, was one of my most intelligent and willing informants; he managed several fish corrals off Baybay. Other fishermen such as Mr. Pedro Solde and Carding Alonzo, Malabuhan, spent a great deal of time with me, showing me their equipment and explaining their work. For comparative data on Philippine fish traps, types of nets, etc., vide Agustin F. Umali, Guide to the Classification of Fishing Gear in the Philippines. Research Report 17. Washington, D. C., Fish and Wildlife Service, United States Department of the Interior, Government Printing Office, 1950.

20: Hart E-5 (1951) 1954 OA1 Philippines OA1
Central Bisayan OA14



CB 228 [471] [463]

catching pelagic fish in Siaton. Though all the people sell or barter their surplus fish, the bonsod and netting of fish are the most commercialized fishing activities in Siaton, requiring the largest capital investment. The material that follows does not describe the daily activities of the barriofolk of Caticugan, but rather the various commercial fishermen (many of whom live in the poblacion and are municipal officials) and the residents of the fishing barrios that huddle under the coconuts by the blue sea.

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The basis for the Philippine government's present legal control over public waters was the Spanish Law of Waters (1866). What is commonly considered the basic fishing law of the Republic (Act No. 4003) was not passed until 1932. With passage of this Act, the scope of the national government's power and authority over exploitation, protection and conservation of the fishery resources of the Philippines was fully recognized.

> One important feature of Act No. 4003 is the dual authority exercised by both the insular government and the municipal government over fishing and fisheries...This dual authority...has been the cause of frequent controversies between the municipal governments, on the one hand, and the insular or national government on the other. These conflicts are inevitable, undoubtedly due to the political subdivisions of the state...the inherent right of each political subdivision [municipality] to own private or patrimonial property which may include portions of the sea, rivers, etc.; and the desire of the municipal corporations to increase their revenue.[32]

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[32] Jose Sanchez, "What You Should Know About Our Fishery Laws," Times-Mirror 3rd Annual Report on Agriculture and Industrial Progress. Manila, Manila Times-Daily Mirror, (October 30, 1952), p. 26.

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produced in the Philippines. This type of land use is most common along the northern coast of Panay and the Cavite and Pampangan sections of Manila Bay. In Negros Oriental there are several hundreds of acres of fishponds south of Tanjay whereas other ponds are found in Manjuyod and between Guihulngan and Vallehermoso. There were no fish ponds in Siaton municipality.

The Bonsod (Fish Corral)

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Bonsods are a pre-Hispanic method of catching fish. Antonio de Morga describes a type of fish corral used by Filipinos living near Manila in the 17th century.

> The natives' [Filipinos'] method of catching them [fish] is by making corrals of bejucos, which are certain slender canes or rushes, solid and very pliant and strong; these are employed for making cables for the natives' boats, as well as other kinds of ropes. They catch the fish inside these corrals, having made the enclosures fast by means of stakes. They also catch the fish in wicker baskets made from the bejucos, but most generally with atarrayas [a type of fish net], esparaveles [a round fish net that is jerked along in shallow water], and other small barrederas, [a net with a tighter mesh than the usual type] and with hand lines and hooks...[36]

P
[14]

Retana, who published an annotated edition of de Morga, speculates that the bonsod originally came from Borneo.

Fish corral varieties in the Philippines have yet to be thoroughly studied and classified. They vary in size and design, from small shallow-water corrals to

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[36]Antonio de Morga, Blair and Robertson, op. cit., XVI, p. 96. Povedano, writing in 1572, mentions the fish corrals of the people of Negros. E. D. Hester (ed.) The Robertson Text and Translation of the Povedano Manuscript of 1572. Transcript No. 2. Chicago, Philippine Sutides Program, Department of Anthropology, University of Chicago, 1954, p. 48. Mimeographed. Unfortunately, this translation was not completed in time for me to use it throughout my report.

20: Hart E-5 (1951) 1954 OA1 Philippines OA1 576
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These two types of fish corrals, Leyte and Binatural, are found in Tanjay. (See Plate XLII.)[1] The Leyte fish corral is quite similar to the Siaton bonsod; the former is said to have been introduced to Tanjay by Leyte fishermen. The Leyte fish corral is built in depths thirty to sixty-five feet deep; whereas the Binatural is constructed in shallow waters; as a result the Binatural catches smaller fish. Two similar types of fish corrals are built in Siaton, the large bonsod, similar to the Quinavite and Leyte, and the smaller, shallow-water pahubas that resembles the Binatural and Natural. Siaton pahubas have a small trap, like the bobo, at the exit of the last section of the corral. (See Plate XLIII.)[2]

CB 221 731 228

Fish corral and bobo activities in Siaton are keyed to the monsoons. The southwest monsoon brings winds and rough seas that destroy the bonsods and make it difficult to lay or retrieve the bobo. Each year the bonsods are rebuilt and each year the southwest monsoon wrecks them, usually in July or August. Sometimes a typhoon sweeps across southern Negros, as in 1951 and 1952, destroying the bonsods earlier than usual. In 1951 all Siaton bonsods except one were destroyed by an early May typhoon; in 1952 the fish corrals were ruined by an early June typhoon. For this reason pelagic fish are less plentiful in Siaton during most of the rainy season.

1 [See p.575, cat. 226 -- Analyst]

2 [See p.575A, cat. 226 -- Analyst]

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731

In Tanjay fish corrals are built in March and April and last until the northeast monsoon in November. In October, 1950, the fish corrals in this area were destroyed by early northeast winds. Sometimes, the people said, fish corrals are damaged even earlier by an east wind that they call timog.

The northeast monsoon destroys most of the fish corrals along Negros' eastern coast and fish supplies move from southern Negros to Dumaguete; during the southwest monsoon this situation is reversed. Little fresh fish, however, is brought to Siaton from Dumaguete for sale during the rainy season.

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Older informants in Siaton said that once the most common type of fish corral was the Binatural; today's bonsod did not exist. A Binatural was built off Barrio Mantuyop in 1950 but, for the most part, this type is no longer used in Siaton. The fish catch, in the Binatural, was driven into the "last pocket" or section where it was scooped out with small hand nets (salok). One informant explained this type of fish corral "was very expensive to build and hard to catch the fish inside." This may partially explain why the Binatural is rarely built.

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Siaton municipality's coastline is divided into three zones according to the abundance of fish normally caught in bonsods. The first class bonsod zone is from the Zamboanguita-Siaton municipality boundaries to Barrio Sumalaring "in front of the residence of Mr. ——— and the pandan tree." This zone is a most desirable location because

of the protection afforded by an extension of land east of Malabuhan. Fish corrals can be built earlier here than in the other zones. The second class zone extends from Barrio Sumalaring to Salag Point; the third class zone continues from Salag Point to Siaton-Sta. Catalina municipality boundaries. 228 423

In 1951 public auctions were held for the first time for bonsod sites in these three zones. However, the auction was due less to raise funds than to political maneuvering among municipal officials. The auction was held in order to permit one person to obtain the most desirable sites, previously held by an individual then out of favor with local politicians. No auctions were held in 1952 or 1953. 228 423 437 661 427

When no auctions are held, an operator in a first class bonsod zone pays Siaton municipal government $50 annually; second class bonsod zone, $35; third class bonsod zone, $25. An additional license is necessary according to the depths in which the bonsod is constructed; Table ~~XXXI~~ 1 lists these fees. 228 427 423

1 [See p. 579, cat. 228 or 116 -- Analyst]

TABLE XXXI

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License Costs for Bonsods Built in Different Depths[39] Siaton Municipality, 1953

| Depth (Feet) | Cost (Dollars) |
|---|---|
| 6 | 14 |
| 10 | 20 |
| 13 | 40 |
| 16 | 60 |
| 20 | 80 |
| 23 | 110 |
| 26 | 120 |
| 30 | 140 |
| 33 | 150 |
| 36 | 155 |
| 40 | 160 |

Bonsods built in depths deeper than 40 feet pay five dollars for every additional 3 feet; however, few bonsods in Siaton are built deeper than 40 feet. Pahubas owners must pay an annual fee of eight dollars and bonsod operators a yearly five dollar internal revenue tax.

A municipal ordinance states that no bonsod shall be constructed within 660 feet of another fish corral in marine waters or within 330 feet in fresh water unless they belong to the same licensee. In no case shall bonsods be less than 198 feet apart except in water less than 6 feet deep at low tide. Section 15 of this municipal ordinance requires that all licensees or any person fishing in the "municipal waters of the municipality of Siaton [that includes the rivers] must submit to the

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[39] From Siaton municipal government records. Depths were changed from meters and cost from pesos.

municipal treasurer a monthly report (in triplicate) of the kind, quantity, and value, if so, if the fish caught during the month."[40] 228

Passing an ordinance does not mean it will be obeyed or enforced. In Siaton it is common knowledge that most of the bonsod owners keep two sets of books, one for personal use and the other for inspection by municipal officials. Bonsod owners or operators are 228 651 662

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[40]Section 14 of this ordinance lists types of nets or traps and fees to be paid to the municipality for their annual use.

| Type of Net or Trap (A) | Municipal License (Dollars) |
|---|---|
| Payagkay (Pamalo) | 5 |
| Pokot (Sagiwsiw) | 4 |
| Pokot (Licus) | 10 |
| Sabay (Licus) | 10 |
| Sabay (Sondong) | 2 |
| Sabay (Ta-an) | 4 |
| Sodsod | 2 |
| Basnig (Tamban) | 10 |
| Basnig (Ligbao) | 4 |
| Sabay (Ligbao) | 4 |
| Pokot (Lamia) | 6 |
| Surambao Filipino | 125 |
| Basnig, Japanese system | 375 |
| Tapsay | 2 |
| Chinchoro | 30 |
| Patulay (Malangsi) | 30 |
| Balahan | 75 |
| (Fishing) With high power light ranging from | |
| 100- 500 c. p. | 20 |
| 501-1000 c. p. | 60 |
| 1001-5000 c. p. | 80 |
| Bobo (each owner) | 3 |
| Nets (Length) | |
| 10 to 25 fathoms | 10 |
| 26 to 50 fathoms | 20 |
| 51 to 100 fathoms | 40 |
| More than 101 fathoms | 60 |

(A) Local names are given in parenthesis.

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required to pay a 5 per cent tax on their total sales to the municipality where they are located. Accounts shown to the inspectors indicate much smaller sales than are the case. Municipal inspectors sent to measure the depth of water where the bonsod is built or the length of the fish nets for tax purposes often are clerks paid less than ten dollars a month. These clerks sometimes report falsified figures. For example, they may state that a bonsod is built in shallower water than it is or that the nets are shorter than they are in order to reduce the required fees. In payment the clerks are given fish for their families by the owners thus favored.

Many requirements of the municipal ordinance, such as monthly reports, are not fulfilled by the fishermen, and no serious attempt is made at enforcement. Municipal revenue from marine fishing is much smaller than it should be. How much is lost is difficult to estimate but I feel it may be as much as 50 per cent of the potential income. The attitude toward taxes, and to government, in general, in Siaton is similar to that described by Robert Redfield in Tepoztlan. The people of Siaton, for the most part, resent taxes since they receive few benefits from the government. The frequent cases, both alleged and proven, of corruption and waste in national or provincial governments, intensify this attitude. Due to such conditions, the municipality often is deprived of revenues necessary

to initiate improvements; the lack of these improvements is often given as a justification for defrauding the government.[41]

228 651 662

An average bonsod requires considerable capital; consequently many of them are financed through partnerships. The bonsod can be very profitable but it is also a gamble against an errant typhoon, and a gamble that the capital invested will be recovered before the southwest monsoon's arrival. It is also a gamble that large catches will be made on holidays (such as fiestas) when fish bring higher prices.

228 472

Table XXXII[1] shows the cost of three bonsods built by different persons in Siaton in 1951. The costs indicated vary; large bamboos of last year's bonsod, destroyed by the monsoon, may be washed ashore and reused. Some builders use iron anchors (sinipits); others make them locally from wood. If one uses a twine instead of an abaca net the initial investment is larger. For the two bonsods in Table XXXII[1] the cost of a twine and abaca net and a banca are included; these items do not have to be purchased each year. A banca was said to last three or four years, the iron anchors four to five years, and the abaca net seven or eight years. If one

228 435

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[41] Robert Redfield, Tepoztlan: A Mexican Village: A Study of Folk Life. Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 1930, p. 67.

1 [See p. 583, Cat. 228 or 435 -- Analyst]

TABLE XXXII

Cost Breakdown of Three Bonsods

| Materials and Labor | Malabuhan (Dollars) Quantity | Malabuhan (Dollars) Cost | Sumalaring (Dollars) Quantity | Sumalaring (Dollars) Cost | Baybay (Dollars) Quantity | Baybay (Dollars) Cost |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Bamboo (65-70 foot poles) | 1,000 | 225 | 750 | 150 | 800 | 170 |
| Rattan (Balaba)[42] | 7,000 | 49 | 6,000 | 48 | 6,000 | 51 |
| Rattan (Impaque) | 2,500 | 12 | 1,800 | 9 | 2,000 | 10 |
| Iron anchor | 4 | 50 | - | - | - | - |
| Rope | 1,500[43] | 37 | 960 | 37 | 13[44] | 32 |
| Wire (Size No. 8) | 126[45] | 40 | 11 | 4 | - | - |
| Banca (35 feet) | 1 | 90 | - | - | - | - |
| Fish net | 1[46] | 520 | 1[47] | 104 | - | - |
| Coconut trunks | - | - | 4 | 14 | - | - |
| Labor costs | (48) | 118 | (49) | 120 | | 70 |
| Workers ladlad and food | (50) | 65 | (50) | 134 | (50) | 79 |
| Municipal tax | (51) | 50 | (51) | 50 | (52) | 35 |
| Internal revenue tax | | 5 | | 5 | | 5 |
| Totals | | $1,261 | | $675 | | $452 |

[42] Balaba rattan is divided equally into four equal parts longitudinally. The Bureau of Forestry considers 1,000 pieces of balaba equal to about 220 pounds.

[43] In feet.

[44] Thirteen rools that vary in length; approximately 240 feet.

[45] Pounds.

[46] Twine net.

[47] Abaca net is cheaper than twine.

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distributes these expenses over the years these two bongods would be less expensive than indicated.[55] 228

Table XXXIII[1] presents figures from Umali's study pertaining to the construction of a Quinavite fish corral in Ragay Gulf, Luzon. They are included for comparison with the figures in Table XXXII. 435

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[48]The labor costs were: making bamboo strips for lag-i, $10; sharpening and cutting slits in bamboo poles, $21; splitting rattan, $7; weaving lag-i, $35; making bamboo raft, $5; and construction of bongod, $40.

[49]The owner employed eleven men for about 1 month; this figure does not include the cost of food served to the men while employed.

[50]Cost of just the ladled feast for Malabuhan was $45, for Sumalaring, $20, and Baybay $20.

[51]First class zone.

[52]Second class zone. The tax on the depth was not obtained.

[53]It is difficult to obtain correct figures on the actual cost of building a bongod because of practices of some bongod operators. For example, purchases made outside the municipality are taxed by the Siaton government. One bongod owner listed in his expense book "for the inspectors" that he had purchased 3,000 pieces of rattan (in Tolong municipality) for $25 instead of the actual 6,000 pieces that cost $51. While rope was purchased from the Chinese stores in Dumaguete, some bongod owners listed the rope as "bought from various persons" in Siaton in order to eliminate the tax. Under such circumstances, while the owners know exactly how much money they have spent, obtaining accurate information is difficult. The persons who gave the information in Table XXXII said they were giving me the "real figures."

1[See p. 585, cat. 228 or 435 -- Analyst]

TABLE XXXIII

Cost of Building a Quinavite Fish Corral[54]
Ragay Gulf, Luzon - 1938

| Material and Labor | Quantity | Cost (Dollars) |
|---|---|---|
| **Materials** | | |
| Palma brava (bahe) @ 30¢ each | 500 | 150 |
| Bamboos (bolo or boho) @ $10 per 1,000 | 2,000 | 20 |
| Rattan @ $1.50 per 1,000 | 20,000 | 30 |
| Bamboo for raft (balsa) and bridge (vela) of the tawanik variety @ $6 per 100 | 200 | 12 |
| Cotton (twine) net (siguin) | 1 | 150 |
| Banca | | |
| Cost of splitting 2,000 bolo @ $10 per 1,000 | | 20 |
| Cost of weaving mattings | | |
| Body of 14 pieces (bantasan) @ $2.90 each[55] | 14 | 40.60 |
| Leader of 20 pieces(bantasan) @ $2.90 each | 20 | 58 |
| Labor (contract) | | |
| First maestro [foreman ?] | | 30 |
| Second maestro | | 25 |
| Seven men at $7.50 each | | 52.50 |
| Total Cost | | $713.10 |

Comparing the costs of the Quinavite of Ragay ulf and the bonsod of Malabuhan, the materials for the rmer cost $212, for the latter $431. The cost of the ine net and boat (banca) were $610 in Malabuhan and

[54]Umali, op. cit., p. 189. The date the fish corral s built is not given; the article was published in 1938.

[55]Each bantasan was about 69 feet long.

$275 in Ragay Gulf. These figures illustrate the inflation that has occurred in the Philippines since 1938.

Table XXXIV, at the end of this chapter, lists the local, English and scientific names (whenever possible) of fish caught in Siaton bonsods; Table XXXV gives the frequency of their catch and class accorded them by people living in both the barrio and Siaton poblacion.[1]

## Construction of the Fish Corral

Construction of bonsods in Siaton begins in late October or early November. Bonsods are built, for the most part, between Malabuhan and Salag Point; few bonsods are erected west of Salag Point because the coral sea floor makes it almost impossible to embed the posts. (See Plates XLIV and XLV.) In the past the long bamboos needed to build a bonsod could be cut in Caticugan and other barrios near the sea. Today bamboo is cut in Lamtoc, Balanan, and Casala-an and floated as rafts down the river since nearby bamboo resources have been exhausted. Some fish corral owners advance to the cutters in the barrios part of the money to be paid for the bamboo with full payment made on delivery. Long thick poles usually cost about twenty cents each; in Tanjay similar bamboos are reported to bring twice this amount.

Most of the rattan obtained to build the bonsods comes from Tolong municipality. The people said that once rattan grew abundantly in the hills near Caticugan;

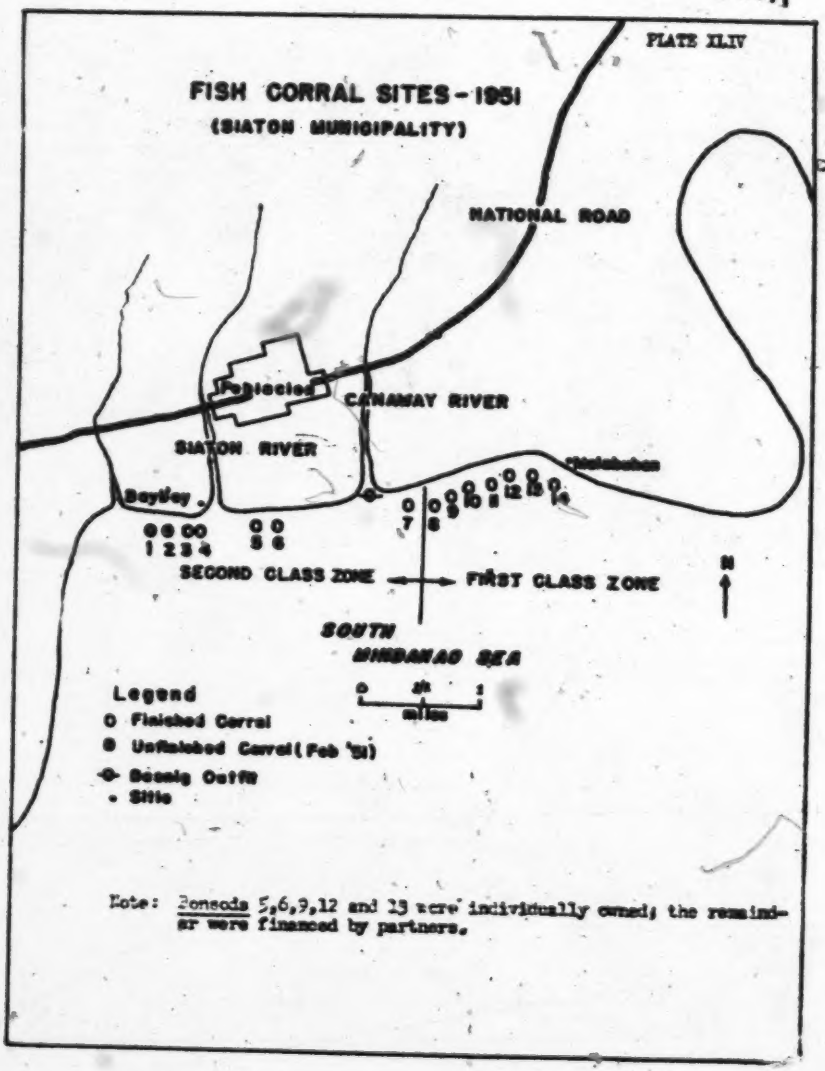
[1] [see pp. 640-645 -- Analyst]

[2] [See pp. 586A and B, cat. 116 -- Analyst]

20: Hart E-5 (1951) 1954 OA1 Philippines
Central Bisayan OA14

586A

PLATE XLIV




Note: Zonesda 5,6,9,12 and 13 were individually owned; the remainder were financed by partners.

20: Hart E-5 (1951) 1954 OA1 Philippines
Central Bisayan OA14

586B

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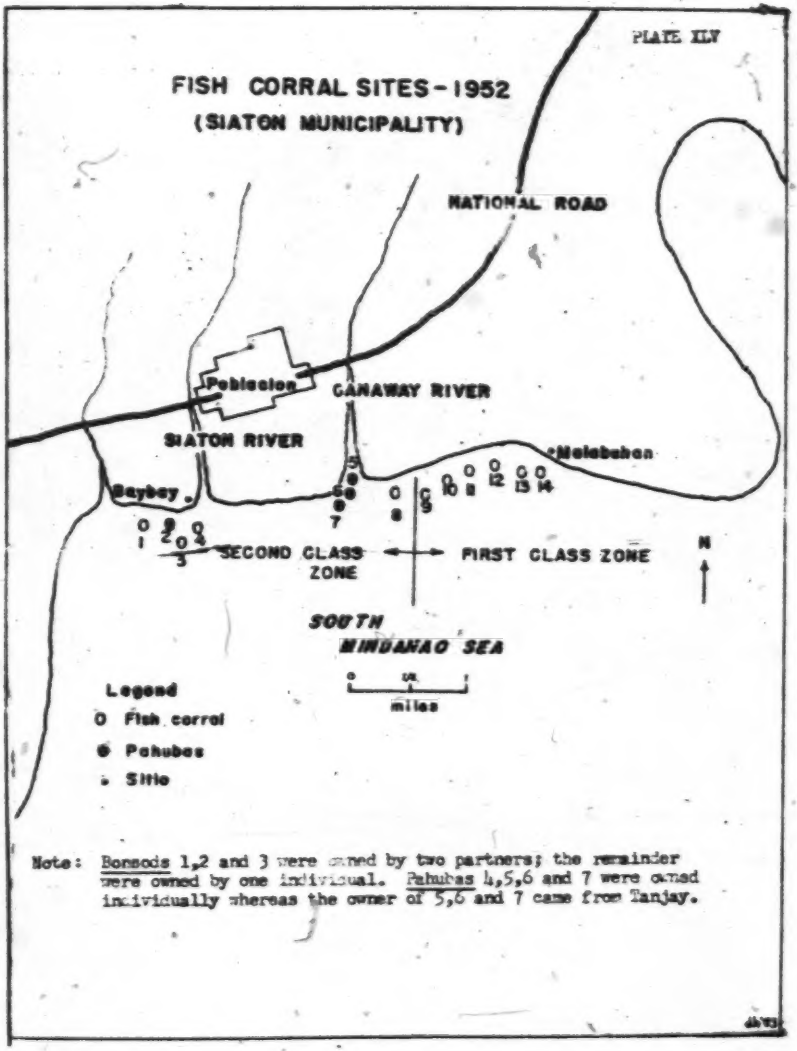
PLATE XLV




Note: Bonsods 1,2 and 3 were owned by two partners; the remainder were owned by one individual. Pahubas 4,5,6 and 7 were owned individually whereas the owner of 5,6 and 7 came from Tanjay.

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One story was told of a man named Jose who found a bamboo section with no visible holes yet contained black ants. Jose loaned the bamboo to a bonsod owner who promised him all the free fish he could eat. Later Jose was asked by the bonsod owner's brother why he was receiving so much free fish. He explained and the owner's brother scolded Jose "in front of many people." As a result Jose took back his bamboo charm; after this incident the bonsod never caught many fish.

Bonsod Financing and Profits

228 472

Various arrangements exist in Siaton for paying bonsod workers and dividing the profits among both workers and partners. One method is to pay the workers wages while building the bonsod and after completion to share with them part of the profits. One bonsod owner shared 10 per cent of the net profits with his helpers. Another bonsod was owned by two partners. Before any division of profits, the cost of constructing the fish corral was deducted. The partner who owned the net received 20 per cent of the net profits; the remainder (80 per cent) was divided in half and shared equally by the two partners (20 per cent each) and their workers (40 per cent among them). Under another arrangement the owner receives two-thirds of the gross sales and his helpers one-third; the cost of the bonsod is not deducted prior to the division of profits. In all cases the bonsod workers are given fish for their families.

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Since many fish corrals are built and operated by partners, books are kept to record the sales in order to divide the profits. It is difficult to obtain details on these figures. When a bonsod owner is "lucky" the fish corral is a profitable investment. One operator said he made $4,000 from two bonsods in 1950. Another said he made $2,000 from one bonsod after deducting construction cost. One fish corral owner showed me his "real figures" that indicated in 1950 his profit from two bonsods were: December (1949), $430; January, $1,463; February, $705; and March, $723. By January, 1952, the same owner had made $1,669 from two bonsods he operated in the first class zone.

Bonsods are still a gamble. In some years bonsods may not return the cost of their construction. This was the case with many fish corrals in 1951. Most of the owners were hoping to retrieve their investments before the corrals were destroyed by the southwest monsoon; then a typhoon came and most of them lost their investments. One owner spent nearly $1,000 (including the purchase of a new net and boat) to get started in the bonsod business. He had sold only $100 worth of fish before his fish corral was ruined by the typhoon; the owner sat on the beach and wept unashamed. The 1952 typhoon was an expensive storm for the bonsod operators. Catches had been poor this year; many owners had not regained their investment before the typhoon's arrival. Before the typhoon a profit was improbable for the bonsod operators; May and June are normally poor fishing months.

When fish corrals are partially destroyed, early in the season, some owners make temporary repairs. Damaged or destroyed banatas, for example, are replaced with coconut fronds. Early destruction or an unprofitable season is harder on the bonsod workers who depend largely on the fish corral for their meat and cash income; many have no land to cultivate. The price of fish is higher when the fish corrals are destroyed or suffer a poor season. Most fresh fish sold in Negros Oriental is obtained from fish corrals.

228 472 [131] [435]

Types of Fish Caught in Fish Corrals

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Pelagic fish caught most commonly in fish corrals are the "floating" or "surface" species. Umali writes that herring, mackerel, bageye, round scad and bonito are the migratory species frequently caught in fish corrals and other marine fish traps in the Philippines.[60] In Siaton mackerel is said to be most abundant in April and May, herring in January and February, runner (Elagatis bipinnulatus) from February to May, anchovy from February to March and sardine from December to February. Considerable tuna are caught in the bonsods, particularly the yellowfin and striped varieties.[61] Table XXXV[1] gives additional data on the frequency of catches in Siaton fish corrals.

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[60] Umali, op. cit., p. 180.

[61] Herbert E. Warfel, Outlook for Development of a Tuna Industry in the Philippines, Research Report 28. Washington, D.C., United States Department of Interior, Government Printing Office, 1950. This publication contains a map showing the distribution of the yellowfin and striped tunas in the Philippines.

1 [See p. 644, cat. 228 -- Analyst]

Sale of Fish Caught in the Bonsods

Most fish caught in the bonsods are sold in Dumaguete because of the higher prices paid in the city. Fish are taken to Dumaguete by the busses that run between Tolong-Dumaguete and Siaton-Dumaguete. The bonsod owner pays fifty cents for each box (about the size of an orange crate) of fish hauled to Dumaguete; a tax of one cent a pound is paid on fish sold in the marketplace. Large fish like tuna are tagged on the tail and sent individually to the city market. When the tagged boxes of fish arrive in Dumaguete marketplace they are taken by the owner's agent (in one case a woman) who receives 10 per cent of the profits.

If a large bonsod catch is made and no busses are available until the next day, Siaton operators may hire a small truck owned by a local resident. Since ice is not available, the fish must be sold quickly or they spoil. The lament of a cafe owner near the Siaton River bridge was that during fishing season busses and trucks rarely stopped at his place because they were usually carrying fish to Dumaguete. The drivers feared a leisurely trip might cause the fish to spoil.[62]

Marine fish never were plentiful in the poblacion marketplace during my residence--and fresh-water fish were

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[62]According to the Bell Report the Philippine fishing industry needs to be provided with "cold storage transportation to expand the market for fish, and...the development of freezer packers." The Bell Report, op. cit., p. 66.

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never sold there. The scarcity of fish may be somewhat atypical--although most residents claimed it was not--since the bonsod catches were small this year and the fish corrals destroyed earlier than usual. When the day's fish supply arrived in the marketplace, it was quickly sold; some days there were no fresh fish for sale. Since fish brings a higher price in Dumaguete even small amounts are taken to the city, draining Siaton of much of its fresh fish. For example, one afternoon a fish corral made a catch of more than thirty boxes of sardine. The owner sold a few boxes in Siaton, more from a sense of duty than for profit, at eleven dollars a box; the rest were sent to Dumaguete where they sold for thirteen dollars a box. As a result, whenever news comes to the poblacion that a large catch has been made, either in the bonsod or by netting, the people flock to the seashore to buy fish for their personal use or to sell in the local market.

FISH NETS IN SIATON

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[439]

Since the last war abaca nets have replaced the cotton twine nets once widely used in Siaton; twine nets are very expensive owing to inflation. In the past many large twine nets used were made in Japan whereas today most of them are said to be imported from the United States. Nets made of cotton twine are called pokot or sigin; those made of abaca are called sahid or sinsoro.

One Malabuhan fisherman had an abaca net 1,290 feet long and 18 feet wide. 227

Nets are used in netting bonsod catches. The net is taken to the fish corral in a bokaran (a boat that does not have an outrigger); netted fish are scooped from the large net with a small hand net (sibot). Large nets are also used to catch schools of fish that come near the beach. These nets are taken to the sea in a panahiran, a boat that has an outrigger, and cast into the sea. The two ends of the net are pulled shoreward by people standing on the beach. Sometimes nets will be a combination of twine and abaca, the latter material is used "to make [the net] easier to pull." Large abaca "patches" are also often found in twine nets to catch small fish like the Tugnos and Tolakhang (anchovies). Abaca nets may have a paboto (pocket) of finer abaca weave for catching fingerlings. These are beach seine nets (pukot). 228 227

One fisherman had built a platform between two coconut trees about 30 feet above the beach; here a man stayed to watch for schools of fish. When a school was sighted he called the men by blowing a shell horn (budyong)--the same shell once used to warn the people of Moro raids. Often men in boats search the offshore waters for schools of fish. Sometimes a net is put into the sea for a "blind" catch, i.e., no school of fish is sighted. When a school is seen the panahiran is launched and the school surrounded. If the school is large the news quickly reaches the poblacion. People rush to the beach to help 228

pull the net. When the fish are emptied from the net those who helped receive small shares of the catch. Vendors come with gubang and other foods to sell to the crowd or barter for fish; the people often eat their fish at the beach. The whole affair becomes an impromptu picnic with eating, drinking and swimming.

A few women in Siaton poblacion weave abaca for fish netting. However, most abaca material used to make nets is woven in Dauin and Bacong municipalities; more abaca is grown here and the women have a reputation for weaving. I saw far more looms in Dauin and Bacong poblaciones than in Siaton. The material is sold in rolls forty to fifty feet long and thirty-five to forty inches wide; one roll is often sold to Siaton fishermen for two or three dollars.[63]

Lava Net

The lava is a circular twine net with many small lead sinkers attached to the outer edge.[64] Only one man in Barrio Caticugan owned a lava with a diameter of 11 feet. The lava, however, is rarely used in Siaton; only two were seen in the fishing sitio of Malabuhan. It is

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[63] One woman in Siaton poblacion sold three rolls of abaca (39 inches in width) for $9 to a Chinese store. The fiber cost $3. She estimated that it took her 60 hours to weave the three rolls so she made about 10 cents an hour. Another woman said she could weave 48 feet of abaca daily if the loom were loaded.

[64] De la Victoria , op. cit., p. 46, describes the identical net used in Cebu and also called lava. Lava is a general term for cast net: dala (Tag.), tabukol (Ilk.); sabukol (Pang.). Umali, Guide to the Classification of Fishing Gear in the Philippines, p. 119.

used for fishing in shallow waters, frequently around the mouths of the Siaton and Canaway Rivers; the catch is usually small Hinok, Subad-subad, Tigue (Tigi), Dalangan Balawis, Aso-os, and Gisao.

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Kayakag Net

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The kayakag is a twine gill net used to catch Bangsi and Balo (flying fish and garfish). Umali states kayakag-pamalo is a "gill net for taking balo (garfish) in Negros Oriental Province."[65] The top of the net has floats made from the dried fruit of the bito-on tree to keep the net near the surface. There are two types of kayakag nets: one is about 1,000 feet long and 12 feet wide and used on moonlit nights. During moonless nights a shorter net is employed, about 600 feet long and only 6 feet wide. Some very short kayakags, 4 feet wide and 25 feet long, were seen in Barrio Cabangahan.

Tapsay Net

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[227]

The tapsay, an abaca net (sometimes twine), is used only in shallow water. Two men each hold the top corners while two helpers step on the lower corners to submerge this part. Several assistants with pieces of coconut husk tied to strings pull (scarelines) these devices rapidly through the water, simulating a large fish's wake. This frightens smaller fish into the partially submerged net, that is jerked to the surface when the fish are in the center. This net is infrequently seen in Siaton; no

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[65] Umali, op. cit., p. 111.

tapsaya were used in Malabuhan. One informant said the tapsay was quite popular in Bais municipality. 228

Net Preservatives

Tabigi tree bark (Xylocarpus granatum Koenig) and tanbark are used as net preservatives.[66] One Malabuhan fisherman said he purchased a sack of tabigi bark for seventy-five cents from a Tanjay resident. The bark is boiled down with water that is poured into a boat; the nets soaked in the mixture--and sometimes the fishermen's pants are added! This process is done twice a week, and gives the nets a rich brown color. Boiled tanbark and lime water also are used to preserve the nets. Normally only twine, not abaca nets, are soaked in these preservatives "for twine nets are very expensive." On the whole, these native net preservatives are not widely used by Siaton fishermen, probably because so few have twine nets. 227 [824]

Basnig or Lift Netter

The basnig is a bamboo structure that floats at the mouth of a river and can be moved upstream or downstream. Four tall poles with pulleys are used to lower a large square net into the water. When a school of fish passes over the submerged net it is pulled upward by ropes. In 1951 there was one basnig, owned by an Ilongo from Iloilo City at the mouth of the Canaway River.[67]

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[66]Brown, op. cit., III, p. 66.

[67]Villadolid, op. cit., p. 22. The basnig (as pictured by Umali, page 48) is called salambay. His use of basnig (pp. 103-4) describes a different net. Umali, op. cit., p. 148.

To fish with a drop line and bright lights, small holders are built on both sides of a boat that contains a Coleman lantern. The men go to sea around twilight and fish until dawn. Traveling at night by inter-island ship one sees a myriad of tiny lights clustering close to the shore, the fleets of nocturnal fishermen. Lights attract small fish and squid, that are scooped up with a hand net, whereas both lights and smaller fish attract larger fish to baited lines thrown out by the fishermen. Often the men knock on the side of the boat with a paddle; the noise is reported to allure bigger fish. This type of fishing is done mainly to obtain fish for one's family, with perhaps some to barter or sell if lucky; during the southwest monsoon period boat fishing is restricted by rough seas.

Payao and Botad-botad sa Palongpong

In payao fishing a small bamboo raft is built and coconut fronds tied to it. Anchored near the shore, the raft's shade attracts fish that make their home beneath it. At night the men fish the immediate area of the raft.

A large bundle of twigs may be gathered, tied together, weighted, and sunk in the sea. After several days the fishermen hook the bundle and slowly pull it to the surface. Before surfaced a large basket is slipped under the bundle to catch small fish that have been living among the twigs. This method, often used to obtain live bait, is called botad-botad sa palongpong ("to pull up the twigs.")

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The bobo is submerged in water as deep as 250 feet. The tinap-anan bobo often is put in rocky places where the Sulid and Lalagan (golden-striped snapper) are most plentiful. A rattan "rope" (halag), sometimes as long as 600 feet, is attached to the bobo. At the end of this rope a large piece of coral anchors the bobo lest currents shift the position and result in loss of the trap. Floats are not used to mark the position for fear that thieves might steal the fish at night. When the bobo is dropped into the sea sights are taken on the shore (peaks, large rocks, unusually-shaped trees, etc.) and where the two lines converge, the bobo is sunk. Some fishermen also take sights on the stone anchor's position to be doubly sure of relocating the bobo. One Baybay fisherman ties a piece of twine to the stone anchor; this makes it possible for him to know the exact spot where the stone finally rests on the bottom. Then he takes sights on both anchor and bobo.

Table XXXVII[1] lists the fish generally caught in the bobo and at what depths. These data were based largely on records kept over a 2-month period, at my request, by Francisco Baldebrin, who had a number of bobos off Baybay. The ten varieties most frequently caught in the bobo appear to be: Irdangan (Surgeon or Nosefish); Mamsa (Pampano); Dalangdang (Golden-Striped Snapper); Sagisihon; Badlon (Golden Pampano); Dogso; Baulo; Kalamuhoy; Lalang; and Sulid (Caesio).

1 [See p.646, cat. 228--Analyst]

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Bobos usually are inspected every ten or fifteen days. A boat is paddled to the bobo location as determined by the sights taken when the trap was dropped. If the bobo is in shallow water a diver may try to locate it; if in deep water the bobo is retrieved by the kawit method. A wooden hook (kawit or gahid) is thrown into the water and dragged along until it snags the rattan rope. (See Plates LV and LVI .)[1] Plate LV shows a kawit made from an L-shaped limb whereas Plate LVI illustrates a bamboo kawit. Often the kawit is drug for hours before the bobo rope is snagged. Currents shift the bobo from its original site and if the trap is moved too far it is lost. When the rope is snagged, the bobo is pulled to the surface and placed in the boat.

No bait is put inside the marine bobos at Siaton; small fish are said to swim in and out through the bobo's interstices. Bobos also become the habitat of small fish "especially when moss and seesee clams begin to grow on it." These small fish act as bait; larger fish swim inside the bobo to catch them and are trapped. Once in the boat the fish are removed from the bobo through a small trap door, usually in the bottom. A bamboo stick, stuck through the mesh of the door, keeps it closed when the bobo is submerged. A stick (often the "pin" used to keep the trap door shut) is used to push the fish through the opening into the boat's bottom.

Bobos must be dried every two or three weeks otherwise they soon rot; the older the trap the longer and

1 [these plates are missing -- Analyst] [Pg. 619 Miss.]

more frequently it must be sunned. If not dried the average bobo lasts two or three months, but if properly cared for one lasts five to six months. 228

Bobo prices vary from five to fifteen dollars. The minata bobo sketched (Plates LIII-LIV)[1] costs ten dollars to build. In some cases the owner furnishes materials to build a bobo and the maker is paid for his labor. Some bobos are purchased from Zamboanguita, but most of them are made in Siaton. One fisherman in Malabuhan had eight bobos; he shared one-half of the catch from his traps with the men who surfaced and beached them. Another fisherman furnished the materials to make the bobos; the builders and helpers who cared for the traps (the same group) received one-half of the catch. The record catch for one bobo was said to have sold for $125. Often a bobo is surfaced with only a few or no fish inside. 228 [435] 472

Several families living in Barrio Caticugan had bobos sunk off Salag Point. One old man spent several weeks leisurely making a bobo in Barrio Caticugan. However, only a few barriofolk of Caticugan have bobos.

## Beliefs Associated with Bobos

The pa-anod already has been described (see Pages 597, 598 and 599).[70] Some said that if a pig were killed 228

[70] Most associated beliefs described in this chapter are almost identical with beliefs held by fishermen of Tayasan poblacion. The pa-anod in Tayasan is called patlao, although the ceremony is nearly the same; sometimes a patlao is made when a trap's catch is consistently small. Hester R. Jason, "Religious Beliefs in a Filipino Community," Dumaguete, Negros Oriental, Silliman University, 1951, pp. 12-3. Typescript. A term report prepared by an anthropology student of Professor Oracion.

1 See p. 615ff, cat. 116 -- Analyst

the bobo would be stained with blood. The traps are often built in seclusion. One woman reported that her brother-in-law was building a bobo in a weedy, vacant lot in the poblacion. She professed ignorance as to why he selected this isolated spot instead of making the trap at his house. This desire for privacy is due to a number of reasons. It is believed that if a person uses a sliver from the whittlings for a tooth-pick no fish will be caught in the bobo. If someone playfully taps another with a bobo splint, or if a dog urinates on the unfinished trap or materials, the bobo's luck may be ruined. It is said to be unwise to gather wood to make a bobo from a grove where bamboo has been cut for a coffin. Some throw sand or pebbles at the bobo's mouth when it is first put into the sea "so it will catch many fish like the grains of sand or pebbles"; this resembles the imitative magic described for agricultural ceremonies.

Bobos furnish the people of Siaton with a considerable quantity of fish. Most traps are beached during the rainy season when the sea is often rough and traps cannot be surfaced. Some traps are quite large and the boats small; unless the sea is calm there is danger that the boat will capsize with the bobo. Rough water and stronger currents of the southwest monsoon season also increase the chances that the bobo's position will be shifted and the trap lost.

TABLE XXXIV

Local, English and Scientific Names of Fish[87] Caught in the Fish Corrals of Siaton
(Alphabetized according to medium-size names.)

| Local Names (Different Sizes) | | | English Names | Scientific Identification |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Small | Medium | Large | | |
| Hasahasa | Andohao (Anduhau) | Bolaobolao | Japan mackerel; short-bodied chub | Pneumatophorus japonicus: Rastrelliger brachysomus |
| Pisog[88] | | | | |
| Badlon | Badlon | - | Golden Pampano | Gnathanodon speciosus |
| - | Bakay | - | Nemipterid:Bisugo | Nemipterus sp. |
| Tugnos | Balangawan | Bolinao | Anchovy | Family Engraulidae |
| - | Balantiong (Balunabid)[89] | - | Dwarf round herring (Hasselt's round herring (?) | Dussumieria acuta (D. Hasselti) (?) |
| - | Balangikol; Pakan[90] (Bansiko) | - | Runner | Elagatis bipinnulatus |
| Ngising-isi or Dangit | Balawis | Kitong | Java siganid | Teuthis javus |
| - | Baloh (Balo) | - | Gar | Family Belonidae |
| Barongoy[91] | Bangsi | - | Flying fish | Family Exocoetidae, Cypselurus oligolepis and C. poecilopterus |
| - | Bangkolisan (Bankulis) | - | Skipjack;striped tuna | Katsuwomus pelamis |
| - | Bogkanon[92] | - | ? | ? |
| - | Bongkokan or Mampahan | - | ? | ? |



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TABLE XXXIV (Continued)

| Local Names (Different Sizes) | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Small | Medium | Large | English Names | Scientific Identification |
| Borogkanon | Budlisan | - | ? | ? |
| - | Dalangdang (Dalanglan) | - | Golden-striped snapper | Lutianus flavolineatus |
| - | Dalapugan (Dalipugan) or Kambil-kambil | - | Leaf fish | Plataz orbicularis |
| Tanusok | Dogso[93] | - | ? | ? |
| - | Guno | - | Silverside | Atherina sp. |
| - | Haolbaol | - | Sardine or herring | Family Clupeidae, sardinella sp.; harengula sp. |
| - | Iho | - | Shark | All Families: Order Euselachii |
| - | Indangan | - | Surgeon or Nosefish | Surgeon (Acanthurus sp.) Nosefish (Naso sp.) |
| Inid[94] | Kugtong or Badiangon | - | Large grouper | Family Serranidae; Ephinephelus and Auvina; promicrops lanceolatus |
| - | Kume | - | Sergeant fish | Rachycentron canaduum |
| - | Lalagan[95] | - | ? | ? |
| - | Lamugan | - | ? | ? |
| - | Lanohan | - | ? | ? |
| - | Lapis | - | Golden leatherjacket | Scatophagus argus |
| - | Lawayan | - | Slipmouth | Leiognathus equulus |
| - | Liplipan[96] | - | Sailfish | Istiophorus orientalis |
| - | Lombalomba[96] | - | Dolphin | - |
| - | Lumod[96] | - | Swordfish | Xiphias gladius |
| Tamarong | Malapati (Aguma-a) | Haguma-a | Silverside | Atherina sp. |



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TABLE XXXIV (Continued)

| Local Names (Different Sizes) | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Small | Medium | Large | English Names | Scientific Identification |
| - | Malasugi[96] | - | Swordfish and spearfish | Makaira mitsukurii Xiphias gladius |
| - | Mamsa (Momsa) | - | Jack; Pampano; Cavalla | Caranx sp. |
| - | Manolsog | - | ? | ? |
| Tostos[97] | Nukos | - | ? | ? |
| Tiampao | Pag-i, salanga and Mantihang | - | Rays and Manta | All Families, Order Batoidei. Manta (Mobula eregoodoo); devil ray (Family Mobulidae). |
| - | Panit | Mantala-an | Yellowfin tuna | Neothunnus macropterus |
| - | Pawikan | - | Turtle | ? |
| Pudlos | Pulag Ikog | - | ? | ? |
| Hulokihok | Sulid | Borak | Caesio | Caesio sp. |
| - | Tamban[98] | - | ? | ? |
| - | Tangigi | - | Spanish mackerel | Scomberomo rus Commerson |
| - | Tulakhang | - | Anchovy | ? |
| - | Tulingan (Turingan) | Ihalason | Tuna | Family Thunnidae |
| - | Tuloy | - | Indian sardine | Sardinella longiceps |
| - | Ulan-Ulan | - | Blue Coral beauties or Sapphire fish | All blue colored Pomacentridae or pomacenthus pavo. |

[97]Names of fish in () are given when local Siaton names differ slightly from Visayan names given in Herre and Umali. This publication merely gives the Visayan name; where these names differ from Siaton names it means the name is not correct according to the people in this municipality. Identification was made solely on the basis of this publication that lists Visayan, English and scientific names for various fish.

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Footnotes for Table XXXIV (Continued)

[88]Piso means "chick" or "young ones" whereas Pisog means "immature" or "baby fish" and is often prefixed to fish names to distinguish them from their mature types.

[89]Herre and Umali, op. cit., state Balunabid is the same as Balantiong; this is not the case in Siaton.

[90]Pakan, according to Herre and Umali, is "Mackerel scad: Hardtail"; this is not the case in Siaton.

[91]Herre and Umali state Bangsi are flying fish "eight inches long"; Barongoy are medium-size Bangsi.

[92]Bogkanon is not a well-known fish in Siaton but it is not the small size Budlisan.

[93]Dogso is not the name for spearfish or sailfish in Siaton as given in Herre and Umali; it is a different fish.

[94]Probably the same Inid that the people catch in Siaton River.

[95]Herre and Umali state Lalagan are small size Balanglan; this is not the case in Siaton for it is a different fish.

TABLE XXXV

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Frequency of Catch and Class of Fish Caught in Siaton Bonsods

| Name of Fish[99] | Frequency of Catch | Class[100] |
|---|---|---|
| Andohao | Frequently | A |
| Bakay | " | C-D |
| Bangkolisan | " | B-C |
| Balangawan | " | A |
| Balansikol | " | C |
| Balunabid | " | C |
| Bogkanon[101] | " | D |
| Budlisan | " | C |
| Haolhaol | " | C-D |
| Lamugan | " | C-D |
| Manolsog | " | B-C |
| Pulag Ikog | " | C |
| Malapati | " | A-B |
| Tulakhang | " | B-C |
| Tulingan | " | C |
| Panit | " | B-C |
| Baloh | Infrequently | C |
| Bongkokan | " | A |
| Bulitok | " | B |
| Lanohan | " | C-D |
| Lelagan | " | C-D |
| Dalangdang | " | B-C |
| Lapis | " | D |
| Nukos | " | A-B |
| Tangigi | " | A |
| Ulan-ulan | " | B-C |
| Badlon | Rarely | A |
| Bangsi | " | C-D |
| Dalapugan | " | C-D |
| Dogso | " | B-C |
| Guno | " | D-E |
| Iho | " | E |
| Lawayan | " | A-B |
| Mamsa | " | A |
| Pagi, salanga, mantihang | " | D102 |
| Pawikan | " | E |
| Sulid | " | B |

TABLE XXXV (Continued)

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| Name of Fish | Frequency of Catch | Class |
|---|---|---|
| Balantiog | Almost Never | C |
| Balawis | " | C-D |
| Indangan | " | D |
| Kugtong | " | C-D |
| Kume | " | E |
| Lombalomba | " | E |
| Lumod | " | E |
| Malasugi | " | B-C |
| Liplipan | " | B-C |
| Tamban | " | D-E |
| Tuloy | " | C-D |

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[99]Only names for regular-size fish are given under this column.

[100]Code is: A (first class); B (Second class); C (third class); D (fourth class); and E (fifth class, usually not eaten when caught.) First class fish are those having white meat and skins, golden stripes, are non-odorous, and have a "good taste." As would be expected, tastes vary so only the general consensus is given in this column.

[101]Only one informant was familiar with this fish, Boskanon.

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[102]Before the arrival of a school-teacher from Siquijor, few people in Siaton poblacion ate the Salanga. One day a large Salanga was caught and the teacher bought the fish for a small price. He dried the meat and sent chunks to his friends. Today a number of people in the poblacion eat the Salanga that is said to taste "like carabao meat." Salanga is considered somewhat of a delicacy by many people living in Siquijor.

TABLE XXXVII

Fish Caught in Siaton
Bobos at Different Depths

| Local Names (Different Sizes) | | | English Names | Scientific Identification[103] |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Small | Medium | Large | | |
| | 30 to 45 Feet | | | |
| Ngisingis | Balawis (Bulawis) | Kitong | Java Signid | Table XXXIV |
| - | Tanosuk[104] | - | ? | ? |
| - | Dalangdang | - | Golden striped snapper | Table XXXIV |
| Hulokihok | Sulid | Burak | Cassio | Table XXXIV |
| Managat | Laob[105] | - | Red snapper ? | Latianus malabaricus ? |
| - | Poskan | - | - | ? |
| - | Palangan[106] | - | ? | ? |
| Inid | Badiangon | - | Large grouper (?) | Family Serranidae |
| - | Tobotobo (Tubotubo)[107] | - | Trumpet fish | Family Aulostomidae |
| - | Panangitan (Panangli tan)[108] | - | Moray | Gymnothorax sp. |
| - | Lipi | - | ? | ? |
| - | Hinok | - | ? | ? |

[103] When identification is made elsewhere, names are not repeated in this table.
[104] Herre and Umali state Tanosak are the young of the Dogso; this is not the case in Siaton.
[105] Some informants said another name for Laob is Aha-an that Herre and Umali state is the Red Snapper.
[106] Some informants said Poskan is also called Palangan.
[107] This fish has a trumpet-like nose or mouth.
[108] This eel-like fish is very mean "especially when the female has young."

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TABLE XXXVII (Continued)

| Local Names (Different Sizes) | | | English Names | Scientific Identification |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Small | Medium | Large | | |
| Tikong | Botiti[109] | Panabugan | ? | ? |
| - | Tandan[110] | - | ? | ? |
| - | Bayabay | - | ? | ? |
| - | Lubaylubay | - | ? | ? |
| - | Dalapugan | - | Leaf fish | Table XXXIV |
| Tiampao | Salanga, Pag-i | - | Rays and mantas | Table XXXIV |
| - | Tangka | - | ? | ? |
| | 45 to 60 Feet | | | |
| - | Mamsa | - | Cavalla: Jack | Table XXXIV |
| - | Baliling | - | ? | ? |
| - | Laob | - | Red snapper | Table XXXIV |
| - | Kagdon[111] | - | ? | ? |
| - | Tangka | - | ? | ? |

[109] The following notice appeared in The Philippines Free Press, XLIII, No. 42 (October 19, 1952), p. 60. "Fifty-year-old Ciriaco Bacor of Bacuag, Surigao, and his only son, Irenio Bacor, age nine, died of botete poisoning on September 23. Ciriaco caught a fish called 'botete' and had it cooked. They then ate the fish. One hour after Irenio died and twelve hours after the father expired. Incidentally, it should be mentioned that the wife of Ciriaco died of botete poisoning last year." This is, no doubt, the Botiti of Siaton that is also said to be poisonous.

[110] Tandan are a small thorny fish "with a big liver and tasty meat"; certain parts of this fish are poisonous and must be removed before it is eaten.

[111] Kagdon are identical in shape with the blackish Indangan except the latter has yellowish-red scales.

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TABLE XXXVII (Continued)

| Local Names (Different Sizes) | | | English Names | Scientific Identification |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Small | Medium | Large | | |
| - | Timbungan | - | Goat fish (?) | ? |
| Tanusok | Dogso | - | ? | ? |
| Pigot | Olibalay | - | Grunt | Pomadasys sp. |
| - | Abohon (Abo?) | - | Croaker (?) | Family Sciaenidae |
| - | Badiangon | - | Large grouper | Table XXXIV |
| Pagapa[112] | Baulo (Balo) | - | Gar (?) | Family Belonidae |
| | | | Lactarius | Lactarius lactarius |
| - | Mambihing[113] | - | ? | ? |
| - | Galot | - | ? | ? |
| - | Botiti | - | ? | ? |
| - | Kanulo | - | Snapper | Lutianus sp. |
| - | Tandan | - | ? | ? |
| - | Banagan | - | Cow-nosed ray | Rhinoptera javanica |
| | 60 to 120 feet | | | |
| - | Indangan | - | Surgeon or nosefish | Table XXXIV |
| - | Mamsa | - | Jack or Pampano | Table XXXIV |
| - | Ganting | - | Soldier fish | Family Holocentridae |
| - | Dalangdang | - | Golden-striped snapper | Table XXXIV |
| Tostos | Bukos | - | ? | ? |
| - | Halo-an Tasik[114] | - | Murrel: Dalag (Mudfish) | Ophicephalus striatus |

[112] Pagapa are said to be Jack or Pampano, according to Herre and Umali.

[113] A few informants thought Mambihing might be another name for Lisngag.

[114] Halon-an Tasik are said to be like Halo-an (mudfish) caught in the rivers; Tasik means "salty." The fish is so called because when caught in the sea it tastes salty.



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TABLE XXXVII (Continued)

| Local Names (Different Sizes) | | | English Names | Scientific Identification |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Small | Medium | Large | | |
| - | Badlon | - | Golden pampano | Table XXXIV |
| Pagapa | Baulo | - | Gar (?) | - |
| | Pag-i, etc. | - | Rays and manta | Table XXXIV |
| - | Pakolo (Pakol) | - | Trigger fish: Black Oldwife | Black Oldwife (Melichthys radula) |
| - | Kawayanon | - | ? | ? |
| - | Bilaobilao | - | ? | ? |
| | 120 to 840 Feet | | | |
| - | Mamsa | - | See elsewhere | Table XXXIV |
| - | Kalamuhoy | - | ? | ? |
| | Iho tike[115] | - | Shark | ? |
| Inid[116] | Badiangon | - | Large grouper | Table XXXIV |
| - | Indangan | - | Surgeon or nosefish | Table XXXIV |
| - | Balabawan | - | ? | ? |
| - | Mayamaya | - | ? | ? |
| - | Nukos | - | ? | ? |
| - | Dogso | - | ? | ? |
| - | Banagan | - | ? | ? |
| - | Tambuli | - | Large sea-snail | ? |
| - | Halo-an Tasik | - | ? | ? |
| Fish Caught in Bobo But at Unknown Depths | | | | |
| - | Dapat | - | ? | ? |
| - | Dapak | - | Red snapper | Litianus equulus |
| - | Lalong | - | Zebra or scorpion fish | Dendrochirus sp. and Pterois sp. |

[115] A shark with skin and eyes similar to that of the Tike, a house lizard.
[116] Some informants said Badiangon are mature Inid; others disagreed.



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fenced for loose carabaos are pastured above. Fields close to the barrio's main path, however, are often unfenced for people can watch these fields from their residences. 243

When the fields lie fallow, pigs usually forage at will in the barrio. Once the corn is planted the pigs are tied or penned. Normally the pigs are tied by a hind leg to a post under the raised floor of the house; this means increased work, for food must now be brought to the animals. Chickens remain loose but efforts are made to keep them from scratching in the newly planted fields. 243 231

In Caticugan wild pigs menace agriculture only in Upper Naga. At night they come from the hills across the Mantuyop River and often do considerable damage. The destruction of crops by wild pigs and monkeys (there are none in the vicinity of Caticugan) increases as one travels up the Siaton River valley.

Carabaos often damage crops in Caticugan. Several farmers lost most of their corn crop in 1951 due to destruction by loose carabaos. Once a small herd of wandering carabaos was caught in a newly-planted paddy in Barrio Caticugan. The paddy owners drove the herd to the poblacion where they were put in the public corral. The owners had to pay a fifty-cent fine for each animal in order to obtain their release. If the carabaos are not branded, as is often the case, another fifty-cent fee is charged for recording the brand at the municipio.

Corn stalks from the first paddy corn harvest are given to those who cut them. At this time the nearby grazing areas are green and fodder is plentiful. During the harvest or shortly afterwards men or young boys come to cut the stalks and carry them home for their animals. However, in the later corn and rice harvests the cultivators do not donate the harvested stalks. By this time the pastures have begun to dry up; the corn and rice stalks are retained by the owners for their own animals.

243 476 231 [462 857]

Local Harvest Migrations

During July many people from Caticugan, the poblacion and nearby barrios go to Omanod to help in the corn harvest. Corn is usually harvested earlier in Omanod than in Siaton.[49] Omanod is situated in a small riverine plain in Sta. Catalina municipality, about three or four miles west of Barrio Bonawon. In 1951 people came from Bacong and Dauin to help in the Omanod corn harvest. Some took the bus and others from Siaton poblacion walked or rode horses. Women and young children outnumbered men. Several families in Caticugan and the poblacion left younger children under the care of an elder daughter while mother and father went to Omanod.

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[49] Siaton corn harvests sometimes occur before those of Omanod. Normally, however, the earlier rains of Omanod make it possible for the barriofolk to plant (and harvest) their corn before Siaton. However, in 1952, fewer harvesters went to Omanod from Siaton because both harvests occurred about the same period.

The second paddy corn is usually planted in June or earlier. Not all of the ricefields are planted with a second corn crop. The year of my residence the second crop was planted before the first non-irrigated corn harvest was finished. If the paddies are planted and harvested late the chance of getting a second crop is smaller; precipitation is more abundant and the paddies flood, killing the corn. If the second corn crop is planted late it will not have time to mature before the rice must be transplanted. Corn that does not mature because of excessive moisture is fed to the animals.

The fact that successfully raising a second corn crop in the paddies is difficult is reflected in the preparation of the land; the ricefields are merely furrowed, not plowed or harrowed, and often the cut stubs of previous corn stalks remain in the paddy. Since the land is not well tilled the second corn crop is usually weedy. Many farmers who planted a second corn crop in 1951 had sufficient time to prepare the land as thoroughly as they did for the first planting, but did not do so. As a result the yield is usually much smaller than the first crop.

Some old people believe it is unwise to handle harvested corn ears roughly. One informant told the story of the poor man who came to the house of a rich farmer who had kicked and thrown his ears of corn around "disrespectfully." The beggar asked for some corn but the rich man said he had none to give. Then the corn ears spoke to the poor man: "Take us with you, poor old man. This

Cauin municipalities; vendors from these municipalities come to the Siaton marketplace every Saturday and Sunday to sell cured tobacco leaves. 438

FARM ANIMALS

Caticugan is typical of the Philippines in that the carabao is the farmer's most important animal. Pigs, goats and chickens also are found in most barrios. Caticugan and Siaton municipality, however, had more cattle and horses before the war than usual in so small a region of the Philippines. Prior to the Japanese invasion, a thriving cattle industry in Siaton municipality centered largely at Bondo. 231

Carabaos

The carabao is the most important beast of burden in the Philippines. The Bell Report states:

> In general, the recovery in livestock numbers has been much slower than in crop production and because of the extensive use of carabaos and oxen for power, it has been one of the important factors retarding the recovery of crop output.[75]

This report estimated that the 1940 carabao level in the Philippines would be attained in 1953. Bondo plateau, before the war, supported one herd of carabao said to number more than 800 head; it consisted of Pure Buffalo,

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[75] "Technical Memoranda No. 1, Agriculture," U.S. Economic Survey Mission's Report (Bell Mission), The Philippines Herald, Manila, (November 14, 1950), p. 2.

Shanghai and Cambodian varieties. In 1951 the same herd, owned by a Spaniard living in Bais, contained only seventy animals. The pre-war carabao level was not attained by 1953 in Siaton municipality. 231

In Caticugan there are fewer carabaos than before the last war but most families have an animal for agricultural work. Many families once had a few more head than were needed for farming purposes, and this surplus has not yet been replaced. One man rented a carabao for plowing his field, from a relative of his wife, for fifty cents a day. Most carabao in Caticugan are the native variety although there are a few pink-skinned Cambodian carabaos. Carabaos are required to be registered when two or three years old and their brand recorded at the municipio. The fee is fifty cents; consequently many owners do not obey the ordinance. As a result local figures are of little value in determining the actual number of carabao in Siaton municipality.

Pangligiran hill is the favorite place to graze Caticugan's carabaos. There usually are plenty of fodder and wallow holes for the animals and no immediate fields. The wooded hills across the Mantuyop River from Naga are another site where carabaos are taken to graze. Since the carabaos in these two localities are usually permitted to wander untied, they cohabit at will and no selective breeding is possible. 231 311

Calves are branded when they are about one year old. Young carabao are put to work in the fields when three or 231

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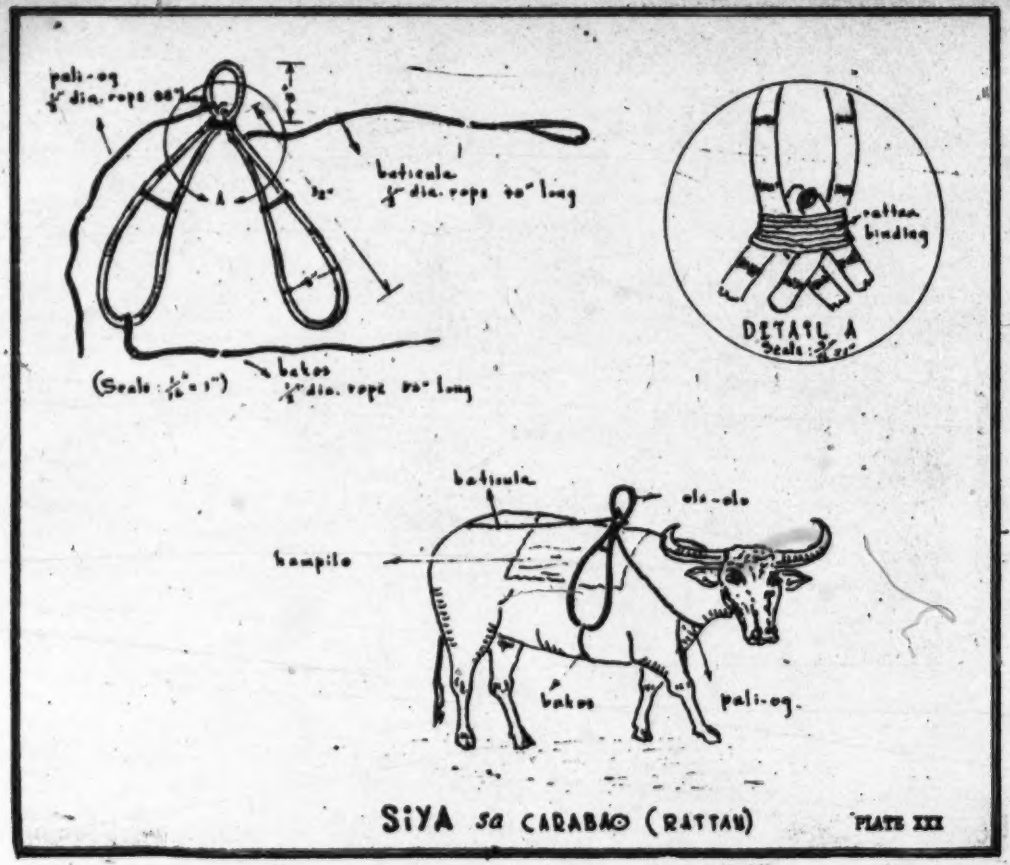
four years old. The age at which the animal is used on the farm depends on the type of soil to be plowed or the carabao's strength. With proper care a carabao may be worked for thirty years.

When carabaos are to be trained, a small hole is made through the animal's septum with a sharpened bamboo. A woven rattan ring or coconut button is put in the hole but the rope is not attached until the wound is healed. Carabaos are sometimes ridden and a "saddle" is used for such occasions. (See Plate XXX.)[1]

The training of a young carabao consists in teaching the animal to obey certain commands. At first the animal is required to pull a log or a soyoran (a carrying device consisting of two pieces of bamboo with a center cross-piece). As the carabao responds to this training, learning when to stop and go, to wear the harness, pull a load and walk straight, the plow is attached and the animal is worked in the fields.

Proper care of carabaos consists of permitting them to bathe in the river or to wallow in mud holes once a day. Since the carabao lacks sweat glands this is the only way the animal may cool itself. Some men said the carabao should never be permitted to wallow in mud after a day's work since this would make them lose appetite and grow thin. Carabaos that are penned--which is not common--are fed cornstalks, rice straw or green grass gathered by children. The task of taking the

1[See p. 423, cat. 231-- Analyst]




SIYA sa CARABAO (RATTAN) PLATE XXX

20: Hart E-5 (1951) 1954 OA1 Philippines
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P.423
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The task of taking the animals to the river to drink and bathe, or of moving them to another area to graze (if pegged) is often the duty of young boys.

Rinderpest was introduced to the Philippines in 1888 and ten years later the disease appeared in Siaton, killing many carabaos. In 1920 and again in 1940 rinderpest struck in Siaton decimating the carabao herd. There is no specific native medicine for rinderpest, although many owners treated their animals with the same medicines used for diarrhea or dysentery in humans. A white film sometimes grows over their eyes and, if not cured, results in blindness. One medicine applied by the barriofolk to eyes so afflicted is a mixture of salt, powdered clay pot, and crushed red peppers! Native veterinarian specialists are called mangalapon; there was none in Caticugan but one lived in Sandolot. To my knowledge he never came to Caticugan to treat a sick animal; this was done by the owner.

Carabaos are sometimes bitten by a poisonous spider (lawalawa). As a result of the bite, both humans and carabaos are reported to suffer a swollen abdomen and to be unable to urinate; death sometimes results. Treatment is the same for carabaos as for humans. The following ingredients are used: roots of the bono (Abrus precatorius Linn.), tubli (Derris), ongali (Uvaria rufa Blume) and pakobol vines; roots of the homokan, salowasowa (Citrus hystrix, family Rutaceae) and pauli trees, and roots from the taghoy bush, (Canthium gynochthodes Baill.).

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The roots are powdered and mixed with juice squeezed from young pineapple leaves. Some water is added and the mixture is boiled in a pot; banana leaves are stretched over the top to retain the steam. The person or carabao bitten is completely covered with a blanket. Then the boiling pot is placed under the blanket after a few holes have been punched in the top so the steam can escape. When the liquid cools the blanket is removed and the person or carabao rubbed down with the mixture.

Cattle

231

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Most of the cattle of the island were killed during the war; in 1948, there were only 17,870 head in Negros

[76] Yearbook of Philippine Statistics: 1946, p. 169.

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Oriental and 8,930 head in Negros Occidental.[77] The Bais resident who owned 3,000 cattle before the war had a herd of only 15 head in 1951. Most of the people of Caticugan owned a few cattle, largely Indian and Nellori breeds. "Some people sold cows by the dozen" one Naga informant told me. Today, however, only a few barriofolk own cattle in Caticugan, some that were hidden in the interior part of the municipality during the war. I never saw more than 10 head of cattle at one time in Caticugan but I was told cattle were grazed in the surrounding hills. Indian bulls are used to cultivate the fields as are carabaos. Caticugan's cattle will increase but slowly in the future for present high prices make it almost impossible for the average family to purchase an animal.

Horses

Siaton municipality was once a fairly prosperous cattle raising center. Before the last war more horses were raised in this area than was typical for most Philippine municipalities of the same size. In 1939 there were 12,860 horses in Negros Oriental (8,730 in Negros Occidental); because of the war the number of horses in 1948 were 6,040 in Negros Oriental (4,300 in Negros Occidental).[78]

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[77] Facts and Figures About the Economic and Social Conditions of the Philippines, 1948-1949. Manila, Office of the President, Bureau of the Census and Statistics, Bureau of Printing, 1950, pp. 155 and 150. Hereafter quoted as Facts and Figures.

[78] Yearbook of Philippine Statistics: 1946, p. 170 and Facts and Figures, pp. 155 and 150.

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The people say today there is "no incentive" to own horses (kabayos) due to the small herds of cattle; the horses were widely used before the war to care for the cattle.

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In Caticugan horses are normally ridden by the men and serve as a means of transportation among the barrios; I never saw them used in farming activities, harnessed to any type of vehicle, and only rarely ridden by women. Some horses are kept in corrals in Caticugan but most of them are permitted to roam the nearby hills; it is often a job to catch them when they are wanted. I once counted twenty-one horses grazing in Dangola. Horses are sometimes ridden bareback but normally a wooden saddle (siya sa kabayo) is used. The barriofolk eat horse meat when it is available. However, a horse is not killed until it is very old, injured, or sickly; then the animal is slaughtered and the meat sold. My assistant's horse looked sickly so he had it killed and the meat was sold quickly in Barrio Caticugan.

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Pigs

The scrawny pig with a bony back and uncurled tail, constantly rooting for food, is a typical barrio sight. Most families have several pigs (baboy); often one pig is the "fiesta pig" fattened during the year for this celebration. Next to beef, pork is the most prized meat. The native pig is called baboy while the few foreign strains are called Englisa. A nursing pig is called ansoy while her young are known as baktin.

For those who have no boars (botakal) the breeding fee is one pig from the resulting litter. Owners of many pigs give some of their females to friends to tend. If the female is small, the caretaker gets one-half of every litter produced by the pig while under his care. When the mature pig is killed, he gets one-half of the meat. Individuals in the poblacion often "farm out" a number of their pigs to friends in the barrio under these arrangements.

There is an amusing riddle about a mother pig and her litter known in Caticugan.

The one ahead is marching,
Those following are making music. What are they?

(Ang nag-uan gamarcha,
Ang nanga ulahi gasonata). Unsa man?

Young male pigs are usually caponized by their owners. The pig is caught, the legs tied, and the testes removed with a small knife. Some put the testes in a banana stalk so the pig will become "as big and fat as the banana tree." The juice of talong leaves is often squeezed on the wound to prevent infection.

The most common method of preparing pig food (lalog) is to cut a banana stalk into very thin slices and then pound the slices to a mush in the rice mortar. This mush is mixed with water that has been used to clean rice or cornmeal before cooking or to wash kitchen utensils. Nearly every kitchen has a container where this water (kinilis) is poured to be used for pig food. Tahop (chaff from ground corn) is often added to the pig's food. Cooked gabi leaves are fed the pigs for the

uncooked leaves are itchy and the pigs will not eat them. The food is put in a bamboo or stone trough placed under the house. Pigs are fed once a day, usually in the late afternoon. The job of preparing food and feeding them usually is done by young girls and women.

One fairly widespread custom is the belief that a small turtle kept in kinilis water may prevent the pigs from becoming sick. The urine and feces of the little fresh-water turtles are said to have medicinal qualities and protect the pig from hog cholera. One family had three turtles in the kitchen kinilis can.

Stray pigs do a great deal of damage to vegetable gardens. In the poblacion the people explain the few vegetable gardens as due to stray pigs and goats. A local ordinance makes owners liable for their stray animals; now and then a drive is made by the police to fine owners of stray pigs. On the whole, however, the ordinance is not enforced, mainly because few people report violations. Many people complain but few take action.

Goats

Goats (kanding), like swine, are a pre-Spanish animal; Pigafetta writes that when Magellan's group landed at Cebu the people had pigs, goats and chickens. Goat meat is considered less desirable than pork by most of the people; the principalia of the poblacion would rarely serve goat meat to guests. However, the goats of Siaton

are said today to be more numerous than before the war. 231 ●
One man has a herd of 150 goats that graze on Bondo.

Goats are much easier to care for than pigs. A rattan-woven collar is put around their necks and they are tied to stakes to graze. Now and then, like horses, they may be driven to the sea to obtain salt.

Most Filipinos do not drink goat milk. For Caticugan barriofolk this is not due to a dislike of milk; canned milk is a luxury much desired. The reasons why no goat's milk is drunk are that the female goats are either pregnant or they are nursing kids. The people prefer increase in the herd to drinking the milk. No handicrafts use goat or pig hides since the method of preparing the animals for eating does not produce any skins. 272 231

Chickens

One of my favorite riddles collected in Caticugan is: 231 524

Rain or shine,
Always wearing short pants. What is it?

(Mag-ulan ug mag-init,
Sigi rang gapinungkol. Unsa man?)[79]

The answer is "a rooster"! Nearly every family in Caticugan had a few chickens (manok). Fowls run loose, foraging for food during the day; at night they roost in the trees.

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[79] There is a similar Tagalog riddle: "Muddy or not muddy, the dress is raised to the knees." Manuel Buaken, I Have Lived with the American People. Idaho, Caston Printers, Ltd., 1948, p. 353.

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A bamboo pole against the tree enables the chickens to climb into the branches, although most of them can fly. The chickens are rarely fed by their owners and are lean and tough when eaten. Nests are usually found in the silong (space under the raised house), among the rafters, or in a corner of a room. Plate XXXI[1] shows one type of nest used in Caticugan. A large bamboo is split and the splints woven apart with rattan; dried grass is often put inside. There is a constant battle to shoo the chickens from a house, since they try to sneak into the kitchen to eat uncovered food.

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The barriofolk eat few eggs, not that they dislike eggs, but eggs bring a good price in the poblacion--five cents each in 1951. Sale of a dozen eggs enabled the vendor to purchase several gantas of cornmeal that go farther in feeding the family. Eggs not sold are normally used for settings. In the poblacion chickens sell for fifty to seventy-five cents and scores of chickens are sold each week in Dumaguete.

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## The Bolhon and Palihog: Cooperative Labor Groups

The growing individualism in Caticugan life, already cited, includes agriculture. I shall describe some of the cooperative agricultural practices of the past and indicate reasons for their decline in present-day Caticugan.

During Lucas Ege's period there were two types of cooperative labor groups in Caticugan, the bolhon and

1 [See p.432, Cat. 231 -- Analyst]

20: Hart E-5 (1951) 1954 OA1 Philippines ~~OA~~
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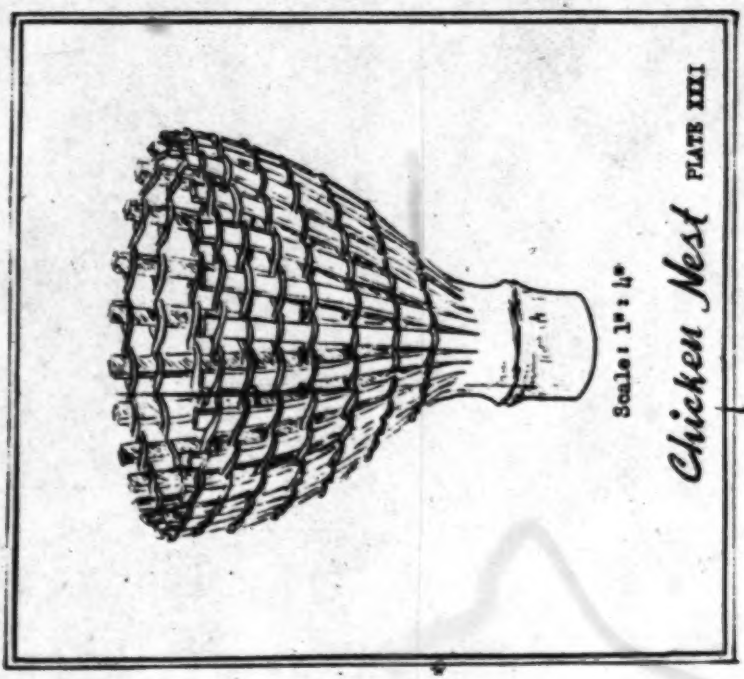

Chicken Nest PLATE XXXI

Scale: 1" : 4"

The dogs receive little special training. When young they are taken on hunts with older, more experienced dogs and learn the necessary skills. One major purpose for having a dog, besides serving as a protector of the barrio residence, is to hunt pigs. One informant said: "The credit for all my successful hunts belongs to my dogs. This is why I always take good care of my dogs. I feed them well, just like my own children."[5]

The best places to hunt wild pigs are the cogon grass regions, around springs, or in areas where there are large boulders or many hollow logs where the pigs live. Oracion's Magahat informants said another place to hunt pigs was the creeks where they liked to wallow. Localities where the bangkal (Nauclea junghuhnii (Miq.) Merr.) trees grow are said to be favorite haunts of wild pigs, for they eat the dropped fruit of this tree. A hunter of Barrio Canaway thought the best place to hunt wild pigs is near Barrio Calanan, but that there were many good sites as close as Sitio Balayagolang (Barrio Canaway). (See Plate XX, page 157.)

While wild pigs are hunted all year, hunting is done mostly during the dry season when traveling is easier in the hills and mountains. This is also the time when the cogon grass is burned and "it is easier for the dogs

[5]Some said if the table used in making an annual bood was discovered, the hunter would take a piece of the bamboo "and smoke his dogs." This would make the dogs brave and inordinately skillful in finding a wild pig scent.

It is a frequent saingin volunteer and one could see plants growing in poblacion vacant lots. Igao has been studied so there is some information on its nutritional value.[11] The igao's petioles are boiled and fed to the pigs (but never eaten by the people in Caticugan) while the corms are gathered for food.

All wild corms are dug during the dry or hot season. When the rainy season appears the roots become very fibrous and less agreeable to eat. It is fortunate for the barriofolk that the corms are most palatable during the period when they are most needed. With the coming of the rains the igao leafs out and the corms turn black. They may still be dug to feed to pigs but this is not a common practice in Caticugan. Barriofolk regard the corms as most palatable in March and April.

Both men and women dig for wild roots. However, when the roots are shallow and easily dug, women and children normally dig them. If the vines are very thorny

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[11] Brown, op. cit., I, p. 344. The Tagalog name for igao is puñgapung. N. F. Bacon, "Starch Production in the Philippines," Phil. Journal of Science, A 3 (1908), states the highest yield of starch obtainable from the igao corms is 4.5 per cent; this study cited in Brown, ibid. More recent studies by Wester and Hermano give the following data on the constituents of the igao corm: moisture 77.8 (74.8) per cent; ash 1.3 (0.7); fat 0.13 (0.6); protein 1.4 (5.1); and giving 574 (1,000) calories per 2.2 pounds. Hermano's study is cited in Brown, op. cit., I, pp. 344-348. Hermano's figures are enclosed in (). P. J. Wester, The Food Plants of the Philippines. 3rd revised edition. Manila, Bureau of Agriculture Bulletin No. 39, Bureau of Printing, 1925, p. 218.

only other wild root that is included in this belief is 222
olabi. All other corms may be dug while the diggers talk and laugh. The reason given is that "these plants have roots that are shallow and easy to dig while balyakag and olabi are hard work to get."

Lahia is an easily obtainable corm; sometimes they protrude above the surface of the ground. The lahia corm looks much like the bulb of a gladiola; it is a species of Dioscorea. Small girls sometimes dig for lahia in the hills near Catiugan. These corms are said to have less starch and to be more fibrous than balyakag. One family in Talo-ot planted lahia corms in the hills near their house and reported that people living in the mountains planted lahia "like corn." Lahia are prepared [231] like the balyakag and the peelings often fed to pigs.

Balyakag and the other corms are washed, peeled, and boiled or roasted over the fire. Igao and kobong, however, must be carefully processed to remove certain toxins. Balyakag corms, some people said, were sometimes sold in the poblacion marketplace; this did not occur during my residence.

Taposi, olabi and bolbo also are dug during the dry season--mostly by women because the corms are shallow. Since the bolot (a species of Dioscorea) is a thorny vine and the tubers are deep, men dig for them more often than women. In digging the bolot it is important not to cut the long root leading to the corm "or you may never find it." The barriofolk said that people living in the northern

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In Caticugan, those who weave abaca wear it the most. Many older women still wear old style abaca wrap-around skirts (patadyong) and blouses. Older men usually wear cotton trousers but often abaca shirts. The technical assistance of cottage specialists from the United States is mainly directed toward teaching Philippine weavers to produce materials that can be used for homefurnishings, industrial purposes, or export. One American weaving expert, sent to the Philippines to offer advice in modernizing cottage industries, writes:

> I am doubtful that abaca for clothing will ever be revived again. It is slow and cumbersome to weave, and with the present minimum wage law a must, it is almost prohibitive in cost. This minimum wage law, though wonderful in principle, is still making the introduction of new fabrics somewhat difficult, as it imposes a high outlay of money during the time of education, prior to production.[20]

The use of abaca for fish nets will decrease rapidly once cheaper twine nets become easier to obtain. There may be significant increase in weaving products from the major weaving areas of the Philippines but the production will be aimed largely toward such uses as fabrics for upholstery in automobiles, place mats, drapery, bedspreads, etc. Weaving in Caticugan as a handicraft probably is beyond resuscitation.

## WOODEN SADDLES

Horses in Siaton are more numerous than is typical of most Philippine municipalities. Some ride bareback but

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[20] A personal letter to the writer from Mrs. Hammarstrom, November 17, 1952.

animals to the river to drink and bathe, or of moving the task of taking the them to another area to graze (if pegged) is often the duty of young boys. 231 [462]

Rinderpest was introduced to the Philippines in 1888 and ten years later the disease appeared in Siaton, killing many carabaos. In 1920 and again in 1940 rinderpest struck in Siaton decimating the carabao herd. There is no specific native medicine for rinderpest, although many owners treated their animals with the same medicines used for diarrhea or dysentery in humans. A white film sometimes grows over their eyes and, if not cured, results in blindness. One medicine applied by the barriofolk to eyes so afflicted is a mixture of salt, powdered clay pot, and crushed red peppers! Native veterinarian specialists are called mangalapon; there was none in Caticugan but one lived in Sandolot. To my knowledge he never came to Caticugan to treat a sick animal; this was done by the owner. 232

Carabaos are sometimes bitten by a poisonous spider (lawalawa). As a result of the bite, both humans and carabaos are reported to suffer a swollen abdomen and to be unable to urinate; death sometimes results. Treatment is the same for carabaos as for humans. The following ingredients are used: roots of the hono (Abrus precatorius Linn.), tubli (Derris), ongali (Uvaria rufa Blume) and pakobol vines; roots of the homokan, salowasowa (Citrus hystrix, family Rutaceae) and pauli trees, and roots from the taghoy bush, (Canthium gynochthodes Baill.). 278 232 757 824

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The roots are powdered and mixed with juice squeezed from young pineapple leaves. Some water is added and the mixture is boiled in a pot; banana leaves are stretched over the top to retain the steam. The person or carabao bitten is completely covered with a blanket. Then the boiling pot is placed under the blanket after a few holes have been punched in the top so the steam can escape. When the liquid cools the blanket is removed and the person or carabao rubbed down with the mixture.

Cattle

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[76] Yearbook of Philippine Statistics: 1946, p. 169.

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[For discussions of agricultural ceremonies, and of associated magical concepts, see 20: Hart, OA1 Philippines, category 116, pp. 280-284 (palio), p. 285 (buhatan), pp. 294-299 (loto), pp. 394-396 (camote-planting lihi), pp. 399-400 (cassava-planting lihi), pp. 304-306 (rice-planting lihi), p. 308 (rice-transplanting lihi), pp. 313-316 (rice-harvesting lihi), pp. 334-337 (corn-planting lihi), pp. 339-340 (protective charms for cornfields), pp. 342-359 (dulot), pp. 359-361 (other practices associated with corn agriculture), pp. 377-385 (guhang lihi), p. 404 (coconut-planting lihi). --Analyst]

The visible aspects of prosperity are much greater in western than in eastern Negros. 311

The distribution of cultivated land among the eight major crops of the southern region is shown in Table XI.[85] 311 241

TABLE XI

Percentage of Land of Each Municipality Devoted to the Major Crops, 1950-51
Southern Corn-Coconut Region

| Municipality | Corn | Coco-nuts | Sugar | Rice | Roots (a) | Vege-tables | Beans | Fruits |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Pamplona | 89 | 32 | 19 | 11 | 5 | * | 1 | 2 |
| Amlan | 30 | 59 | * | 1 | 5 | * | 1 | 2 |
| Sibulan | 55 | 20 | 1 | * | 12 | 2 | 3 | 6 |
| Dumaguete | 57 | 20 | 1 | * | 12 | 2 | 3 | 1 |
| Valencia (b) | 31 | 15 | 0 | 4 | 5 | 4 | 1 | 1 |
| Bacong | 53 | 27 | * | 5 | 7 | 4 | 2 | 1 |
| Dauin | 71 | 15 | 0 | 4 | 4 | 1 | 2 | 2 |
| Zamboanguita | 42 | 24 | * | 23 | 5 | 2 | 3 | 1 |
| SIATON | 48 | 17 | 0 | 23 | 6 | 1 | 2 | 2 |
| Sta. Catalina | 39 | 22 | 4 | 17 | 4 | 2 | 2 | 9 |
| Tanjay (c) | 12 | 33 | 41 | 11 | 1 | * | * | 1 |

* Indicates less than 1 per cent.
(a) Roots include camotes, gabi, cassava, and peanuts.
(b) In Valencia 38 per cent of the cultivated land is devoted to abaca.
(c) Tanjay included to illustrate transition from corn-coconut region to sugar cane region.

Dauin is the most extreme example of a municipality within the southern region with 71 per cent of its cultivated land devoted to corn and 86 per cent occupied by either corn or coconuts.

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[85] Wernstedt, op. cit., p. 106.

## CHAPTER IV

## THE PRACTICE OF AGRICULTURE

The barriofolk of Caticugan are subsistence farmers.[1] Most of their fields are so small that they might be better called gardeners. Yet their relationship with the land is not as intensely intimate as that of the Chinese or Japanese farmer. If the man-land relationship in China, for example, may be roughly characterized as a grim battle with an ever-constant threat of famine, the relationship in Caticugan is a persistent yet more amiable struggle. The careful hand-tillage and the planting of every tiny plot of land, as in most parts of China or Japan, does not occur in Caticugan. The pressure of the people on the land in Caticugan is less severe than in other parts of Asia or the Philippines.

This chapter describes and analyzes the agricultural practices and associated practices of Caticugan barriofolk. If any one chapter in this report highlights the general contours of living in Caticugan it is this. For, in many ways, the agricultural practices of the barriofolk embody the general ethos of their culture.

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[1] Caticugan includes Sitios Naga, Dangpla and Talo-ot; when reference is made to Barrio Caticugan it does not include these three sitios, only the barrio proper as the people call it.

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Their fields are plots once cultivated by their ancestors; it is their meager inheritance of security that they will transfer to their children. The staple--corn--that keeps them alive comes mainly from their land. Their agricultural practices are interwoven with rituals that reflect their concept of the supernatural. For the barriofolk of Caticugan their fields are their life; and most of their lives are spent plowing, harrowing, planting and harvesting their crops.

## HISTORICAL SUMMARY OF PHILIPPINE AGRICULTURAL LAND USE

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The history of agricultural land use in the Philippines is that of five major agricultural systems.[2] These systems are: (1) intensive highland irrigated terraces; (2) lowland intensive agriculture; (3) kaingin; (4) plantations; and (5) commercial mechanized agriculture. The evolution of the last two types of agricultural systems in the Philippines is easier to trace that that of the first three types, which developed during prehistoric eras. Preceding these five systems of land use were pre-Neolithic hunting and foodgathering but "their impact upon the environment was minor and temporary."[3]

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[2]The material on the development of agricultural land use patterns in the Philippines is summarized from Spencer, op. cit., pp. 4-12.

[3]Spencer, op. cit., p. 3.

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The rice terraces of northern Luzon, around Sagada or Banaue, are widely known. The importance of these terraces as a system of land use has been over-emphasized; the unique characteristics and almost awe-inspiring engineering techniques of the builders have led many writers to overstress them in relation to the total agricultural situation in the Philippines. These irrigated highland terraces cover only 2 per cent of the landscape of northern Luzon and the standard of living of their cultivators is relatively low for the Philippines. Moreover, rising labor costs almost prohibit extension of these terraces.

The highland terraces were developed more than 2,000 years ago by people from northern Indo-China and south China. Besides the technique of terracing and rice cultivation, these immigrants brought with them knowledge of bronze and gold working, the pig, and millet and other minor crops.

In the central and southern regions of the Philippines two types of land use developed during the late Neolithic period. The moist margins of the lowlands, especially in and above alluvial estuaries, were used to grow rice, taro, nipa palm and other related plants. In association with this truly aquatic lowland agriculture were moist lowlands where in addition to the foregoing crops there were "jungle-like garden plantings" of coconut, banana, breadfruit and other tropical plants. Coupled with this type of agriculture was "extractive

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range stripping" in which the people gathered wild forest products from the jungle land and swamp fringes. These farmers also utilized sea products. Their agricultural techniques utilized a greater range of opportunities than was possible under either caingin or irrigated highland terrace agriculture.

This intensive lowland agriculture was accompanied by the cultivation of land away from the aquatic littoral and its moist margins.

> In earlier periods perhaps no clearly defined boundary between the two types could be distinguished. The lack of direct sea contact and the absence of swamp-margin aquatic culture are obvious. When elevations increase, lowland crops and auxiliary plants drop out one by one, leaving no clear boundaries.[4]

It is probable that "shifting" or caingin agriculture developed side by side with lowland cultivation. Caingin agriculture utilized uplands and mountain slopes; it spread inland from the coasts and upward in the interior highlands with increase of population. More recently in the Visayas the constant raids of the Moros influenced this spread of peoples into the interior. Caingin agriculture still is practiced by a considerable number of both pagan and Christian Filipinos, although it is an illegal method of land use.

The introduction of new domesticated plants, population increases, market-bartering, and international trade all modified both lowland and caingin agriculture;

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[4]Spencer, op. cit., p. 7.

20: Hart E-5 (1951) 1954 OA1 Philippines OA1
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[4]Spencer, op. cit., p. 7.

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they initiated changes in farming methods and augmented the importance of cash, trade and export crops.

The plantation system introduced by the Spaniards in the latter part of the 19th century stressed coconut, tobacco and sugar cultivation. Under the Americans the plantation system was intensified and abaca and pineapple were added to the crops.

Commercial mechanized agriculture, the fifth system, is basically an American innovation applied to plantations and smaller private holdings both in newly-developed areas and in older cultivated regions. This system, however, is not widely distributed or intensively used due to problems that involve terrain, lack of capital and trained operators. Additional hindrances to mechanization of farms are lack of adequate fuels and the fact that little farm machinery is manufactured in the Philippines. Some Filipinos, however, have speculated on the possible use of local fuels such as coconut oil or alcohol.[5]

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Since the barriofolk of Caticugan are subsistence farmers, they sell very little of their corn and rice. Rice is less important than corn since many of the farmers have no paddies. The dominance of subsistence agriculture characterizes the people living in barrios in the Biaton

[5]Ortigas, op. cit., pp. 44-51.

River valley. Several landlords, residents of the poblacion, have sizeable holdings in Bolog or Common, and part of their share of the corn, rice, or peanuts raised by their tenants is sold for cash. None of these landlords, could in any sense of the word be considered wealthy. The "cash crops" of Caticugan are coconuts, vegetables and guhang, an alcoholic beverage made from the sap of the buri palm. For the majority of the people, guhang is probably the most important of these few "cash crops."

The remainder of this chapter discusses (1) agricultural calendar; (2) caingins; (3) lowland rice and corn agriculture; (4) the manufacture of guhang; (5) minor single crops of Caticugan (coconuts, cassava, camotes, etc.); (6) vegetables and other garden crops (tangkong, tobacco, etc.); (7) farm animals; (carabao, cattle, chickens, etc.); (8) cooperative labor groups; and (9) local agricultural extension activities. Plate XXI shows the land use patterns of Caticugan.[1]

## THE AGRICULTURAL CALENDAR OF CATICUGAN

The agricultural calendar of the barriofolk of Caticugan is synchronized with the seasons of southern Negros. Except for a small irrigated area in Barrio Caticugan, the farmers are totally dependent on precipitation of the southwest monsoon. The agricultural calendar should be read with these climatic conditions in mind. (See Chapter II.) The calendar, of course, varies a

1 [See p. 272, cat. 116 -- Analyst]

20: Hart E-5 (1951) 1954 OAI Philippines
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## AGRICULTURAL CALENDAR OF CATICUGAN AND ENVIRONS[6]

| JANUARY | FEBRUARY | MARCH |
|---|---|---|
| 1 Harvest of second corn and lowland rice (Caticugan)<br>2 Caingin clearing begins<br>3 Mature cassava available<br>4 Month of large abaca sales in Siaton poblacion | 1 Second corn crop harvest (Caticugan, Sandolot and Casala-an)<br>2 Peanuts mature (Apoloy and Dolog)<br>3 Caingin clearing--some begin to burn debris<br>4 Caingin rice planted above Dolog<br>5 Month of large abaca sales in poblacion<br>6 Ubi roots available<br>7 Few begin to plow fields for corn planting (Sandolot)<br>8 Third corn crop planted in Tampaga<br>9 Harvesting rice (Caticugan) | 1 Begin first irrigated corn planting (B. Caticugan)<br>2 Plowing fields for first corn (Giliga-on)<br>3 Caingin clearing and burning continues in mountains<br>4 Ubi available<br>5 Begin to plant gardens, eggplants, tomatoes, opo, etc. (Caticugan) |

[6]Irrigated corn is distinguished from non-irrigated corn in this calendar by stating that the former is irrigated. The calendar is devoted mainly to agricultural activities in Caticugan although some comparative data were gathered when traveling in the Siaton River valley and from informants living in other barrios.



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AGRICULTURAL CALENDAR OF CATICUGAN AND ENVIRONS (Continued)

| APRIL | MAY | JUNE |
|---|---|---|
| 1 Continue first irrigated corn planting (B. Caticugan)<br>2 Plowing fields for first corn crop (Caticugan) with several farmers planting<br>3 Plowing fields and planting first corn (Datag, Talo-ot, and Canaway)<br>4 Planting vegetables (Caticugan)<br>5 Caingins burning<br>6 Some caingin rice and corn planted | 1 Begin harvest of first irrigated corn (B. Caticugan)<br>2 Continue plowing fields and planting first corn (Caticugan)<br>3 Planting first corn while some corn 4"-5" high (Datag, Sandolot, Casala-an)<br>4 Planting vegetables (Caticugan)<br>5 Caingins burning and some planting rice<br>6 Some balatong planted. Opo mature<br>7 Rice beds planted (Canaway)<br>8 Mango season | 1 Continue harvest of first irrigated corn (B. Caticugan)<br>2 Planting second irrigated corn (B. Caticugan)<br>3 Planting rice beds (Caticugan)<br>4 Planting vegetables (Caticugan)<br>5 Planting bananas (Caticugan)<br>6 Caingin rice planted<br>7 Mango season<br>8 Stringbeans and opo available<br>9 Migrations to harvest corn in other barrios |

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AGRICULTURAL CALENDAR OF CATICUGAN AND ENVIRONS (Continued)

| JULY | AUGUST | SEPTEMBER |
|---|---|---|
| 1 Harvesting first irrigated corn and planting second irrigated corn (Caticugan)<br>2 Harvesting first corn crop (Caticugan)<br>3 All corn planted (Dangola)<br>4 All rice beds planted (Caticugan)<br>5 Transplanting rice in Canaway, Inalad, and Zamboanguita<br>6 Caingin rice planted<br>7 Stringbeans available<br>8 Planting corn and camotes in Bondo<br>9 Migration for corn harvests in other barrios<br>10 Cassava planted | 1 Harvesting first and second irrigated corn (B. Caticugan)<br>2 Transplanting rice in Caticugan, Datag, and Talo-ot<br>3 Plowing paddies for transplanting (Caticugan)<br>4 Rice beds planted in Dangola<br>5 Caingin rice planted<br>6 Migrations to harvest corn in other barrios<br>7 Harvest of caingin corn (Bokgay)<br>8 Planting first corn in Dangola | 1 Harvesting second irrigated corn (B. Caticugan)<br>2 Transplanting rice (Caticugan)<br>3 Harvesting caingin rice<br>4 Planting camotes (Dangola)<br>5 Transplanting rice (Dangola)<br>6 Harvesting peanuts (Caticugan and Dolog)<br>7 Wild mushroom gathered (Libgos variety) |



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AGRICULTURAL CALENDAR OF CATICUGAN AND ENVIRONS (Continued)

| OCTOBER | NOVEMBER | DECEMBER |
|---|---|---|
| 1 Plowing fields for second corn crop in Caticugan, Lamtoc, Sandolot, and Casala-an<br>2 End of month begin to plant second non-irrigated corn crop in Datag, Sandolot, and Caticugan<br>3 Planting bananas in Caticugan<br>4 Harvest of caingin rice<br>5 Plant second caingin corn | 1 Planting second corn in Caticugan<br>2 Drying balatong beans in Caticugan<br>3 Digging for lahia roots<br>4 Bondo rice harvested<br>5 Planting peanuts in Talo-ot<br>6 Rice mature in Dangola<br>7 Camote season begins<br>8 Rice harvest in Mayabon, Zamboanguita<br>9 Plowing fields and planting second corn in Bacong and Dauin<br>10 Small cassava roots available<br>11 Caingin rice harvest | 1 Rice harvest in Caticugan, Dangola, Canaway and Datag<br>2 Big cassava roots available<br>3 Beginning of large abaca sales in poblacion<br>4 Camotes available |



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little each year due to seasonal climatic fluctuations but the general pattern remains basically unchanged. 221 241

CAINGIN AGRICULTURE: INTRODUCTION

Four of the five Philippine methods of agricultural land use are practiced in Negros. There are no extensive areas of terraced land, although some terraces are found in Siquijor Island. The three most common agricultural systems in Negros are lowland intensive, plantation and mechanized agriculture--the latter in conjunction with sugar and rice plantations. Caingin agriculture is practiced by both pagan and Christian Filipinos in the piedmont regions of the Central Mountains, the Central Mountain Range, and the Tablas plateau. 241 311

Caingin shifting agriculture has been defined tersely as:

> "...the most primitive type of agriculture...an economy of which the main characteristics are rotation of fields rather than crops; clearing by means of fire; absence of draft animals and of manuring; use of human labor only; employment of the dibble stick or hoe; short periods of soil occupancy alternating with long fallow periods."[7]

Caingin is not always limited to hills and uplands as typical in Formosa, Indochina, Thailand and the Philippines. Frequently, as in Indonesia, this land use technique occurs on level areas. Pelzer states:

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[7]Pelzer, op. cit., p. 17. Pelzer has written an excellent account on Caingin agriculture in the Philippines: Chapter 2: "The Shifting Cultivator."

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> Shifting cultivators have no concept of private land ownership. The land belongs to the community, the tribe, or the village, and each member has the right to use as much land as he needs and can cultivate.[8]

The barriofolk of Caticugan are not true shifting cultivators since one must distinguish between shifting cultivation as a "land use" technique and shifting cultivation as a lebensform. Agriculture with long fallow periods for the fields does not make farmers into caingin cultivators in the strictest sense of the word if they do not practice the associated customs. There are tobacco plantations on the east coast of Sumatra which use a long fallow period (seven to eight years) but the cultivators do not practice caingin agriculture. The barriofolk of Caticugan and probably most of the people living in the settlements in the Siaton River valley are not true shifting cultivators. They find that their lowland fields are not sufficient and supplement crops from their "permanent fields" by cultivating upland caingins.

The cultivators of caingins in Caticugan claim ownership of the land they till. True shifting cultivators, as already mentioned, have no concept of private land ownership. The caingins of Caticugan are taxable property and many are listed in the land ownership record books of the municipio. Suitable land for caingins is distant from Caticugan; this makes it difficult for one

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[8] Ibid., p. 18.

household to manage both barrio lowland fields and upland caingins. Several families solved this problem by having their caingins worked by tenants who lived near the fields. Though caingins are considered as private property by most of their cultivators, many customs connected with shifting agriculture appear here.[9] 241 311

Whether caingin agriculture preceded lowland cultivation in Siaton is not definitely known. It seems most likely, however, that the first settlers would utilize the riverine plains of Siaton, travelling to the region along the island's rim or by boat. Siaton's early history and the population distribution patterns supports this belief. The first settlements on eastern Negros mentioned in Spanish sources were located on the lowlands of Bais and Tanjay. (See Chapter III.) Certainly the Moro raids later influenced the settling of the interior mountainous regions of Siaton and the spread of caingin agriculture.

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[9]Since there were no caingins near Caticugan I was not able to observe closely this type of agriculture. A number of visits were made to areas where caingins were located and their cultivators were interviewed. Most of the information was obtained, however, from people who once worked in caingins, from a few Caticugan farmers who had caingins in the hills, and by questioning several caingin farmers in the northern part of the Siaton River valley. The amount of information obtained by actual observation was smaller than in the study of lowland agricultural activities.

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Selection of New Caingins

Not all of the tilled caingins are owned by the cultivators. The northern barrios such as Dolog or Apoloy, are closer to the forested uplands of the Siaton River valley, and new caingins are still cleared by these people. Caingin agriculture is more important in these isolated communities than in those near the poblacion. The few caingins owned by people of Caticugan are cultivated, permitted to lie fallow, and then recultivated by the owners or their tenants. Most of the older people of Caticugan, although they do not practice shifting agriculture, know about the various methods used to select a new caingin and the associated practices.

First, a desirable locality is selected. Then a palio is held. The basic purpose of the palio is to determine if the unseen spirits (encantos) who may inhabit the spot approve of its clearing and tillage. These unseen spirits are believed to live in springs, streams, odd-shaped rocks and certain trees like the dalakit. The spirits do not trouble one unless they are annoyed or unintentionally antagonized. They can then become quite malicious, causing a person to become ill.

There are various kinds of palio but all of them are basically the same. Some cultivators will sink an axe into a large tree in the locality they wish to clear. If the axe is not embedded in the trunk when they return the following day this is accepted as a sign that the spirits disapprove of the proposed caingin. Other

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Filipinos will push a spear of a certain length into the ground. They tell the spirits that the spear is five or six feet long and that they will return the next day to measure it. If the spear is shorter or longer than its original length the area is abandoned. If the spear is the same length this is interpreted as a sign that the spirits are agreeable to the cultivation of the land.

A caingin farmer living in Pinac-an (a sitio of Caticugan) said he always made a clearing twenty feet long on either the west or east side of a proposed caingin where he placed seven stones. If the stones remained in the identical position until he returned the next day then he considered that the spirits living there had no objection to the land's cultivation. He did not know why either the west or east side was selected for this palio--"I just learned it this way from my father-in-law."

Another palio is to take a six-foot bamboo which is split into two pieces. One piece of the bamboo is left at the proposed caingin site. According to one informant the man might say to the spirits:

> I want to caingin this place. I have here two pieces of split bamboo. They are the same length. I shall leave one stick here and take the other stick with me. When I return if I find the stick I left here is still the same length then I shall caingin this place. If the stick I have left is shorter or longer then I shall not work here.

Normally the person keeps his half of the stick on his person, sometimes even sleeping with it. Often two identical pieces of rattan or sig-id vine (Malaisia

scandens (Lour.) Planch.) are used in the place of bamboo.[10]

If the palio indicates that the spirits disapprove of a caingin a buhatan, or food offering may be held. The spirits are not beyond having sympathy for humans. The farmer might plead with them, saying, "Take pity on me. I am a very poor man with a large family and this is a good place to make a caingin." The buhatan is particularly popular when the area selected is considered to be especially fertile, well-located and not difficult to clear. The buhatan consists of an offering of a variety of foods with a promise to the spirits that if no sickness comes to those who work the caingin and the harvest is abundant a buhatan will be made each year the caingin is cultivated. Some shifting cultivators substitute the buhatan for the palio but not frequently since the buhatan is more time-consuming for it requires the preparation of many kinds of food.

It might occur to some, as it did to the writer, that it would be easy for a person to make the palio unfavorable so he could later cultivate the spot himself. Such a trick, however, is said never to be done. The reason is that no one knows what the person tells the

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[10] William H. Brown, Useful Plants of the Philippines. Technical Bulletin No. 10. Manila, Department of Agriculture and Commerce, Bureau of Printing, 1941, I, p. 477.

spirits when he makes his palio. Usually he requests that the spirits punish any individual who tries to secretly interfere with the palio. The palio is performed by a man, but not necessarily by a specialist.

Oracion reports similar practices among the Magahats of Tolong in order to determine whether the spirits approve of a new caingin. In the proposed caingin site the Magahats place a pole and put at the top a small vine roll. The roll of vines is said to symbolize a crown and the stick the diwa (unseen spirits).[11] The cultivator returns home and his dreams for the next three days are interpreted as favorable or unfavorable signs. For example, if he dreams of sickness or death this is a bad omen and the caingin area is abandoned. Normally, however, the cultivators dreams are said to be favorable.[12]

Dream interpretation for selection of a caingin site appears to be more important among the Magahats than in Siaton. The writer did not inquire specifically whether dreams were used as omens in the selection of a caingin but the palio would seem to make dreams superfluous. The

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[11] Diwa was the name for idols in pre-Hispanic Philippines. "Others...reverenced most ugly idols made of stone or wood, which they called divatas." Luis de Jesus, Blair and Robertson, op. cit., XXI, p. 203. Caticugan barriofolk use diwata today as a synonym for "superstition" and as the name for a rite connected with the fish corral.

[12] Oracion, op. cit., pp. 46-7.

methods of selecting a new caingin and a new house site are quite similar; this is understandable since the purpose is to determine the wishes of the spirits that inhabit the spot. (See Chapter VIII.)

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Clearing the Caingin

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The clearing to be cultivated is cut during the dry season. First the vines, grasses and small trees are slashed--a process called ganas. The larger trees are then cut with axes or bolos and the biggest trees are cut last. This is to permit the grass and undergrowth to dry before the larger trees are felled. After the larger trees are cut--usually only girdled--the limbs are trimmed so the trunks will lie flat and burn better. This process is called gasan.

After the debris is dry, the clearing is fired. The general period of burning caingins in southern Negros is from February to May, although most of the caingins are fired in April or May. The extent of caingin agriculture in Siaton is difficult accurately to determine. In 1950 the Municipal Agriculture Agent of Siaton estimated there were 296 acres of upland rice planted in the municipality. One can see caingins on both sides of the Siaton River valley. Since few trips were made among the hills beyond the valley the extent of caingin agriculture in this area is not known. During the burning season, however, there were no spectacular night fires or smoke palls over the mountains to the north to indicate widespread caingin firing.

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Some cultivators hold a buhatan before the caingin is fired. A variety of food is placed on a table in the caingin and the spirits are invited to dine. They are then requested to protect the people who work the land from sickness and to bring the cultivators an abundant harvest. According to one informant some cultivators announce:

> If there are any encangtos living here they had better gather their belongings and move. Tomorrow I shall burn the dry bush.

The food offering is eaten by the cultivator (and perhaps a few invited friends) after the short ceremony since the "offering has already been made."[13]

After the first firing of the caingin any brush not consumed is piled and fired again. This is called gaponpon. The caingin is never cleared completely; the land is dotted with charred trunks and partially burned large limbs. As one woman said: "We jump from log to log when we plant our caingin."

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[13]While visiting Barrio Cabangahan during the fiesta I met an old man who described a similar ceremony held when clearing a caingin in this locality. He said a food offering had to be made to the abyans ("friends," in this case meaning encangtos) that live in the rocks and trees. A ritualist is normally used for careless words during the ceremony anger the abyans. The ritualist is paid food for his services. The food offering is made in the caingin at eight in the evening; after the ceremony the offering is usually eaten by the persons involved since the abyans "feed on the flavor or spirit of the food." The informant said such offerings are made before and after each planting in the caingin; when the crops are growing well another offering may be made to the abyans as a thanksgiving.

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The caingin clearing is a man's job. Sometimes the women may be weeding an old caingin nearby. During the clearing and burning the cultivators from the lowland barrios live at their caingins in temporary shelters. Often they go to their caingins on Monday bringing sufficient food to last till Saturday when they return to the barrio.

Caingin Crops

Caingins are planted at the start of the rainy season in April or May and continuing to July. One caingin above Dolog was planted with rice as early as February while other nearby caingins were planted as late as August. Rice and corn are planted in hills with a dibble stick (gahok). A hole is made in the ground with the point of the dibble stick and as much rice as one can hold between the thumb and first or second finger is put in the hills that are separated about the distance of one handspan. Seed corn is planted four or five kernels to a hill and is mainly a woman's job, although the men may help. Several caingins were observed, however, in which the rice had been sowed broadcast. [462] [463]

The two major caingin crops are rice and corn; abaca is probably the most important associated plant. Other minor crops are camotes, ubi (Dioscorea esculenta Linn.); balanghoy (cassava: Manihot utilissima Pohl); bananas and tahores beans (tapilan phaseolus multiflorus Wild). The rice varieties planted are: Capayo (Capayong);

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Tinogbong, Inaslum, St. Nicholas, Tapol, Pilit (a glutinous variety) and Lubang. Rice varieties less commonly planted are: Malagayang (Malagaya), Diamanti; Malagoso, Sumalingsing (said to have a sweet odor), Katohao, Binagakay ("like Capayo only the grain is more slender") and Katong. Tinogbong, Capayo and Malagayang (reported to have medicinal value) are said to mature in 125 days with an average production of eight to twenty-four cavans an acre.

Corn varieties usually planted are Dong-go or Bagsiao. Dong-go is said to take five months to mature and has a "nice odor" while Bagsiao takes six months. Another corn variety called Takoral which takes six months to mature is sometimes planted. Not much Takoral is planted since it is said to be more susceptible to a disease called tohob (yellowing of the leaves). Takoral has softer kernels than Dong-go and Bagsiao which makes it less desirable for storage purposes. The Bisaya corn variety raised in the lowlands is rarely planted in the cainging because it does not grow well there.

One cainging visited was cultivated by a farmer who also tilled a one and one-half acre field in Barrio Catiougan. His permanent residence was a short walk from his cainging. The cainging which he had been cultivating for two years was located on a hillside with a 40-degree slope. A bamboo fence enclosed the field on all sides, except at the bottom of the hill where ran a shallow stream. The field was covered with many small stones and

littered with charred limbs and stumps. He had planted corn and tahores beans and later camotes and cassava. Volunteer igao (Amorphophallus campanulatus Roxb.), an edible root, and a few papayas, were scattered in the field. A rickety platform about two feet above the ground with a cogon grass thatched roof stood in the center of the caingin where the cultivator stayed to watch his crop. This caingin appeared to be fairly typical of those in the Siaton River valley region.

Frequently corn or rice and abaca are grown in association in the caingins. It is possible to grow rice for one year in a caingin also planted with abaca. Corn can be grown for three years if abaca is also planted in the same field. Then the abaca becomes so large that rice and corn cannot be inter-cropped in the same caingin because of shading. Even if abaca is not planted, rice is usually grown for only the first year in the caingins because thereafter "it is too much sacrifice" to pull or cut the weeds" that slowly invade the field. The period for which a caingin is cultivated varies according to the care it receives. Some men report that if a caingin is carefully weeded each year the land may be cultivated for eight to ten years. The cultivation period of the average caingin, however, is from three to five years. By this time weeds and undergrowth, particularly the almost indestructible cogon, are so thick that it is easier to clear a new caingin than to weed the old one. Another reason for abandoning the land is that as soil fertility

decreases the harvests decline. However, these are secondary factors in abandonment of caingins, according to the people. The average caingin is not cultivated long enough to permit the soil to deteriorate to the point where yields are uneconomic. 241 ●

The associated rites of caingin planting are like those used in the lowland rice and corn fields and will be discussed later. One caingin farmer said he never had held a planting ceremony until one year his corn was ruined by dalabdab, a disease that turns the corn leaves variegated colors. He harvested no corn, so the following year he began a planting rite suggested by friends.

Caingin Pests

Wild pigs and monkeys are a serious problem for most caingin farmers. Many caingins are surrounded with [417] sturdy bamboo fences that take considerable time to build to keep out the marauding pigs. Flimsy "watch houses" frequently are built in the caingins; the cultivator or a member of his family then stays to protect the crop from the pigs and monkeys. There are no magical rites to protect a caingin from wild pigs. One informant laughingly replied when questioned about this matter that the "best way to protect your caingin from wild pigs is to use a shot-gun." Unfortunately, few farmers own guns.

Some caingins have a wild pig trap called balatki. 241 224 A small opening is made in the fence surrounding the caingin and a taut vine is stretched across the entrance.

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When the pig tries to pass through the opening into the caingin it trips the vine and releases an attached bamboo spear.

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Caingin Crop Yields (Rice and Corn)

In 1951 the Siaton caingin rice harvest began in September. During October I noticed large quantities of palay drying on mats in the poblacion. This, said the owners, came "from the caingins in the mountains." A considerable number of people from the barrios and the poblacion go to the caingins to assist in the harvest. The following interview with a male informant from Naga tells of these forages to caingins and also of the importance caingins sometimes have in the food gathering activities of the lowland barriofolk.

> When the Japs left we were happy. After they left we went to the mountains to look for food like bananas and camotes. When the hot season comes the owners of the caingins let us clear the caingins of the camotes that remain. They had dug for camotes before but did not get all of them. We had to clean the entire caingin of vines and we got all the camotes we found in doing this. Sometimes we bartered salt for bananas. Sometimes we were given bananas for clearing the caingins. Sometimes caingin owners gave us two gantas [one cavan equals twenty-five gantas] of corn a day for clearing their caingins. Sometimes many people go especially if they hear of a caingin which has plenty of camotes left. Men, women and children go. It does not take long to clean one caingin. We do not go to the mountains during the rainy season.
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> Many people go to harvest upland rice. We did not go because the children could not reach the place--it is very far. [The informant is referring to 1951]. The places are, north of Giliga-on, called Bantolinao, and Omlog and Bokgay. We sometimes dig camotes and cassava. There are owners of caingins who will let the people dig and slice [to dry] cassava. Sometimes we will get one-third

or two-fifths of all we dig and slice. The caingin owners are busy then making a new caingin, this is why they are glad to see us. It is as if we had planted our own cassava. We live there and help make slices. Some of the people bring their own food and others get food from the caingin owners. We live in their houses.

Last year my wife went to Dodong's field in Padang. Mostly women went because it was during the plowing season. It was March. I did not go, just my wife. Our share was four sacks of mixed dried cassava and camotes chips. People in Padang live differently than the people in Naga. In the mountains one can plant many things. Here we just plow in season. In the mountains one can plant red squash, gabi, pesula [a variety of squash] sikwa [commonly called patola: Luffa acutangula Linn.]. There are no big houses in the mountains. They are not permanent because after three years the caingin owners have to look for another place to caingin.

Women and children are usually the ones that go to the mountains to harvest the caingins. I was told by some informants that "men would be olao [ashamed or embarrassed] to harvest rice in someone else's caingin. The people would say they did not know how to make their own caingin." However, some men do go, particularly the unmarried men (olitaos) who are said to "follow the dalagas [unmarried] young women." This is an interesting comment; for a young man courts a girl in the barrio under many handicaps. To be able to work and talk with her, away from the surveillance of the family, would have many advantages.[14]

Rice is cut one stalk at the time with a small knife. Rice heads are put into small baskets strapped to the harvester's side; later they are emptied into larger baskets. Rice is threshed and corn is harvested by the

[14] I never observed a caingin corn or rice harvest,

same methods used in the lowlands. The harvesters normally get one-fourth, sometimes, but rarely, one-third of the rice harvested. 243

A very limited survey, so restricted in nature as to be merely suggestive, was made of seven caingins. The average corn yield per acre of these caingins was five bushels.[15] This figure is for the first corn harvest that usually yields more than the second crop. Three of the seven caingins were damaged by wild pigs and monkeys, suggesting the problem these pests present to the farmers. Dong-go was planted in all the caingins except two which grew Bagsiao. The caingins were located in sitios Kangotot and Nawakat (Casala-an), Casala-an, Dolog, and Bantolinao and Sitio Banat-e (Maloh). 241 311 433

15The conversion was: one cavan of shelled corn equals 58 kilos and 1 kilo equals 2.2 pounds. One bushel of ear corn (not shelled corn) equals 52 pounds. To determine the size of caingin or lowland corn fields the following method, recommended by the provincial agricultural office, was used: "With reference to your letter...regarding rate of planting corn, please be informed that the rate varies according to the number of grains dropped per hill and the distance of planting corn. We noted that if the distance of planting is 80 x 80 cm. dropping 4-5 grains per hill the rate of planting is around 6 gantas per hectare, especially if the grains of corn used are small. By dropping only three grains per hill at a distance of 1 M. x 80 cm., especially if the grains are big, the rate of planting per hectare of corn is only around four gantas. But by dropping three grains per hill at a distance of 1 meter by 1 meter, if the grains are medium size, the rate of planting is only five gantas per hectare. So on the average we use five gantas per hectare as the rate of seeding corn regardless of the size of the grains and the distance of planting and the rate of planting per hill..." Personal communication to writer from Provincial Agricultural Supervisor, February, 1951, Dumaguete, Negros Oriental. [804]

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The harvesters (manalabang) received about 15 per cent of the corn harvested in these seven caingins. Two of the seven fields were harvested without the assistance of the manalabang; it is the custom not to assist in the harvest of a field that is very small or has a poor harvest. The largest caingin was seven and one-half acres while the smallest was almost one acre. Four caingins were tilled by their owners while the others were cultivated by tenants.

Figures were also obtained on five rice caingins located in Casala-an, Sitio Kapakolan (Casala-an), Sitio Tampaga (Apoloy) and Banat-e. All caingins were tilled by the owners, except one that was cultivated by the owner's sister's husband. The average rice yield per acre was five cavans. I obtained the same yield estimate from the Siaton municipal agriculture inspector. The average size of the caingins was three-fifths of an acre. Tinog-bong and Capayo were the two rice varieties planted.[16] The

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[16] Caingin sizes were determined by the method used by the provincial agricultural office in Dumaguete. "If upland rice is planted by the broadcasting method it needs 30-35 gantas of seed palay to plant a hectare. It takes only 25 gantas of seed palay to plant a hectare of upland rice if the method of planting is by the hill method, dropping 5-8 grains of palay per hill of 20-25 centimeters distance each." Personal communication to the writer from the Provincial Agricultural Supervisor, Dumaguete, Negros Oriental, March, 1951. Since little upland rice is planted in the Siaton River valley area by the broadcast method, the hill method was used to determine caingin sizes.

For corn it was necessary to determine the size of the baskets used to carry the harvested corn to the house. Basket sizes in Caticugan varied so the number of gantas the various baskets (bukag) contained was obtained (which was from nine to twelve gantas) and the average basket size determined, e.g. nine gantas. I gathered information

harvesters received 16 per cent of the grain as their share. 241

Caingin harvests require hard work, more so than in the lowland, due to the slope of the fields and the less comfortable working conditions. Yet, according to informants, the harvests are not without their pleasant aspects. The womenfolk visit; old friends renew acquaintances and new friends are met. The young people often have better courting opportunities; some people said they first met their spouses at these harvests. The children play games at the end of the day. Accounts of these harvests in the mountains gives one the impression that they are much gayer affairs than lowland harvests. The end of a caingin rice harvest is usually climaxed by a loto. 574 241

The Rice Harvest Loto

The loto is quite similar to the dulot held for caingin and lowland corn harvests.[17] The purposes of the

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16 (Continued) in this manner for the figures on corn, both upland and lowland. For example, one informant said it took three gantas of seed corn to plant his lowland field from which he obtained a total harvest of twelve baskets. These figures were recorded as one corn field of three-fifths of a hectare (1.48 acres) with a harvest of about 4-1/6 cavans. For rice the farmers could give their harvest figures in gantas of palay.

17 Loto is the root word of the verb "to cook"; magloto the future tense, nagloto is the present tense, and naloto the past tense. Loto with a hard final o means a "food offering made for the rice harvest" but with a soft final o means "mourning clothing" worn by both sexes. Loto or kan-on also means "any food cooked" but is usually understood to mean cooked rice or cornmeal. While the harvest ceremonies for corn and rice are basically the same, loto is normally used to describe the rice ceremonies while dulot is applied to the corn harvest ceremonies.

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loto and the dulot are to offer a thanksgiving for a good harvest (or a better one next year), to honor and placate departed souls and the unseen spirits, and to accomplish magical multiplication of the grain. While there are certain minor differences between the loto and the dulot, the food offerings are almost identical. The dulot most likely is a variation of the rice loto that was transferred to the harvests of caingin and lowland corn after the latter grain was introduced to the Philippines by the Spaniards in the 16th century. Oracion's account of the rice harvest ceremony of the primitive Magahats corresponds closely to the loto and dulot of Siaton.

However, the ceremony for the harvest of lowland rice in Caticugan and neighboring barrios is quite different from either the loto or dulot. Most likely the stronger influence of Catholicism, better educational opportunities, and more frequent contacts with the principalia of the poblacion, are probable factors that have led the lowland barriofolk to modify the paganistic harvest ceremonies of their forefathers. The lowland rice loto in Caticugan has been changed into a basically Christian ceremony while the corn harvest dulot is quite different from the dulot practiced in the northern barrios of the Siaton River valley. A special investigation was made of variations of the dulot that illustrate the processes of change as they are occurring in the Siaton River valley. This material is presented later in this chapter.

The day before the loto the womenfolk prepare pilipig, toasted rice pounded almost flat in the rice mortar.[18] The morning the loto is to be held by the owner of the caingin, his family prepares the food offering. Oracion writes that during the rice harvest ceremonies of the Magahats

> The food for the diwata [unseen spirits] is cooked separately on an open hearth outdoors by the owner himself. It is believed that since this is a thanksgiving offering the owner should show his heartfelt reverence by actually performing all the work.[19]

Whether this is the case for the food offering of the caingin loto in Siaton I do not know. However, the family who holds the ceremony for the dulot has the responsibility of preparing the food offering. Friends, however, often help the host family cook the food to be served to guests after the loto.

In the evening (among the Magahats when there is a full moon) a temporary bamboo table is constructed and put in the center of the harvested caingin. On this table are placed plates of pilipig, seven tigols (home-made cigarettes), seven tinostos (home-made cigars), seven tilads (the ingredients for betel chewing), one roasted chicken, one boiled egg, sometimes shelled, seven bina-ang (a type of rice cake), seven binaluksan

[18] I never witnessed a loto; this is a reconstructed account based on information gathered from various informants in the Siaton River valley and Caticugan.

[19] Oracion, op. cit., p. 59.

(rice wrapped in coconut leaves and then boiled), one plate of cooked rice, and four bamboo containers of tuba made from either the coconut or ediok palms.[20] 241 574 801

Guests normally do not participate in the offering but stand or sit around the edges of the field. Some women may be inside the house preparing food for the meal that follows the ceremony. If the caingin owner feels confident, he may conduct the ceremony himself. Otherwise he will request a man well-versed in the ritual to make his offering. The "speech" given during the brief ritual, however, appears to be an improvisation and not a recitation that requires a nimble memory. Yet many people do not wish to perform the ceremonies for the loto or the dulot because they believe any mistakes might offend the unseen spirits they seek to please. 241 574 241 537

The ceremony is always conducted by a man. No cases were reported of a woman who made the loto or dulot; this is interesting because the magical rites connected with lowland agriculture are normally performed by women. The man goes to the center of the caingin and stands by by the table. Speaking to the spirits and kalags (souls) of the parents or relatives of the caingin cultivator, he invites them to dine on the proffered food. The specialist may repeat his invitation in a whisper or speak loudly. According to one female informant, what is said usually is: 241 537 [791] [462] 241 337 788

[20] The Magahats offer one chicken, seven tilad, seven rice cakes, seven tinostos, two glasses of tuba, and three candles. Oracion, op. cit., p. 59-60.

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> Here is tuba, here is loto, binaluksan, bina-ang, tilad, tinostos, tinigol [tigol] eggs and roasted chicken. Here are the things that we offer, the fruit of our labor. We have now fulfilled and we hope that next year the crop will be as good as this year. You that have lived here before don't be surprised at us who live here now. And if we are working here don't be surprised either.[21]

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When the ceremonies are finished the food is taken from the caingin to the owner's house or temporary shelter. Before the offering and the other prepared food are eaten a rosary is said by the women. This is a Catholic addition to the original ceremony.[22]

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Inside the house a large winnowing basket (niggo) is filled with cooked rice. In the center of the heaped rice are stuck many rice heads harvested from the caingin. All the people present eat some of the rice. No rice may be returned to the pots; it is believed if this happens the next harvest will not be abundant. Souls of the caingin cultivator's parents and relatives are invited to partake and are requested to make future harvests plentiful and to give the cultivator and his family good health and long life.

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[21] The original text is: "Niay tuba, niay loto, binaluksan, bina-ang, tilad, tinostos, tinigol, itlog, manok inasal. Niay naman ning among ibulang among abut nakatuman naman in bason podlaman inaron ug maayo gihapon, kamong namoyo dinhi sa una dila lawan ikatingala kaning gapoyo dinhing bagohanay laman. Ug magtrabaho ini dinhi ayaw laman mi ug kiatingola."

[22] It is interesting to note that the Magahat ceremony makes no mention of the souls of the cultivator's parents or relatives. It might be supposed that the addition of the souls to the loto described above is due to Catholic influence. This is probably not the case since the pre-Hispanic Filipinos had well-developed concepts regarding the worship and placating of their dead. Oracion, op. cit., pp. 57-62.

Finally two young boys and a girl are selected from the group and their mouths are stuffed with roasted rice. The person who puts the rice into the boys' mouths repeats: "Pokpok bata" and for the girl "Pokpok baye." Pokpok means "plenty" or "full" while bata and baye mean "boy" and "girl" respectively. The purpose of this ceremony is to ensure a full storehouse of rice for the caingin cultivator after the next year's harvest. Now the guests eat and if there are sufficient young people present, and some who can play guitars, a dance may follow. One woman enthusiastically said that the "loto is the happiest part of the harvest season in the mountains."

It is difficult to assess the importance of the food the barriofolk of Caticugan obtain through bartering with or working for caingin cultivators. Caingin gleaners probably are those whose food supply is ~~very low~~; dried cassava and camote chips are not a popular or widely eaten food in Caticugan. Dried cassava and camote chips often are eaten during the "starvation months," the period following the rice harvest, before the first corn crop is mature. Women who went to Padang during March were mothers and wives searching for food for their families during this period of food shortage. Corn and rice obtained from upland caingins are important supplementary foods for those who make the tiring hike to the mountains to harvest in steep-sloped caingins.

the sap begins to flow or the task abandoned as hopeless. A deep hole may be bored into the "eye" to increase the diminishing flow of sap.

As one travels up the Siaton River valley the buri palms decrease; at Dolog they disappear. The sap of the ediok palm (Cebo Negros: Arenga pinnata Wurmb (Miller)) is used to make a mildly alcoholic drink called habyob. The ediok produces large bunches of dates that hang on slender stalks from the top of the palm. A stalk is selected and then violently shaken and hit with a stick each morning until it flowers. Then the stalk's tip is cut and a bamboo container is attached at the end to collect the sap. The ediok's sap flows about the same length of time as the buri; tan-bark is also added to habyob for the same reason it is put in guhang.

MINOR SINGLE CROPS OF CATICUGAN

Spencer lists twenty-one different cropping combinations for the Philippines. Of these combinations six are chiefly lowland, eight chiefly upland, and seven are combined upland-lowland crop combinations.[59] The intercropping type typical of Caticugan is the "corn and minor crop" combination listed by Spencer under the combined upland-lowland category. The various cropping combinations in Caticugan are: (1) corn-peanuts; (2) corn-camotes; (3) corn-balatong (Cow peas: Vigna sinensis Linn.); (4) corn-balatong-cassava;

[59]Spencer, op. cit., pp. 11-12.

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(5) corn-mungo beans-balatong; and (6) corn-mungos. The important minor crops grown in Siaton municipality in 1951 and their estimated acreage are listed in Table XXI. The names and figures in this table were obtained from the local agricultural inspector of Siaton and include upland and lowland fields.

TABLE XXI

Important Minor Food Crops Grown in Siaton Municipality - 1951

| CROP | ACRES |
|---|---|
| **Root Crops** | |
| Camote | 166 |
| Peanuts (Spanish White) | 37 |
| Cassava | 32 |
| Gabi (Colocasia esculentin Linn.) | 7 |
| | 242 Total acreage |
| **Beans** | |
| Mungo (Yellow) | 77 |
| Cadios (Cajanus cajan Linn.) | 12 |
| Balatong (Sitao: Phaseolus vulgaris Linn.) | 2 |
| Others | 12 |
| | 113 Total acreage |

Intercropping in Caticugan depends upon a number of factors. First, soil types are of importance since camotes and peanuts require a well-drained clay-loam or sandy-loam soil. This is the reason that peanuts are planted only in a few parts of Barrio Caticugan. Camote patches in Naga are located on slopes for proper drainage.

Soil types do not fully explain intercropping in Caticugan. If cassava is planted with corn it is

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impossible to plant a second corn crop. By the time the first corn is harvested the cassava is so tall that the fields cannot be replanted until the cassava roots are dug. This is also true of camotes. Fields cannot grow two crops of corn if intercropped with cassava or camotes.

Intercropping is also discouraged by wandering carabaos and pigs. Less care is given to keeping farm animals, particularly pigs, penned during the period after the first corn harvest and before the second planting. Since many fields near the cluster of residences in Barrio Caticugan are not fenced, farmyard animals may damage immature crops growing in harvested cornfields. One cornfield intercropped with balatong beans was destroyed by stray carabaos. The balatongs were so badly eaten by the carabaos that the farmer plowed under the unharvested plants. A few farmers said they avoid conflicts with their neighbors over such matters by not intercropping their fields.

The Land Use map (Plate XXI, Page 272)[1] shows the clustering of intercropped fields in lower Naga. Soils do not prohibit the same intercropping patterns in upper Naga. The hills southwest of the Mantuyop River are wooded and thinly inhabited. At night wild pigs often cross the shallow river and push through the fences to forage in the fields. Because of the wild pigs' fondness for root crops, they are not intercropped with the corn. The Residence map (Plate XVIII, Page 131)[2] shows that few families live in this locality which makes it difficult for them to watch

1 [See cat. 311 or 116 -- Analyst]
2 [this plate is missing -- Analyst]

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their growing crops. Intercropping in Naga is concentrated in fields that are removed from the southwestern hills and where the residences are more abundant, making it easier for the people to guard their crops. Intercropping patterns in Naga reflect both geographical and cultural factors.

Intercropping depends upon another factor which is less tangible than soils, lack of seeds, maturity schedules, residence patterns, and wild animals. Perhaps the best explanation is the persistence of routine. When farmers were asked why more of them did not intercrop their corn fields they replied: "We are not used to it." Those who never have intercropped show little desire to do so, although the food supply of many families could be increased thereby.

In Dangola the soil is a coarse granular sandy loam which does not retain water. Consequently the people plant an early maturing rice. The Dangola paddies thus differ from those of Barrio Caticugan which accommodate a rice variety that is harvested in January. The well-drained, friable soil in Dangola is suitable for the production of camotes. There are also fewer residences in Dangola and less danger of the crop being destroyed by farmyard animals, and in no other part of Caticugan are sizeable fields devoted solely to camotes.

Camotes

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The farmers offer three major reasons why so few camotes (amotes) are planted in Barrio Caticugan. First, to intercrop camotes with the first corn would make it impossible to plant a second crop. Second, between the harvest of the first and the planting of the second corn crops the barriofolk permit their pigs to roam the locality. The most desirable land for camotes, from an edaphic (soil) viewpoint, is unfenced cornfields near the residences. Third, since there are only a few camote fields in the community, cuttings are sometimes difficult to secure; one must go to other barrios or even to mountain caingins to obtain plants. The barriofolk often barter one-half a ganta of salt for as many camote cuttings as they can carry home.

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Fields to be planted with camote cuttings are usually plowed twice; the final furrows are made in a grid pattern. After the heavy rains begin these furrows are replowed to increase their depth. Men, women and children plant cuttings in these furrows; there does not appear to be any division of this labor by sex.

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Lihis for camote planting are normally done by the person inserting the cuttings in the field; no specialist is needed. Some barriofolk take three shells of the first hatching of a hen (turtle egg shells are better but more difficult to secure), a little sugar and lime (made from snail or sea shells), pieces from the winnowing basket, stone chips from the sog-ang (the three stones used

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to support pots while cooking) and scrapings from the da-ug (bamboo ridge pole of the house roof). These ingredients are mixed, wrapped in a banana leaf, and put in the first three camote hills.

The purposes embody the imitative magic themes of agricultural practices in Caticugan. The chicken (or turtle) shells are so the camotes will be "soft like eggs when eaten," the sugar to give them a sweet taste, the lime to make them white, and the winnowing basket splinters to protect the camotes from bokbok weevils. Stone chips are included to ensure a harvest of many camotes growing compactly (like the sog-ang stones), not scattered and hard to dig. The scraping from the da-ug pole is so the camotes will be overlapping like the da-ug on the roof."

Some farmers add salt to protect the plants from insects; others advise the use of boiled eggs (chicken or turtle) instead of the shells. If three eggs are unavailable, it is permissible to divide one egg into three parts. This lihi is said to be less effective in a kalaanan field than in a kabagohan field--an interesting example of reality testing.[60]

Another less widely practiced lihi for planting camotes uses a stone or piece of wood that the planter has

[60] A kabagohan field, either in the uplands or lowlands, is land that is planted for the first time. If a caingin is abandoned and years later recultivated it is considered a kalaanan field. Lowland fields that have been planted for many years are also called kalaanan. Kabagohan may be derived from bag-o ("new") and kalaanan from the word daan ("old").

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stumbled over while walking or plowing. This object is divided and planted in three hills that form a triangle in the middle of the field. This lihi must be done in the afternoon when stars are visible and the three hills are planted with the elbows, not the hands. The pieces of wood or stone supposedly ensure that the camotes will be as large as the object stumbled over; planting when the stars are visible "will make the camotes as plentiful as the stars in the sky." Inserting the cuttings with the elbows makes the camotes "large as one's elbows."

The custom in Caticugan is to top the camote plants for greens before the tubers are mature. Studies made at Los Baños show that topping camotes "reduces the yield of the roots so much that the combined income from roots and vines would be less than that from roots alone in the untopped plants." The account adds, however, that "topping...offers a way of getting immediate returns."[61] In Caticugan, the results of this research are unknown but the findings would probably have little effect on the topping of camote plants because "immediate returns" count most with the barriofolk.

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Camotes take from four to five months to mature and become fairly plentiful in the barrio and marketplace by November and December. When boiled the camotes have a

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[61] Uichanco and Sacay, op. cit., I, p. 446.

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greyish color and are usually very fibrous. Boiled camotes stuck on small bamboo sticks are often sold in Siaton's marketplace and small stores.

Cassava

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The so-called native cassava (balanghoy) was brought to the Philippines from Mexico during the early days of the Spanish regime. Varieties of cassava with commercial possibilities were not introduced into the Philippines until the American period. In some localities, like the Sulu archipelago, cassava is the staple food; in Siaton, however it is merely a supplementary seasonal food. The plant is cultivated by Filipinos for the tubers which store from 15 to 40 per cent starch. [146]

Only 32 acres of cassava were planted in Siaton municipality in 1951; very little was grown in Caticugan. [311] While three types of cassava are known and planted in the area--Visaya, Java and Australia--most of the cassava in Caticugan is Visaya. The Visaya variety grown in Caticugan may be Mandioca Sao Pedro Preto. The barriofolk report that Visaya cassava tastes better than the Java variety and contains more starch. [262] Australia cassava is reported to be grown mainly in Nasi-id and Bantolinao, sitios of Caticugan. Visaya cassava takes from ten to twelve months to mature, although the barriofolk of Caticugan dig immature roots after six months.

Two small patches planted solely to cassava in Caticugan were both in Naga. These patches were too

to show on the Land Use map. Otherwise cassava was intercropped with corn or corn and balatong. Farmers reported that cassava grew best on well-drained sloping fields with sandy soil. If the fields are not well-drained the roots are small and many of them rot. Since cassava normally is dug during December and January, the start of the dry season, it would be difficult to dig the tubers in clayey soil.

The barriofolk said when cassava was planted alone 24| the field was plowed twice before the rains, replowed after the rains and lastly furrows were made. The fields were well plowed so the soil was soft and the roots could expand; this also makes it less difficult to dig the roots. Cornfields intercropped with cassava are not prepared in a special way. Since little cassava [438] is raised in Caticugan it is often difficult to get cuttings. Farmers may go to the owners of caingins in the mountains to obtain cassava plants, bartering for them like camote cuttings. The large cassava stalks are cut with a bolo into pieces four or five inches long.

Cassava was said usually to be planted as early as April or May but in 1951 most of the cuttings were planted in early July. The cuttings are planted in hills spaced about the same distance apart as corn. Usually four or five cassava cuttings are put in each hill. Some planters cover the cuttings completely while others cover only the lower portion of the stalks. If the entire cutting is covered no precautions are necessary in planting.

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If the cassava cuttings are only partially covered it is believed they must be planted in a special way. The "head" is the top of the cutting, determined by the upward slant of the trimmed branches of the stalk. "Heads" must be planted so they are above the ground while the "feet" are covered with soil. If the process is reversed supposedly one becomes "very dizzy" from eating the mature cassava tubers.

The cassava-planting lihi is similar to the one described for camote cuttings. Cassava should be planted during a full moon and low tide, although some said it was not absolutely necessary to wait for a full moon. When the tide is low the beach is littered with stones and shells covered at high tide. Planting at low tide ensures that the cassava roots will be as plentiful as the rocks and shells on the beach; also that the tubers will be near the surface. One farmer said cassava planted during high tide would be poisonous when mature.

Ingredients for the cassava lihi are sugar (to make the roots sweet), lime (to make the root starchy and white), da-ag scrapings (so the roots will be plentiful), chicken egg shells (so the roots will be starchy), piece of banana stalk or banana (so the roots will be as abundant as bananas in a bunch), and some pieces of the rattan used to tie house floor slats (so the roots will be as numerous as the slats in a floor).

Some barriofolk may not include all these items but sugar and lime are always used. Others wrap the lihi items

in paper and state that the exact number of hills planted during the lihi is unimportant. The cassava lihi may be done in any part of the field as long as it is practiced for the first planting. 241

If these agricultural lihis for the crops do not succeed, if the crops are infested with pests and the harvests poor, the farmers believe their tribulations are due to "the will of God" (pagbu-ot sa Dios). Failure of the lihi is not attributed to ineffectiveness of the practice, by the majority of the people. This concept of God's will is a major theme of community life in Caticugan. It is the belief that man does not fail God so much as God fails man and that man, helpless in such situations, resigns humbly and quietly to his fate. This concept of man's relation to God is the basis for much of the conservatism of the barriofolk. 241 777

Once the cassava is planted the plants receive little care. There is no weeding of cassava patches, although cassava intercropped with corn is plowed for weeds. Rats, said to be the major cassava pest, destroy the larger tubers. When the first cassava tuber is dug, a simple lihi is often practiced. The tuber is boiled with some sugar to render all roots subsequently dug from the field "sweet and nice tasting." Often cassava roots are dug before they are fully mature, especially if the family needs food; with the end of the barrio fiesta in February, cassava tubers disappear except for those which were sliced, dried and stored. 241 [262]

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**Peanuts**

In 1951 only 37 acres of peanuts were planted in Siaton municipality; the most common variety was "Spanish White." In Caticugan peanuts were always intercropped with corn; the peanut-corn combination does not prevent a second corn crop since peanuts mature in 105-125 days. Peanuts are grown in the other barrios in the Siaton River valley, especially sitios Dolog and Comon (Apoloy). Usually peanuts are planted after the corn is about an inch above the ground lest the vines retard the corn's growth. There is no special lihi for peanuts; the people say that those held for the corn suffice.

**Balatong**

Balatong or cowpeas are usually intercropped with corn or corn-cassava combinations. Cowpeas require a clayey loam and, in Caticugan, were usually planted in this soil type. The barriofolk plant the Brownish-Red balatong variety that is one of the highest yielders; the two important varieties grown in the Philippines, however, are White Paayap (or Kibal) and New Era.[62] The balatong pods [252] are cooked as a green vegetable; the mature dried beans are prepared in the same way as mungos.

Cowpeas are usually planted at the same time as corn and mature in three to six months according to whether they are planted in the wet or dry season.

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[62] Uichanco and Sacay, op. cit., I, p. 590.

Balatongs are usually planted in every other cornhill, three to five seeds per hill. Some plant the beans in furrows between the hills because they say the fast-growing vines retard the growth of corn. In some cases the balatong spread so rapidly that the corn cannot be plowed for weeds. There are no special lihis for planting or harvesting balatongs. 241

In Caticugan balatongs are usually planted in May or June, the wet season, and harvested from October to December. The mature pods are put on buri mats in the sun to dry. The pods must be covered with cloth so the beans will not be dispersed when the pods shatter upon heating. When thoroughly dried, the remainder of the pods are shelled by hand and the beans stored. 241 251

Mungos

Four varieties of mungos are raised in the Philippines, differentiated according to the color of the bean.[63] The Dull Yellow type is raised in Caticugan. Very few mungos, however, are planted in Caticugan; in 1951, 77 acres of mungos were planted in Siaton municipality--an excessively high estimate of the local agricultural inspector. I have been in most of the larger cultivated areas of the municipality and rarely saw more than a few small patches of mungos. One reason for their scarcity is cost of seed. In the stores of Siaton poblacion, mungos were more costly than rice. 241 [311] [435]

[63] Uichanco and Sacay, op. cit., I, pp. 364-5.

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Some farmers intercropped mungos with corn while others planted mungos two or three weeks after the corn. Mungos are usually planted between the cornhills since they do not spread as do cowpeas. Mungos begin to mature in about three months. There are no special lihis for mungos.

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Coconuts

In 1951 there were 66,526 coconut palms (about 1,051 acres) in Siaton municipality.[64] Although there are a few palms in Talo-ot, most of the coconut trees are located along the western bluff overlooking Barrio Caticugan, the main canal and barrio path. One grove along the barrio path was recently planted and the trees are not yet bearing. The largest grove (about 410 trees) is owned by the most affluent resident of the community.[65] The majority of the owners of coconuts have only a few trees, and many families possess no coconut palms.

According to the barriofolk coconuts selected for planting must: (1) be mature; (2) contain internal fluid that one can hear by shaking the nut; (3) have no cracks in the outer husk. Nuts are usually placed in a damp spot until the sharp green shoot pierces the outer husk; a favorite spot is under the dwelling near the water jar where waste water is thrown.

[64]The provincial agricultural office, Dumaguete, states there are 156 coconuts planted to a hectare, or about 63 palms an acre.

[65]This figure was obtained from the municipal land records; the owner's plot of coconuts, 6.5 acres, was valued at $567.

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when a cacao bush is passed or brushed by a menstruating woman, the fruit may rot or the flowers fall if it is not protected with these rags. 841.

Jackfruit

A number of jackfruit trees (So-oy: Artocarpus odoratissima Blum) grow in Caticugan. The jackfruit was brought to the Philippines from India (here known as Yaca) during the Spanish period.[70] The fruit is eaten raw or boiled as a vegetable. Sometimes jackfruits are wrapped with an old mat or paper, as are squashes, to protect them from the insects; the most serious of jackfruit's pest appears to be ants. 245 262

Pineapples and Papayas

Several small patches of native pineapple, penia, (Ananas comusos Linn.) occur in Barrio Caticugan. The plants, however, were usually given little care; the fruits were small and wormy. Some barriofolk in Caticugan had a few papaya trees (Kapaya: Carica papaya Linn.); they said that more papayas were not grown because of excessive flooding during the rainy season. This explanation, however, was largely rationalization because in many localities papayas could have been grown without risk of flooding at any time of the year. Green papayas were sometimes grated as a "salad" or fed to pigs. 241 824 245 824 262

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[70] Antonio de Morga, Blair and Robertson, op. cit. XVI, p. 88.

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A bamboo pole against the tree enables the chickens to climb into the branches, although most of them can fly. The chickens are rarely fed by their owners and are lean and tough when eaten. Nests are usually found in the silong (space under the raised house), among the rafters, or in a corner of a room. Plate XXXI[1] shows one type of nest used in Caticugan. A large bamboo is split and the splints woven apart with rattan; dried grass is often put inside. There is a constant battle to shoo the chickens from a house, since they try to sneak into the kitchen to eat uncovered food.

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The barriofolk eat few eggs, not that they dislike eggs, but eggs bring a good price in the poblacion--five cents each in 1951. Sale of a dozen eggs enabled the vendor to purchase several gantas of cornmeal that go farther in feeding the family. Eggs not sold are normally used for settings. In the poblacion chickens sell for fifty to seventy-five cents and scores of chickens are sold each week in Dumaguete.

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The Bolhon and Palihog: Cooperative Labor Groups

The growing individualism in Caticugan life, already cited, includes agriculture. I shall describe some of the cooperative agricultural practices of the past and indicate reasons for their decline in present-day Caticugan.

During Lucas Ege's period there were two types of cooperative labor groups in Caticugan, the bolhon and

1 [See p. 432, cat. 231 -- Analyst]

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palihog. A bolhon was a group of people, usually working adjacent fields, who cooperated in various agricultural tasks--planting, plowing, harvesting, etc. Both relatives and neighbors were included in a bolhon. The group spent only a certain period, usually one day, helping each member plant or harvest his field. If a field were large, the following day the group began a new field, even though the large field was not finished. This made for an equal distribution of labor. A member with a large field could not require the group to finish his field if the allotted period was insufficient. If he wished, he could hire members to work until the job was done. Then a day's pay for farm work was about thirty cents or its equivalent in rice; the amount of rice depended on the current price in the poblacion Chinese stores.

Each member of a bolhon fed the other workers when they labored in his field. The food was furnished and prepared by the farmer's family. While some got drunk on tuba, the bolhon was not a festive affair. "The workers were too tired and dirty to sing and dance at night after work" explained an informant who had worked in Lucas Ege's bolhons.

Normally only Lucas Ege's tenants participated in the bolhon. Other residents of Caticugan had smaller fields--and maybe were members of an "out-group"--so they could do their work without assistance. Bolhon groups of the past were never large because normally members were only those whose fields were adjacent.

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In contrast to the bolhon, which was generally organized for cooperative agricultural labor, is the palihog. The palihog is assistance of neighbors or friends in doing a job which one cannot do alone. The workers are fed by the individual who requested their assistance. Palihogs are most frequently held for the construction or repair of residences. While the bolhon has disappeared the palihog is still practiced. Two palihogs occurred in Caticugan during my residence. Both palihogs were held for the repair or construction of dwellings.

One palihog was formed to replace rotten house posts. This is quite a task; men pull the house with ropes to a more erect position. The other palihog was to help the owner place the posts in the holes for a new house. The palihog is said to be held sometimes when a man is late in plowing or planting and wants to accomplish the task speedily; while several fields were planted late in 1951, because the cultivators were sick, no palihog occurred. Immediately after the last war, according to the barriofolk, due to the carabao shortage, there was a resurgence of the palihog. However, once the shortage was alleviated the palihogs rapidly decreased.

One palihog was held in Barrio Caticugan by a family who had dug the post holes for their new house. They needed help to get the long timbers into the holes. There were about ten men in the palihog besides the

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members of the family. Two men with the assistance of the man and his son could have done the job. The meal was prepared by the husband while his wife scoured the barrio for items for the post hole ceremony. (See Chapter VIII.) The palihog started around noon and lasted about two hours, although the job took less than an hour; after finishing the men ate and talked. Later several of their wives and children arrived to eat lunch.

In part, the decline of the bolhon and palihog is due to the fact that Caticugan's population has increased relatively to cultivated land. Many fields have been subdivided among heirs; thus the fields became smaller and there was less need for cooperative activities. [178]

Post-war inflation discourages the bolhon and palihog. As a young man said: "The palihog costs too much today. It is cheaper to hire people and pay them wages." The rise in wages has been less than the increase in food costs. One can hire a farm worker in Caticugan today for fifty cents and two meals a day; several decades ago the wage for a day's work was about thirty cents. Prices of corn, rice, pig and cattle have more than tripled.

There are some cooperative activities that tradition perpetuates although hired labor could accomplish the job more cheaply. Prestige and social standing may be gained from holding these activities; this factor was not entirely absent in the motivation for the palihog just described. (See Chapter VII.) Most of the barriofolk of Caticugan, however, consider the cost first in getting help in their fields or to repair or construct dwellings. [554]

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$2.50 fee connected with such title transfers; this discourages many heirs from making the title changes. Land records in the municipio are usually changed only when the land is sold and the title legally transferred.

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The constant subdivision of land in the Philippines among heirs has been condemned as one reason for the small size of farms. The Hardie report recommends that the "inheritance law respecting succession to agricultural properties should be modified" in order to prevent "fragmentation of farm units through succession."[13] This recommendation would be more appealing if the report had suggested means for achieving such a drastic innovation. If a field is too small to be economically divided among the heirs, Caticugan barriofolk have a number of solutions. First, the land may be sold to another person and the receipts divided equally among all heirs. Second, one heir may purchase the land and the money divided equally among the remaining heirs. Third, fields may be rotated among the heirs. For example, four brothers in Naga inherited a small field from their father. Instead of dividing or selling the field one brother tills the land each year and receives all the harvest. The next year another brother farms the land and so forth until each has had his turn.

In Barrio Caticugan there were individual paddies that were owned by as many as ten heirs. In Naga eight

[13] Hardie, op. cit., p. x. Vide Pelzer, op. cit., p. 11.

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siblings owned one cornfield while seven owned still another field. It is for such reasons that the municipio land records do not accurately reflect the actual division of agricultural land in Caticugan. Usually such fields are listed under the names of parents or grandparents of the cultivators. Sometimes the land record merely states "Juan Cruz and heirs"; such fields are normally farmed under the arrangement described in the section on temporary division of fields. (See Pages 467-472.)

Fields are rotated sometimes while the actual owner is alive. In Barrio Caticugan a nephew was farming a small field owned by his childless aunt; he had agreed to work the field one year and the following year it would revert to his aunt. At the end of each harvest, however, the nephew made various excuses for breaking the agreement--"I shall work the field next year because this year's harvest was poor." His aunt never filed a formal complaint in Siaton municipio "because it is a small field and I do not want any trouble."

Movable Property

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Animals may be rotated among the heirs like the fields. If there are three heirs and only one carabao, the animal may be sold to a stranger or to one of the heirs, and proceeds divided equally among all of them. An heir may keep a male carabao for one year, then pass the animal along to the other heirs; the carabao is

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in handicrafts, an attitude usually transmitted by craftsmen to their children, have largely disappeared. Often inferior articles made in the United States are preferred to Philippine-made articles, even when the latter are of better materials and more careful workmanship. The most promising long-range program needed to raise barrio living standards is to increase the productivity of their major activity--more and better farmed land with more abundant harvests.

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In 1950 the Dumaguete provincial agricultural office began a project to cut down the standing dead buris in the poblacion to control the bakokang;[1] the campaign lasted for six weeks. Table XXII indicates not only the extent of bakokang infestation but also the popularity of guhang since nearly all of the palms were killed by the process of making this drink.

TABLE XXII

Bakokang Infestation of Buri Palms[69]
Siaton Poblacion - 1951

| Number of Dead Buri Palms Cut | Number of Bakokang Beetles Found in Cut Palms | Number of Bakokang Grubs Found in Cut Palms |
|---|---|---|
| 576 | 738 | 32,299 |

In Caticugan the barriofolk make no attempt to control the bakokang. In fact, some people said they first learned the grub lived in the buri when the provincial agricultural office cut the dead palms in the poblacion. An abundant supply of firewood, the difficult job of cutting the large palms, and limited losses due to the beetle are major reasons why the barriofolk do not destroy dead buri palms. As one old man explained: "When the buri stops giving guhang, it is no longer loved."

Coconut trees have a number of uses in Caticugan. The nuts' husks are burned as fuel while the shells are used to make charcoal for the women's irons. [374]

[69]Figures obtained from the Provincial Agricultural Office, Dumaguete, Negros Oriental, 1950. Typescript. No pagination.

[1][i.e., the coconut beetle (Oryctes rhinoceros)--Analyst]

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## Agricultural Extension Activities

The practice of agriculture in Caticugan, as here described, strongly supports the statement that "one of the most serious problems of the Philippines is the lag in the development and especially in the application of farm technology."[80]

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In 1951 Philippines' yield of rice per acre was the same as the yield in 1918; this was the lowest in Asia. In Caticugan there have been few basic changes in basic agricultural methods in the century. Some of the simplest techniques for improving yields have failed to reach the people. For example, the people still select rice and corn seed in the most primitive manner. The agricultural college at Los Baños has developed methods for improving corn and rice yields through better selection of seeds; these methods would not cost a centavo yet this information has not reached the people.

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The Philippine Government's neglect of agriculture, the basic industry and source of its wealth, has been scored by numerous critics and studies over the past several decades. Budget figures are one index to the indifference of most Filipino lawmakers to agriculture.

> In 1949, the gross national product, including disbursement of the United States, was over ₱5.0 billion. Of the total amount agriculture contributed 56 per cent, fisheries 6 per cent and forestry 3 per cent.

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[80] Robert T. McMillan, "Major Rural Problems in the Philippines and Suggested Solutions." Mimeographed copy of paper read at the 12th Biennial Convention of the National Federation of Women's Clubs, Manila, March 29, 1958, p. 2.

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> The most obvious thing about the whole Philippine economy, therefore, is the predominant position held by plant and animal production. Added to this is the striking fact that 75 per cent of the people are dependent on such production for their livelihood...
>
> ...For the fiscal year 1951, there was appropriated to the Department of Agriculture and Natural Resources for investigations in plant industry, animal industry, fisheries, and forestry the sum of P1.2 million, about one-fourth of one per cent of the budget. Most of this will go into salaries, wages, travel, and miscellaneous expenses leaving but a minor part for actual experimental work. The fact is that for the basic informational needs of the industries that constitute the backbone of the entire economy, almost a negligible amount is provided in the national budget. When it is considered that Philippine agriculture is regarded by its most sincere friends as very backward and susceptible to quick improvements, the neglect of even elementary experimental work on which its advancement depends is difficult to understand.[81]

This section does not propose to examine the varied problems of Philippine agriculture. Within the last six years the ~~Philippine-United States~~ Agricultural Mission (1947), the Bell Mission (1950), Wernstedt's detailed study of Negros (1952) and Spencer's summary volume, Land and People in the Philippines (1952) have covered most aspects of this major problem. However, certain comments arise out of my research in Catiegan and Negros.

Table XXIII[1] gives the budgets of the provincial agriculture office of Negros Oriental over the past eight years.

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[81] The Bell Report, op. sit., pp. 58-9.

1 [See p. 438, cat. 654 + 242 -- Analyst]

20: Hart E-5 (1951) 1954 OA1 Philippines
Central Bisayan OA14



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TABLE XXIII

Annual Budgets of the Provincial Agricultural Extension Service of Negros Oriental Province[82] (1945-1953)

| Fiscal Year | 1945-1946 | 1946-1947 | 1947-1948 | 1948-1949 | 1949-1950 | 1950-1951 | 1951-1952 | 1952-1953 |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Appropriation (dollars) | 8818 | 17104 | 22672 | 24433 | 25783 | 24218 | 24957 | 34000 |

These funds come from provincial and municipal budgets and allotments from the national government. Commonwealth Act 85 (Section 1813-H as amended) states:

> Each municipality or municipal district shall annually set aside a sum of not less than THREE AND NOT MORE THAN FIVE per centum of its general fund, at the discretion of the Provincial Board and such provincial board shall set aside from its general fund a like sum which, together with the sums set aside by the municipalities and municipal districts under its jurisdiction shall constitute a special fund to be known as 'Agriculture Fund.'[83]

In 1950-51 the budget of provincial agriculture office of Negros Oriental was reduced. (See Table XXIII.) The reason reported was that the head of the office had fallen out of grace with certain members of the provincial board who determine the percentage of income devoted to the agriculture fund within the limits of Act 85. This budget reduction was said to have been made to "punish" the supervisor for his alleged "political transgressions."

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[82] Personal communication from the supervisor, September 30, 1952.

[83] The major sources of provincial and municipal income are taxes on income, real property, residence, inheritance, gifts and internal revenue allotments from national government; other sources of income are market and big animal registration fees, licenses, etc.

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In 1952-53 the agriculture office had less than eight cents for each person in the province for extension services. When one considers the cost of administrative activities, office supplies, transportation, repair of equipment, and other expenses, there was a pitiful meager amount left for agricultural extension activities. It is possible the newly-created Bureau of Agricultural Extension may solve some of these problems.[84]

The provincial agricultural supervisors' field agents are the municipal inspectors. The municipal inspectors' duties are to aid the provincial supervisors in extension activities and pest control, and to prepare reports on agricultural activities within their districts. Table XXIV[1] indicates the various agricultural districts of Negros Oriental in 1952, with the educational training and annual salaries of the municipal inspectors.

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[84] Under the new Bureau the country is to be divided into nine districts, each under a District Agriculturist who will be the superior of the Provincial Agriculturist (formerly the provincial agricultural supervisor) of each province. Luzon will have five districts, the Visayas (Eastern and Western) and Mindanao (Northern and Southern) two districts each.

1 [See p. 440, cat. 654 + 242 -- Analyst]

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TABLE XXIV

Education and Salaries:
Municipal Agricultural Inspectors - 1952[85]
Negros Oriental, Philippines

| Agricultural Districts | Municipalities | Educational Attainment of Inspectors | Annual Salary ($) |
|---|---|---|---|
| I | Canlaon<br>Vallehermoso | Mampising Agr. School | 600 |
| II | Guihulngan<br>La Libertad | Central Luzon College | 600 |
| III | Jimalalud<br>Tayasan<br>Ayungon<br>Tambo District | Central Luzon College | 660 |
| IV | Payabon<br>Manjuyod | Central Luzon College | 480 |
| V | Bais<br>Tanjay<br>Pamplona | Central Luzon College | 780 |
| VI | Amlan<br>Sibulan | Bukidnon Agr. School | 480 |
| VII | Valencia<br>Bacong | Mampising Agr. School | 660 |
| VIII | Dauin<br>Zamboanguita | Bukidnon Agr. School | 480 |
| IX | Siaton | Central Luzon College | 540 |
| X | Sta. Catalina<br>Tolong | Central Luzon College | 660 |
| XI | Larena<br>Siquijor | Central Luzon College | 720 |
| XII | San Juan<br>Lazi | Lagangilang Agr. School | 480 |
| XIII | Maria<br>E. Villanueva | Bukidnon Agr. School | 540 |

An agronomist with three years training at Los Baños served Dumaguete (Agricultural District No. XIV) at an annual salary of $900.

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[85] Figures furnished by the Provincial Agricultural Office, Dumaguete, Negros Oriental, 1952.

Table XXV illustrates the estimated square acres and acres of cultivated land of the three largest agricultural districts each of whom have only one municipal agriculture agent. 654 242

TABLE XXV

Total Area and Cultivated Area, Three Agricultural Districts, Negros Oriental, 1951

| Agricultural District | Estimated Total Area Acres | Estimated Cultivated Land (Acres) |
|---|---|---|
| No. III (Jimalalud, Tayasan, Ayungon, Tambo District) | 332,800 | 32,581 |
| No. V (Bais, Tanjay, Pamplona) | 100,960 | 23,628 |
| No. X (Sta. Catalina, Tolong) | 77,440 | 21,527 |

When transportation and communication difficulties of municipal inspectors are considered and administrative and reporting duties remembered, the most ambitious and tireless inspector can not effectively perform his duties when his responsibilities encompass such large areas. The municipal inspector of Agricultural District No. V has to make three separate municipal reports since his district comprises three municipalities. Living in one municipality, an inspector is unable to supervise closely extension services in the other municipalities.

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The municipal inspector of Siaton (Agricultural District No. IX)[1] was unknown to the majority of the barriofolk in the Siaton River valley. During my residence the inspector did not come once to Caticugan; he spent much of his time in the poblacion working on his new residence. Prior to my arrival, the inspector had given a talk to the people of Caticugan in the barrio school but this meeting was arranged on the teacher's initiative. The principal of the elementary school frequently requested the inspector to talk to the students but he never appeared; he was very shy about speaking in public.

The inspector's office was a desk in Siaton post-office. A few bottles of seeds, some dusty charts indicating the alleged increase in corn and rice yields, and a few snail shells comprised his "educational" display. He had several stacks of illustrated pamphlets in Tagalog regarding the control of rats and improved methods of pig production produced by the United States Information Service. It is not fair to criticize him for failing to distribute these pamphlets in a Cebuano-speaking area. Getting materials from the provincial to the municipal centers is not as difficult as supervising their distribution in the barrios; this is the crucial and the weakest link in the distributional process of Philippine agricultural extension activities.

For the most part, such agricultural extension activities as the value of fertilizer, better seed

1 [See Table XXIV, p. 440, cat. 654 or 242 -- Analyst]

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selection methods, pest control or demonstration areas did not exist in Siaton, I made extensive inquiries about such activities. The municipal inspector had made a sign for one "fertilizer demonstration area." This "demonstration area" was in Goshen (also called Common; the name was changed to Goshen when it was settled by a group of Seventh Day Adventists), an isolated sitio of Barrio Apoloy. The owner of the land, a provincial official, had purchased a few bags of ammonium sulphate in Dumaguete for his fields. Common is a sitio of perhaps two dozen families located a full day's walk north of the National Road, at the very fringe of the settled region of the upper Siaton River valley. Few farmers saw this alleged "demonstration area."

Fertilizer under the former ECA program began to reach Siaton in 1953. The provincial agricultural supervisor reported that by September, 1952, 152 bags of fertilizer were sold to residents of Siaton municipality; two farmers in Caticugan purchased some of this fertilizer. Of the 6,500 bags of fertilizer distributed in Negros Oriental, 80 per cent were sold on a three-month credit plan. The regulation set for the distribution of fertilizer is to limit individual users to nine bags. If a farmer were working 25 acres he could purchase fertilizer sufficient to fertilize about one-third of his field. While this regulation prevents the fertilizer from falling into the hands of the few, and educates some barrio farmers on the value of fertilizer, it also defeats one

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purpose of the fertilizer distribution--increase food production. In Siaton the fertilizer was used on corn fields; owners of paddies were watching to see results in the fertilized corn fields before they purchased fertilizer.

The municipal agent said a "seed selection demonstration area" had been established in another Siaton barrio. When I checked with the people living in this barrio they had never heard of such a project. Moreover, none of them knew the agent's name! There is less justification for inactivity in this aspect of extension work than efforts to induce the people to use fertilizers. Better seed selection methods would cost the barriofolk nothing and demonstration areas could easily be arranged even with the admittedly inadequate funds of the municipal agent.

Extension activities on the part of the provincial agriculture office were often ineffective due to inadequate funds and insufficient personnel. To the writer's knowledge neither the provincial agricultural supervisor nor his assistant visited Siaton during 1951. Articles regarding improved agricultural practices were printed in English in the weekly newspaper, Vanguard, published in Dumaguete, with an estimated circulation of one thousand.[86]

[86] Jose C. Balein, "Provincial Newspapers in the Philippines," This Week; Manila Chronicle Sunday Supplement, VII, No. 10 (March 9, 1952), p. 13.

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It would have been better to print the articles in Cebuano but no funds were available to pay a translator.

Agricultural extension publications issued by the Department of Agriculture and Natural Resources, located in Manila, are printed in English; this limits their effectiveness in most rural areas. The provincial agricultural supervisor of Negros Oriental told me: "The bulletins and circulars in English have to be translated by the extension workers into the native dialect before they can be of real use in the locality." Since there are no funds for translation and printing of the translated circulars, information that comes from the Department of Agriculture and Natural Resources rarely reached Caticugan barriofolk. The high rate of illiteracy and relatively inefficient distribution system limits the effectiveness of even translated circulars.[87]

Agricultural conditions and techniques in Siaton, in general, and Caticugan, in particular, underline the urgent need of improving extension activities in the Philippines. As the Bell Report bluntly states:

> The neglect of experimental work is serious enough, but the lack of an efficient agricultural extension service is even more lamentable for there is much useful information already available which could be put into practice.[88]

While getting information to the barriofolk does not mean they will immediately accept new techniques and

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[87] A recent survey states the rate of illiteracy in Negros Oriental has been reduced from 53.6 per cent (1948) to 28.6 per cent; however, this estimate must be accepted with reservations. Tomas de Castro "The Community Schools of Negros Oriental," Philippine Journal of Education, January 1954, pp. 432 et seq.; cited in Far East Digest, Nos. 82 and 83, (March, 1954), p. 24.

[88] The Bell Report, op. cit., p. 59.

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equipment, it is the giant step needed in Caticugan.[89]

Agricultural extension officials could use more imagination. Literature to be circulated among the barriofolk should be made attractive for other reasons than farming propaganda. In the United States jellies are often sold in attractive glasses that housewives buy for the glass rather than the jelly—and later learn to like the jelly. A similar approach might be used in spreading farming information among the barriofolk.

The young men and women in Caticugan are eager to learn the lyrics of new American and Philippine song hits. Though the barriofolk rarely buy magazines, some do purchase Song Hits which contains the words of new popular songs. The magazine passes from hand to hand and the readers often memorized pages of lyrics. Extension literature that included the lyrics of latest song hits on one side and farm information on the other would be in great demand by the younger people--the future farmers.

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[89] The agricultural extension service must do more than get information to the barriofolk; they must recognize the various problems of inducing innovation and use the accumulating knowledge of cultural dynamics. Eggan's comments on the recent Bell Report are particularly pertinent. He writes that many of the recommendations of this report in regard to agricultural improvements have been tried before and the necessary laws passed but "In most instances, the failures are due to social and cultural factors rather than to lack of technical knowledge and skill." Fred Eggan, "The Philippines and the Bell Report," Human Organization, X, No. 1, (Spring, 1951), pp. 16-21.

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If printed in the local dialect the pamphlets would be hoarded or passed among friends, and would reach many of the isolated barrios of Siaton municipality.

In agricultural extension services films can be very effective. The barriofolk are fond of motion pictures although they rarely see them. The establishing by the agriculture department of mobile film units for extension services for the entire Philippines might be very expensive. However, some mobile film units already exist in many of the islands that the department could utilize. Several times during my residence mobile film units came to Siaton poblacion advertising various Philippine products. The truck would drive around the poblacion and announce through loudspeakers that a free program of sound films would be shown that evening in the plaza; sometimes 200 to 300 people turned out. The program consisted of films praising the product of the sponsor, and outdated American shorts or cartoons.

If the agriculture department produced entertaining shorts on various aspects of agriculture, the films could be distributed to these agencies for inclusion in their programs in the provinces. Often the language of Philippine films shown by these traveling cinemas was Tagalog. Films prepared by the agriculture department should be in the principal dialect of each region. The Philippine film industry is quite capable of producing such films.

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While the majority of the barriofolk are conservative and uneducated, they are not dull-witted, and already have adopted new ways. The younger generation will be easier to work with. Yet they will have to be convinced before they make any drastic changes--barring the use of coercion. Since the printed word is usually a mystery or carries little conviction, they must be able to see with their own eyes. On the whole, from their point of view, the tried and tested ways of their ancestors have proven fairly satisfactory and are not as "primitive" as claimed. The new ways, for all their promises of more abundant harvests, may fail and leave empty corn baskets. In agriculture, the barriofolk have small margin of safety.

20: Hart E-5 (195.) 1954 OA1 Philippines
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PLATE V

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[243]

Rice agriculture and soils correlate in Barrio Caticugan. The Zamboanguita clay area of the barrio corresponds almost precisely with the rice paddies. An oven-dried chemical analysis of a sample of this clay is given in Table IV.

TABLE IV

| pH Value | Total Nitrogen % | Available Constituents in Parts per Million[42] | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | $NH_3$ | $NO_3$ | P | K | Ca | Mg | Mn | Fe |
| 5.90 | 0.39 | 2 | 2 | 45 | 47 | 5300 | 190 | 26 | 1 |

The Zamboanguita clay of Caticugan's paddies, is high in nitrogen, fairly well supplied with calcium, but low in available phosphorus and potassium, especially the latter.

The remainder of the soils of Caticugan are sandy loams with the exception of areas of Mandawa Loam in small localities of Caticugan and Naga.[43] Along the east bank of the Mantuyop River, parts of the west bank of the Siaton River, and south of the main path from Caticugan to Talo-ot, the loams are quite stony, which hinders

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[42]The chemical analysis was made through the cooperation of Ricardo T. Marfori, Acting Chief, Division of Soil Laboratories, Bureau of Soil Conservation, Manila, and Marcos M. Alicante, Director of Soil Conservation Bureau. The soil sample sent weighed almost four pounds and was composed of 20 separate surface samples taken from different parts of the locality.

[43]Since no profile was taken in the field this classification is tentative.

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influenced the present land use patterns of Negros, the areal distribution of crops today appears to have been influenced more forcefully by physical rather than cultural factors.

Corn-Coconut Regions of Eastern Negros

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The major maize-producing areas in the Philippines are the Visayan Islands of Negros, Cebu, Siquijor, Bohol, Leyte, Masbate and the Cagayan valley (Luzon), and Mindanao.[79] The Philippines is self-sufficient in this grain and it is called the "poor man's rice."[80] For the crop year 1951-52 rice accounted for 42 per cent of all Philippine crops; 18 per cent of the cultivated land was devoted to corn.[81] Corn is the "principal foodstuff of about 30 per cent of the population" of the Philippines.[82]

[177]

The Spaniards first introduced corn in the 16th century; it appeared to have spread rapidly in the Visayas. The two corn-coconut regions of Negros are agricultural phenomena unique in Asia, for here a non-indigenous food crop dominates the agricultural landscape. The adaptability of corn to the physical

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[79] Hainsworth and Moyer, op. cit., p.52.

[80] Hugo H. Miller, Principles of Economics Applied to the Philippines. New York, Ginn and Company, 1932, p.212.

[81] Central Bank of Philippines Statistical Bulletin IV, No. 1 (March 1952). Manila, Bureau of Printing, p.99.

[82] "Philippine Corn Production High," Foreign Crops and Markets, LXV, No. 20 (November 17, 1952), p. 455.

environment made possible the expansion of agricultural frontiers into localities once considered non-agricultural. 311 243.

> Cebu, Bohol, Siquijor, Negros Oriental and other smaller neighboring Visayan islands constitute an outlier from the Western Hemisphere in what is predominately thought of as a rice-producing region. Without maize many of the lands now supporting fairly dense populations...could support only a small fraction of their present-day population at the same standard of living.[83]

Siaton municipality is within one of the two corn-coconut regions of eastern Negros. The Southern Corn-Coconut region, that includes Siaton, is separated from the northern region by the Bais lowland enclave. The total area of this southern region is about 558 square miles of which only 68 square miles (or 12 per cent) are under active cultivation. Of the land cultivated, nearly 46 per cent is devoted to corn or crops raised in association with this grain. Corn and coconuts account for 73 per cent of the total cultivated land. (See Plate XVI.)[1] 311

The predominance of corn over rice in these two regions probably is not due to the Filipinos' preference for the former but to geographic factors such as coral-line limestone soils and a precipitation regime that favor corn production over rice. The Southern Corn-Coconut region is an "area of poorer lands, poorer soils, poorer crops and a lower standard of living for the farmers."[84]

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[83] Wernstedt, op. cit., p. 130.

[84] Wernstedt, op. cit., p. 104.

1 [See p. 105, cat. 311 - Analyst]

20: Hart E-5 (1951) 1954 OA1 Philippines ~~OAr~~
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PLATE XVI p. 103

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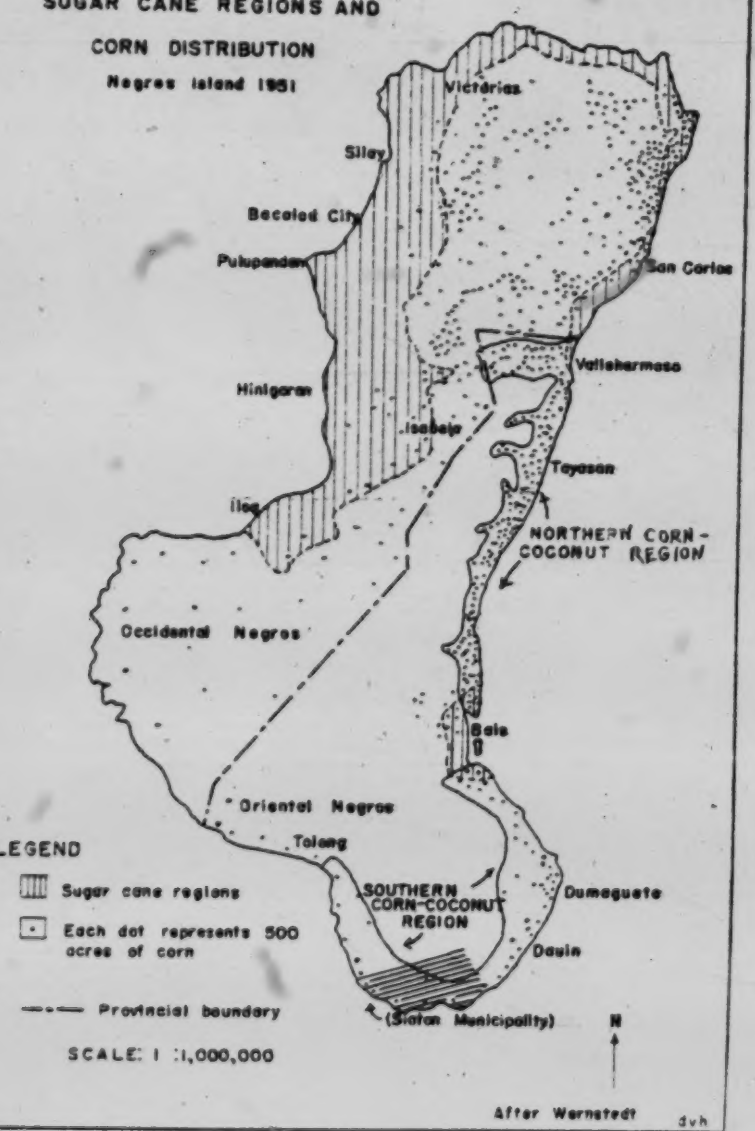

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The Southern Corn-Coconut region is one of the most sparsely settled areas in Negros, with the exception of the Tablas plateau and the Central Mountain range. Dumaguete has over 1,000 persons per square mile while Bacong has between 250 and 499 persons. The remainder of this region has a population density between 100-249 persons per square mile with most of the Filipinos crowded along the narrow littoral. The western and northern parts of this region, reaching back to the Central Mountain range, are even less sparsely inhabited.

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The Southern Corn-Coconut region's cultivated land extends from the southern municipality of Sta. Catalina to Pamplona. From the steep cogon-grass slopes of the Central Mountain range to the coconut-lined beaches, corn fields are the most typical sight. Rice paddies usually occur as isolated patches in a carpet of corn with a coconut fringe.

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Five varieties of corn are grown in the Philippines: pop corn, sweet corn, dent corn, glutinous corn (lagkitan) and flint corn.[86] Flint corn is the most widely grown variety in the Philippines, as a whole, and in the Southern and Northern Corn-Coconut regions. Flint corn is better suited to grinding into meal--the staple food in these two regions.

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[86] Leopoldo B. Uichanco and Francisco M. Sacay, Philippine Agriculture: Field Crops. Manila, College of Agriculture, University of the Philippines, 1949, I, p. 112.

20: Hart E-5 (.95.) 1954 OA1 Philippines
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The corn seasons reflect the precipitation patterns of the Southern Corn-Coconut region. The first corn crop is planted at the start of the rainy season, usually in April or May, depending on the locally available moisture. This crop is harvested at the end of the rainy season, normally from September to November, and about one-half of the land is replanted with a second corn crop.[87] Only a few fields are planted with a third corn crop, because of the lack of moisture in the ground.[88]

Because of different planting periods, the harvests in the southern region are staggered. In Sta. Catalina the first corn may be planted as early as late March while in the northern part of the same region, Amlan, for example, the fields may not be sowed until late May. As a result there are seasonal migrations of barriofolk from one locality to another to help in the harvests. The harvest migrations will be discussed more fully in Chapter IV of the barriofolk of Caticugan.

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[87]Hainsworth and Moyer, op. cit., p.53.

[88]A survey was made in 1948-49 of Barrio Malabo, Valencia municipality, where the third corn crop is planted in November and December. Marcelo V. Arnaldo, "A Study of the Economic and Social Conditions of the Mountain Barrio of Malabo, Valencia (Luzuriaga), Negros Oriental, Philippines." Dumaguete, Negros Oriental, Silliman University, 1949, p.10. Typescript.

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The agricultural techniques of the average southern farmer in growing corn are backward. Tillage is done with shallow plowing equipment and often is neglected. Artificial or natural fertilizers are generally not used, mainly because the farmers lack capital. The distribution of fertilizer, however, by the Mutual Security Agency reached Siaton in 1952. The fields are badly eroded in many localities as a result of careless farming practices. Ideal corn land is slightly rolling with good drainage during the rainy season. Since corn is planted in rows on undulating land, excessive erosion often results. Few farmers attempt to half erosion by terracing or cover-cropping, preferring to permit the land to recuperate by lying fallow for short periods. These agricultural methods are reflected in the average yield of the region, about 8 bushels per acre--40 per cent below the national level of 15 bushels an acre. The average yield per acre in the United States in 1950 was 37.4 bushels. Crops associated with corn are tabios, string-beans, cassava, mungos, and peanuts. Camotes and a variety of fruits, such as mangos, papaya and bananas are also grown. Vegetables are grown either for family consumption or sale, in gardens near the residences.

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Within the Southern Corn-Coconut region Siaton and Zamboanguita municipalities have the largest percentage (23) of cultivated land devoted to rice. Rice is grown mainly for family consumption; very little is

sold. The paddies of the average farmer in Siaton and Zamboanguita are so small that they cannot produce sufficient rice to last the families through the year. About 83 per cent of the cultivated land is also occupied by coconut palms. In Pamplona is one of the largest coconut plantations in Negros; it is owned and managed by Americans. Generally, however, coconut plantings vary from 5 to 15 acres and are owned by Filipinos. Many families have a few coconut trees that provide their chief cash income. Coconut palms usually appear along the littoral where the sandy soils are too well-drained for other crops and the internal drainage from the Central Mountain range favors coconut cultivation. Coconuts, however, are frequently planted along field boundaries and extend toward the interior of many parts of this region.

Coconut palms begin to bear as early as five years after planting and often produce nuts when a century old. The Laguna variety is common in this region; it is an early-bearing tree that usually produces nuts after eight or ten years. The fresh coconut meat is dried under the sun or in crude, smoky ovens, tapahans. The dried meat is known as copra and is the chief export of Dumaguete port; in 1951 it amounted to more than $5,000,000. The prosperity of this region is closely tied to copra prices. When prices are high, for example, enrollment in both public and private schools rises; but when copra prices fall school enrollments decrease

TABLE XII

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Percentage of the Land of Each Municipality Devoted to the Major Crops, 1950-1951 Northern Corn-Coconut Region[89]

| Municipality | Corn | Coconuts | Sugar | Rice (a) | Roots | Vegetables | Beans | Fruits |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Canlaon (b) | 80 | * | * | 15 | 2 | * | 1 | * |
| Vallehermoso | 81 | 8 | 6 | 1 | 1 | 1 | * | * |
| Guihulngan | 89 | 8 | 1 | * | 1 | * | * | * |
| La Libertad | 90 | 6 | 0 | * | 1 | 1 | * | * |
| Jimalalud | 80 | 8 | 4 | 3 | 2 | * | * | * |
| Tayasan | 79 | 8 | 4 | 4 | 2 | * | * | * |
| Ayungon | 77 | 9 | * | 9 | 2 | * | 1 | * |
| Payabon | 79 | 4 | 1 | 11 | 3 | * | * | * |
| Manjuyod (b) | 71 | 7 | 6 | 12 | 2 | * | * | * |

* Indicates less than 1 per cent
(a) Mostly upland rice
(b) Transitional municipalities

The percentages of land occupied by corn illustrate the dominance of this crop; in fact, nowhere else in the Philippines had corn captured the agricultural landscape so thoroughly as here. Less land devoted to cash crops, such as coconuts, reflects a greater need for food. More than 81 per cent of the cultivated land in this region is occupied by corn, and in some municipalities like La Libertad corn occupies 90 per cent of the farmed area.

Rice Regions of Negros

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Rice is not the dominant crop of Negros as in many parts of the Philippines. Of the total cultivated land in the archipelago 42 per cent is occupied by rice. Only 29 per cent of the total cultivated land of Negros is

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[89] Wernstedt, op. cit., p.128.

devoted to rice. About 12 per cent of the total cultivated land in Negros Oriental is devoted to rice while in Negros Occidental three times this amount (36 per cent) is occupied by rice.

Today Negros imports rice from Panay and Mindanao to feed its people. Spencer states: "The main sugar-producing area of Negros Island [Occidental province] and the whole island of Cebu are the chief deficit regions, with marked food shortages."[90] In the past, however, Negros was a rice surplus area. Miguel de Loarca wrote in the latter part of the 16th century that northern Negros was "rich in foods, such as rice." Legaspi's account of Negros states: "Rice which is the bread, grows in abundance."[91] Negros' shift from a rice surplus to a deficit was largely the result of the great expansion of sugar cane acreage and to the associated increase in population.[92] Negros is capable of raising sufficient rice for its population with improved agricultural practices and increased irrigation.

More than a thousand varieties of rice are grown in the Philippines. Many varieties are old established rices while others have been introduced from the United

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[90] Spencer, op. cit., p.72.

[91] Miguel de Loarca, Blair and Robertson, op. cit., V, p.47.

[92] Wernstedt, op. cit., p.190.

States, Italy, Spain, Iran, and southeast Asia. "About one hundred of the older varieties and four or more of the recent introductions are grown commercially [in the Philippines]."[93] There are four major categories of rice in the Philippines: irrigated lowland; non-irrigated lowland; palagad ("dry season rice"); and upland rice.[94] In Negros 59 per cent of the rice land is occupied by either irrigated or non-irrigated lowland rice.

Most of Negros' irrigated rice land, about 7,000 acres, is located near the coast, normally on river deltas where the waters are easily diverted. Exceptions include the Canlaon plateau where, at an elevation of nearly 1,000 feet, about 2,500 acres of rice land are irrigated by streams which originate on nearby volcanic peaks. Most of the lowland non-irrigated rice land is found along the flood plains. These are areas which cannot be irrigated due to lack of capital or technical difficulty.

Lowland rice usually is planted in Negros between June and August, although the dates vary slightly due to early or late start of the rainy season.[95] Non-irrigated

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[93] Uichanco and Sacay, op. cit., p.2.

[94] Palagad is the second rice crop a farmer tries to raise in one year from a usually, but not necessarily always, irrigated paddy. Cultivation practices have created two subtypes of upland rice agriculture: one where the fields are plowed for planting and the other where the rice is planted with a dibble stick.

[95] Hainsworth and Moyer, op. cit., p.53. These months appear to be the general planting and harvesting dates for rice in the Visayan Islands.

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lowland rice is more dependent on the southwest monsoon than is irrigated rice. There are several good size Negros rice haciendas located at Sipalay, Kabankalan, and Himamaylan, where some mechanized equipment is used. The majority of the paddies, however, are planted by farmers who use wooden plows, carabaos, and the labor of their families. Since the planting of rice in Siaton appears to be quite similar to practices for Negros as a whole, the detailed discussion of this subject will be deferred until Chapter IV.

Macan-Pina and Apostol, early maturing rice varieties, are most common in northern Negros in order to secure a palagad crop after the first rice harvest. Calawa, Remined #3, and Aposta, medium-maturing rices, are most popular in the central plains of Negros Occidental while in southwestern Negros late-maturing varieties like Seraup-Besar and Klon-Klon are favored. The growing season of the rice planted in Negros varies; the early-maturing rice variety takes about 135 to 165 days to mature, the medium-maturing, from 170 to 190 days, while the late-maturing from 190 to 200 or more days after transplanting. Harvest of the first rice in Negros begins in October or November. The palagad crop is usually planted between December and January and harvested in March and April.[96]

[96]Only a few hundred acres of palagad are grown in Negros, mainly in the municipalities of Bago and Canayan. Cotsian and Klon-Klon are the two most common rices planted; they yield about 17 bushels per acre.

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Upland rice occupies 27 per cent of the total land devoted to rice in Negros. Several fairly large upland rice haciendas are located in Silay, Talisay, Bago and Bacolod municipalities. The most frequently planted rice varieties in plowed upland localities are Magsanaya, Lubang, Guinatus, and Cotsian. However, most rice is grown on the small holdings of individual farmers. Nearly all of the rice planted in caingins is grown in the Central Mountain range or its piedmont areas. In Siaton, as elsewhere, many of the lowland barriofolk have small caingins in the nearby hills.

About 89 per cent of the total rice land in the island is located in Negros Occidental; of this 80 per cent occurs in the western coastal lowland rice region. This region includes the municipalities which border the western coast of Negros, from Saravia to Cauayan, with the five nearby municipalities of Murcia, La Carlota, La Castellana, Magallon, and Isabela. Wernstedt estimates that about 67 per cent of Negros' total upland rice is grown in this dominant rice region.

The six most common lowland rice varieties in this western coastal rice region are Raminad #3, Calawa, Aposta, Seraup-Besar, Elon-Elon, and Khao Bai Sri. The average yields vary from 29 bushels per acre in the northern half of the region (from Saravia southward to Pulupandan) to 33 bushels per acre in the southern portion. The yield of upland rice is about five bushels

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less per acre than lowland rice. Most of the rice in this western region is grown by tenant farmers on small holdings.

While most of the rice of Negros is grown in the western province, there are many small rice-producing areas in the island located on small riverine plains. These areas are relatively isolated and have become self-sufficient farming centers with most of the rice grown consumed in the area. Sipalay and Asia are examples of such rice-producing riverine plains; they have approximately 11,000 acres of lowland rice.

Tolong is known as the "Rice Bowl of Southern Negros." In 1952 this municipality planted about 11,000 acres in rice.[97] The Tolong lowland extends from the Sicopon to the Bayawan rivers; the local agriculture agent reports that it contains more than one-half of the municipality's rice acreage. Extensions of this lowland to the northeast, known locally as Taboan and Lopay, were opened for farming six or seven years ago and are said to be promising new agricultural regions. The two most common rice varieties planted in Tolong are Macan and Lubang (or Lubang Puti). Lubang Puti (Puti means "red") is widely grown in southern Negros and parts of Siquijor, being a versatile rice which can be planted in lowland as well as upland and also for palagad.

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97"Production Data by Municipalities. Crop Year from July 1, 1951 to June 30, 1952." Dumaguete, Negros Oriental, Provincial Agriculture Office. Typescript.

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The yield ranges from 24 to 30 cavans of palay per hectare.[98]

Small rice-producing regions of Negros Oriental are such localities as Canaway (Siaton), Mayabon (southwestern Zamboanguita municipality), the Tanjay River area in Bais and Tanjay. These regions have from several hundred to two or three thousand acres of rice land. For most of the people of Negros Oriental, rice is a luxury food. Only the better-to-do eat rice daily; the average barriofolk eat rice only for a month or two during the year and on festive occasions. Very little rice grown in these areas enters the commercial trade of Negros.

Sugar Regions of Negros

P 249 433

Before World War II sugar was the most important export crop of the Philippines. Approximately three-fourths of the crop was sold to the United States. In 1951-52 the Philippines supplied almost 3 per cent of the total sugar cane crop of the world. Since the war copra has outranked sugar as the principal cash crop due to the widespread wartime destruction of sugar extracting and refining facilities. Sugar cane cultivation was a pre-Spanish activity in the Philippines, when Chinese merchants exported sugar to China. By the end of the

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[98] One cavan of palay (unhusked rice) equals 44 kilos or 97 pounds while a cavan of clean rice equals 57.5 kilos or 127 pounds. A hectare is 2.47 acres.

or two-fifths of all we dig and slice. The caingin owners are busy then making a new caingin, this is why they are glad to see us. It is as if we had planted our own cassava. We live there and help make slices. Some of the people bring their own food and others get food from the caingin owners. We live in their houses.

Last year my wife went to Dodong's field in Padang. Mostly women went because it was during the plowing season. It was March. I did not go, just my wife. Our share was four sacks of mixed dried cassava and camotes chips. People in Padang live differently than the people in Naga. In the mountains one can plant many things. Here we just plow in season. In the mountains one can plant red squash, gabi, pesula [a variety of squash] sikwa [commonly called patola: Luffa acutangula Linn.]. There are no big houses in the mountains. They are not permanent because after three years the caingin owners have to look for another place to caingin.

Women and children are usually the ones that go to the mountains to harvest the caingins. I was told by some informants that "men would be olao [ashamed or embarrassed] to harvest rice in someone else's caingin. The people would say they did not know how to make their own caingin." However, some men do go, particularly the unmarried men (olitaos) who are said to "follow the dalagas [unmarried] young women." This is an interesting comment; for a young man courts a girl in the barrio under many handicaps. To be able to work and talk with her, away from the surveillance of the family, would have many advantages.[14]

Rice is cut one stalk at the time with a small knife. Rice heads are put into small baskets strapped to the harvester's side; later they are emptied into larger baskets. Rice is threshed and corn is harvested by the

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[14]I never observed a caingin corn or rice harvest,

same methods used in the lowlands. The harvesters normally get one-fourth, sometimes, but rarely, one-third of the rice harvested. 243

A very limited survey, so restricted in nature as to be merely suggestive, was made of seven caingins. The average corn yield per acre of these caingins was five bushels.[15] This figure is for the first corn harvest that usually yields more than the second crop. Three of the seven caingins were damaged by wild pigs and monkeys, suggesting the problem these pests present to the farmers. Dong-go was planted in all the caingins except two which grew Bagsiao. The caingins were located in sitios Kangotot and Nawakat (Casala-an), Casala-an, Dolog, and Bantolinao and Sitio Banat-e (Maloh). 241 311 433

15The conversion was: one cavan of shelled corn equals 58 kilos and 1 kilo equals 2.2 pounds. One bushel of ear corn (not shelled corn) equals 52 pounds. To determine the size of caingin or lowland corn fields the following method, recommended by the provincial agricultural office, was used: "With reference to your letter...regarding rate of planting corn, please be informed that the rate varies according to the number of grains dropped per hill and the distance of planting corn. We noted that if the distance of planting is 80 x 80 cm. dropping 4-5 grains per hill the rate of planting is around 6 gantas per hectare, especially if the grains of corn used are small. By dropping only three grains per hill at a distance of 1 M. x 80 cm., especially if the grains are big, the rate of planting per hectare of corn is only around four gantas. But by dropping three grains per hill at a distance of 1 meter by 1 meter, if the grains are medium size, the rate of planting is only five gantas per hectare. So on the average we use five gantas per hectare as the rate of seeding corn regardless of the size of the grains and the distance of planting and the rate of planting per hill..." Personal communication to writer from Provincial Agricultural Supervisor, February, 1951, Dumaguete, Negros Oriental. [804]

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## LOWLAND RICE

### Introduction

When the Spaniards first visited Negros in the middle of the 16th century Filipinos were cultivating rice. Probably rice had been brought to the Philippines by nameless wanderers from Indo-China or south China in the late Neolithic period. The distribution of lowland rice in Negros and Siaton municipality has been described. As one travels up the Siaton River valley, the cultivation of lowland rice disappears north of Barrio Sandolot where there are only a few pilapils (rice paddies).

The Agricultural Calendar (pages 273, 274, 275, and 276)[1] does not present a sharp picture of farming activities. Table XV presents a more detailed account of the planting and harvesting of rice and corn, the two major crops of Caticugan

TABLE XV

AGRICULTURAL CALENDAR FOR RICE AND CORN
CATICUGAN, 1951

| CROP | PLANTING BEGAN | PLANTING FINISHED | TRANSPLANTING BEGAN | TRANSPLANTING FINISHED |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Rice Seed Beds | | | |
| Lowland rice | June 19 | July 14 | August 22 | September 26 |

1 [Category 116 -- Analyst]

TABLE XV (cont.)



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| CORN | PLANTING BEGAN | PLANTING FINISHED | HARVEST BEGAN | HARVEST FINISHED |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| First irrigated corn | March 7 | April 23 | May 28 | July 9 |
| Second irrigated corn | June 19 | June 25 | August 27 | September 2 |
| First dry corn | April 27 | May 12 | August 4 | August 29 |
| Second dry corn | October 5 | November 23 | See Footnote 23 | See Footnote 23 |

The most popular rice variety planted in Siaton is 243
Macan Sta. Rosa.

> The Macan Sta. Rosa is grown on a large scale in Nueva Ecija and Bulacan [provinces in Luzon]. It matures in about 180 days, giving an average production of about 60 cavans per hectare [or 24 cavans an acre]. It turns out a first-class rice of good eating quality.[24]

Records of the provincial agricultural office in Dumaguete 243
show that more than 75 per cent of the total acreage de- 311
voted to lowland rice in Siaton municipality is planted with Macan Sta. Rosa.

Table XVI[1] gives the varieties and acreage of lowland and upland rice planted in Siaton municipality in 1951, according to the Provincial Agriculture Office of Dumaguete.

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[23]The exact dates for the rice and the second non-irrigated corn harvests are not given since I arrived after the former was nearly finished and I left before the latter began.

[24]Uichanco, op. cit., I, p. 4.

1 [See p. 302, cat 245 or 311-- Analyst]

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TABLE XVI

VARIETIES AND ACREAGE OF LOWLAND AND UPLAND RICE PLANTED IN SIATON MUNICIPALITY, 1950

| RICE VARIETIES | ACRES |
|---|---|
| Lowland | |
| Macan Sta. Rosa | 650 |
| Kinamayon | 5 |
| Apostol | 42 |
| Careret (local variety) | 148 |
| | 845 total |
| Upland | |
| Tinogbong | 289 |
| Magsanaya | 7 |
| | 296 total |

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The section on gaingin agriculture indicates that a number of rice varieties planted in Siaton municipality are unknown to the provincial agriculture office, at least in 1950. However, the variety of rice most commonly planted in the gaingins, according to my informants, is Tinogbong.

None of the Caticugan farmers planted Kinamayon, Apostol or Careret rice; nearly all of them planted Macan Sta. Rosa. A few farmers planted glutinous rice varieties (pilit is the common name) called Bodbodron and Kilikot. An early maturing variety, Pinili-an, was planted only in Sitio Dangola; some Minis, an aromatic variety that matures in 185 days, was planted in Dolog.[25] The land

[25] Uichanco and Sacay, op. cit., I, p. 12.

devoted to upland and lowland rice in Siaton increased The land from 1,141 acres in 1950 to 1,260 acres in 1952. 243 [311]

Preparing and Planting the (Sabods) Rice Seed Beds 243

There are certain soil requirements for the rice seed beds. A sandy loam is preferred by the farmers. Soils with large amounts of clay are undesirable since they make it difficult to pull seedlings without damage. The seed bed should not be rocky and is best located where there is no danger of flooding in case of heavy rains. If excessive water collects in seed bed the rice rots.

Once the seed bed is selected the ground is plowed and harrowed until the soil is quite fine. Several informants said the bed is plowed and harrowed four times but this is not always done. Large clods and stones are removed by hand and the seed is sown broadcast. Some farmers, however, make small furrows with a small pointed stick and plant the seeds in furrows, a method called tudlis. The bed is fenced to keep out farmyard animals. Soil preparation and fence construction are done by men and young boys; usually the women plant the seed.

One seed bed was made in a corner of an irrigated field of growing corn in Barrio Caticugan. The lower leaves had been stripped from the corn so the seedlings could get more sunlight. These seedlings had been planted thus because the farmer had a paddy in Sitio Balsa where rice is transplanted earlier than in Caticugan.

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There were no rice seed beds in Naga; the people said the soil is less suitable for seed beds than in Barrio Caticugan. They planted their seeds in Barrio Caticugan and carried the seedlings to Naga for transplanting. Often a farmer has his seed bed in his barrio where he can watch it and later carries the seedlings to his paddy in another near-by barrio.

A number of lihis are associated with the planting and protection of rice seed beds.[26] Of the two major categories of magic, imitative (homeopathic) and contagious, the former is overwhelmingly the more important among the barriofolk of Caticugan. The most common seed bed lihi is to bury a few leaves of a particular plant or tree in the east corner of the bed. None of the people was able to explain why the east corner was usually selected. The leaves of tubli (Derris elliptica (Roxb.) Benth.) and malagpos (Homonoia riparia Lour.) are most

[26] A number of words are used by the barriofolk for the associated practices connected with agriculture; common agreement on these terms does not always occur. Those ceremonies that purport to protect one from unseen spirits, held just before cutting or burning a caingin, and that have nothing directly to do with the crops, are referred often as diwata (literally "superstition"), magbuhat, buhatan, magbutang and premicias. Those rites made before planting or harvesting crops, to ensure a good harvest, protect the seeds or plants, for better tasting crops, or to magically increase the harvest, are called lihis. One informant said: "There are all sorts of lihis that are made for the good of the crops." However, these formal definitions are not always used by all the barriofolk. I have retained their usage whenever the term was frequently employed in reference to a particular practice.

widely used. Other plants that may be employed are tanlad or "Lemon grass" (Andropogon citratus), busikad (Kyllinga monocephala Roth.) bila-bila (Eleusine indica (Linn.) Gaertn), and a thorny species of bamboo called bagakay (Schizostachyum lima Blanco). Sometimes a small piece of malapgos or bagakay is also stuck in the seed bed. The seed bed may be planted with rice that was blessed at the poblacion church during Holy Week.

PLATE XXII

MALAPGOS

The purpose of the tubli is to kill any insects that might damage the seeds or seedlings. Since tubli is also used as a fish poison the imitative magic principle is apparent. Malapgos is to encourage the rice to have full heads when mature. (See Plate XXII.) The malapgos' beady heads are believed to produce similar many-grained rice

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heads. Tanlad, a low-growing plant with many sword-like leaves, is said to produce rice seedlings with many branches with additional heads of grain. The thorny bagakay bamboo and other plants listed are believed to prevent the insects from eating the tender rice seedlings. With very few exceptions these practices are done by the women.

Sometimes the young rice seedlings are invaded by the dogwa worm that eats the seedlings' roots and kills them. To exterminate these worms the lalong fish (Zebra or Scorpion fish), is caught and three of its thorns obtained.[27] Each thorn is then stuck through a worm and the three thorn-pierced worms are placed in the middle of the seed bed. This method is reported by the barriofolk to be very effective.

The writer observed no method of selecting rice for sowing in the seed bed. Often the farmer purchases seed palay in the poblacion since his family has eaten the rice harvested from his field. Others save some seed from the last harvest.

There is no set period for which the seedlings are permitted to grow in the seed bed. Six or seven weeks are considered sufficient. However, if the rains come a little

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[27] Albert W. Herre and Agustin F. Umali, English and Local Common Names of Philippine Fishes. Circular No. 14. Washington, D.C., U.S. Department of Interior, Government Printing Office, 1948, p. 117.

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early the seedlings may be transplanted early and if the rains are delayed the seedlings are permitted to grow longer than usual. When the seedlings are pulled for transplanting if they are too tall their tops are trimmed with a bolo.

Preparing the Rice Paddy (Pilapil) and Transplanting

Rice seedlings are usually transplanted in Caticugan in August and September at the peak of the rainy season. An "expert" can pull seedlings with both hands at the same time, although most people use only one hand. A small bunch of seedlings is pulled, perhaps five to ten per bunch, and the dirt shaken from their roots to make it easier to carry them to the paddies. The seedlings, often tied in small bunches, are carried to the fields in baskets. Pulling of the seedlings is done mostly by women and older children since the men are busy putting the last touches on the paddies. Paddies normally are fully prepared just before transplanting. If they are harrowed and leveled the day before transplanting the soil might become too dry before the seedlings are planted. [462]

Preparation of the paddies is a time-consuming task. Usually they have been plowed once before the heavy rains so that the soil will absorb water more fully. The low dykes built around the paddies may be repaired to prevent leakage, although the dykes in Caticugan are so low and well-packed (they are often used as paths) that their repair is a minor task.

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After the paddies have been plowed and harrowed several times, until the soil looks and feels like soft fudge, they are "ironed" (oteo), i.e., leveled. This is done by turning the harrow upside down and pulling it across the paddy; now the paddy is ready to be planted. A lihi is performed by the women before the seedlings are transplanted. Since the transplanted seedlings are subject to almost the same dangers, this lihi is the same as that described for the seed bed.

Bunches of rice seedlings are scattered over the paddies, and the planters wade into the mud and transplant the seedlings with a motion similar to the dealing of cards. One holds a bunch of seedlings in his left hand and sticks them into the mud with the right hand. The number of seedlings planted at one time is estimated at from three to six seedlings per handful. The seedlings are planted about a handspan (dangao) apart. Some informants said seedlings transplanted east of the main canal are planted four fingers (dapal) apart while those planted on the west side are spaced one hand apart. This difference in spacing is because the more fertile soil west of the main canal produces fuller rice stalks.

Normally the planters begin at one end of the paddy and slowly retreat across the field in order not to cross planted areas. Custom does not prescribe beginning in one specific part of the paddy. When one runs out of seedlings he picks up one of the bunches scattered over the paddy. If the paddy is large or the number of

planters small, only part of the field is prepared for immediate transplanting. Sometimes several days are taken to transplant one paddy. A group may be transplanting in part of the paddy while in another part a man is harrowing or leveling the soil. 243

Transplanting is done by both sexes. Men transplant rice more noticeably than they plant corn. One reason is the back-breaking work of transplanting seedlings. If all the seedlings are not planted the same day, they are put in water and placed in the shade. 243 462

Cooperative transplanting groups are very rare in Caticugan. None was observed during my residence. It is considered cheaper today to pay one's helpers than to prepare and furnish the food and drink necessary for cooperative labor groups. Hired planters are paid fifty cents a day and given their breakfast and lunch. The few people who hired laborers to help transplant paddies in Caticugan were owners who lived in the poblacion. 243 476 [465]

Transplanting time is not a festive period it is said to be in some parts of the Philippines. In Caticugan there were no songs and music. A Philippine school song aptly describes the transplanting in Caticugan. 243

> Planting rice is never fun.
> Bent from morn till the set of sun.
> Cannot stand and cannot sit
> Cannot rest for a little bit[28]

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[28]Ortigas, Jr., op. cit., p. 1.

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The entire community is active at this time. School attendance drops sharply during the transplanting season, for the children must help. The paddies are dotted with busy men, women and children; the women wrap their heads with cloths for protection against the hot sun. Young children scurry across the paddies carrying baskets full of seedlings. The chocolate-colored paddies soon change to a pale green over which later the maya birds swoop in squadron-like maneuvers.

Although in 1951 transplanting activities in Caticugan continued for more than a month, they began abruptly. The barriofolk wait for someone else to begin; when the first farmer starts to transplant all the others follow his lead. They believe it is best for all to transplant at the same time so that the damage to the paddies by insects and birds will be distributed equally. If a person planted his paddy several weeks earlier than the rest, his rice would be growing when the other paddies were bare or only newly transplanted. Insects and birds would concentrate on his paddies instead of having such damage spread evenly among all the paddies. [183]

This attitude is one reason why the Macan Sta. Rosa variety is planted so widely. The people of Barrio Caticugan do not like to interplant with Macan Sta. Rosa earlier maturing varieties. In the past older residents of Barrio Caticugan said many rice varieties with different maturity

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schedules were planted--Kilikot, Perakat and Elon-Elon.[29] However, the different varieties were transplanted so they mature at approximately the same time. Several years ago a few farmers planted Pinili-an (the variety grown in Dangola) in Barrio Caticugan. The Pinili-an harvest was largely destroyed by insects and birds that were most abundant during the ripening of Pinili-an when the Macan Sta. Rosa was still immature. This incident was cited as an example of what happens when early- and late-maturing rice varieites are interplanted in the same locality.

The paddies were weeded once after the seedlings were transplanted. After the first weeding the rice is tall and thick, controlling the spread of weeds. Some paddies may be flooded with water from the canals to drown the weeds. Most of the paddies east of the main canal, however, cannot be irrigated due to elevation of the land. However, flooding usually is unnecessary since the dykes retain the rain. After the first weeding rice requires little care until harvest.

Transplanting in Barrio Caticugan started August 22 when Timoteo Ege, the largest landowner, and his few tenants began to plant his paddies. Once Ege started transplanting, nearly everyone followed. By September 8 Dangola's paddies had been transplanted; about two weeks

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[29] Uichanco and Sacay, op. cit., I, p. 7. Elon-Elon is a late-maturing variety that matures in about 192 days; no references to Kilikot or Perakat were found in this volume.

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later all of Caticugan's rice land was planted. While extending over more than a month, transplanting did not continue every day; after the first rush there was a lull. Some paddies became too dry so the farmers waited for more rain. It rained September 3; the next day, in a light drizzle, transplanting resumed and continued until most of the paddies were planted. The few remaining paddies were transplanted during the next two weeks.

The tiyangao (Leptocorisa acuta, Thurnberg) does considerable damage to rice grown in Caticugan. The insect is said to "suck out the sweetness" (i.e., eats) of immature rice, particularly during noon when the rice heads are open. One method of control is to burn banga tree leaves in the paddy. Burnt banga leaves have a most disagreeable odor--"like burnt food"--and the smoke is supposed to repel the tiyangao. Others get a variety of jellyfish, lapalapa, put them inside a bamboo and place it in the paddy. The foul odor of decaying jellyfish allegedly drives the insects from the rice. If lapalapa are unavailable, a halo lizard may be substituted. Magahats take leaves with an itchy pollen and dust their rice to kill the tiyangao.

Rice Harvest and Associated Practices

Caticugan's lowland rice harvest usually occurs between December and February, except in Dangola where the earlier maturing Pinili-an is harvested in November and December. The rice harvest in Negros generally begins

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in October and November and is often finished before the paddies in Caticugan are harvested.

When the rice is ripening another lihi is practiced by some of the Caticugan barriofolk. A handful of stalks is gathered from the paddy and the rice is roasted. Sometimes six red peppers and a piece of ginger are roasted with the rice; others mix these items with the roasted rice later. The mixture is pounded in a mortar; the chaff is not separated from the rice and the whole is wrapped in a leaf of the binonga tree and placed in the middle of the paddy. The lihi purposes are: (1) roasting the rice makes the unharvested rice ripen more quickly while (2) hot peppers and ginger allegedly prevent insects from eating the rice heads. One woman said she put the stalks from the rice used in this ceremony in the rafters of the house. A man told the writer that it was best to add a yellowish piece of banana stalk so the grains would become a similar color.

One man in Barrio Caticugan was reported (but was never seen doing it) to buy firecrackers from the Chinese stores in the poblacion and explode them in his paddy before harvest time to frighten away birds and insects.

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The most widely practiced pre-harvest lihi in Caticugan bears the imprint of Catholicism. Just before the rice is harvested four small crosses are placed in each corner of the paddy. The crosses are usually made of bamboo but one informant said they should be made from the salngan tree for rice harvests, and from the common

thornless bamboo (Kawayan) for the corn dulot. To these crosses are attached bits of Bendita palm blessed during Palm Sunday in the poblacion church and a few rice stalks and heads from the paddy to be harvested. One cross is partly pushed into the earth while the Lord's Prayer is recited by the woman holding the lihi. This woman is often the wife of the owner of the paddy or of a tenant farmer. When this prayer is finished the cross is pushed farther into the ground and a prayer is said to the Virgin Mary. Responses to this prayer are given by the women who accompany the leader. After the two prayers are finished the groups cross themselves. Each time upon completing a prayer, the cross is pushed deeper into the earth. These two prayers are repeated three times (ideally) for each cross. Then the group proceeds counter-clockwise around the paddy; the ceremonies are repeated at the remaining three crosses. Some women recite the Apostle's Creed instead of the Lord's Prayer.

This lihi is nearly always done by women. One man said he often performed his own pre-harvest rice lihi but "my daughter loves to make it." One reason why the men do not perform this lihi is that most of them have not memorized the necessary prayers. Another factor which explains the predominant role of women in these agricultural ceremonies was given by one woman who bluntly stated: "When the rice is ready for harvest the men do not care anymore." The general male indifference and lack of participation in these agricultural practices in Caticugan reflects indifference to the religious affairs in general.

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The crosses are collected after the paddy has been harvested. Often one could see them in the tangkol (storehouse) or homes stuck into the wall until the next harvest. There is nothing sacred about these crosses; they are kept merely to save the trouble of making new ones next year. In Negros Occidental crosses are often put on the tops of the rice stacks--a custom never observed in Negros Oriental. [171]

This type of lihi is not limited to Caticugan or Negros. Lagrimas wrote in 1915 that when the rice is harvested in Samar the owner may request an old woman known as a "skilled harvest beginner" to start the harvest by going into the middle of the field and offering prayers to God and the harvest spirits.[30] To the best of my knowledge the prayers in Caticugan for this pre-harvest rice lihi are not addressed to the unseen spirits. However, it seems quite probable that the lihi originally was made to these unseen spirits as is done in the caingin rice loto. The conversion of the people to Catholicism led them to readdress their prayers to a new god and a new host of saints.

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Echauz describes a pre-harvest rice ceremony held by nominally Catholic inhabitants of Negros. Their ceremony, quite similar to the caingin loto, reflects pre-Spanish beliefs more purely than does the lowland rice harvest lihi of Caticugan. One might suggest that the

[30] Lagrimas, op. cit., p. 9.

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loto approximates the original form of this agricultural practice. The ceremony noted by Lagrimas may be one in which pagan and Christian beliefs are intermixed while the Caticugan lihi may be a final reinterpretation or modification.

Echauz writes that the night before the main harvest an owner would harvest seven gantas of rice from his paddy. Bayibayi--cooked new rice pounded and mixed with sugar and coconut--and Pilipig were made and then mixed and repounded into a mash. To this mixture was added ubas which appears to have been a roasted green rice concoction. The babaylan (priest) who had been engaged by the cultivator made a fire in the cultivator's house and screaming and "foaming at the mouth," he prayed to the unseen spirits. The next morning the babaylan and the paddy owner went to the field to be harvested and distributed the mash along the boundaries, requesting the unseen spirits to dine and to make the harvest plentiful. It was believed that anyone who ate any of this "food for the gods" would fall ill.[31]

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Caticugan rice is harvested by cutting a number of stalks at the time with the sangot, a small semi-circular bladed knife. The cut stalks are laid in piles on the paddy to dry; it takes only several days before the rice

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[31]Echauz, op. cit., pp. 50-1.

20: Hart E-6 (.95.) 1954 OAI Philippines
Central Bisayan OA/4



is sufficiently dried to be threshed. Rice harvesting is everyone's job. Wernstedt reports that in Negros men, women and children harvest the rice. One person can harvest about one cavan of palay per day; an acre producing twelve cavans, the average yield for Negros, requires twelve man-days to harvest.[32]

Caticugan's rice harvest attracts harvesters from as far as Zamboanguita and Dauin, although most of them live in neighboring barrios or sitios. Harvesters are paid according to the speed with which they work. Some cultivators may give their laborers one-seventh of the palay harvested, especially if they are in a hurry to have their paddies harvested and wish to attract help. Harvesters from other barrios who stay several days at one field furnish their own food. The common division of palay in Caticugan, however, is one ganta to the laborer for every eight harvested and threshed. The division is usually made at the end of each day's work.

This harvest practice in Caticugan seems to have developed during the last war when the people harvested their palay rapidly to avoid expropriation by Japanese patrols or guerrillas. For this reason division was made at the end of each day. The usual pre-war practice was to dry palay, put it in one large pile, and thresh all the grain at a later date. The common payment to harvest help was two gantas of rice for every day a man worked at

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[32] Wernstedt, op. cit., p. 199.

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harvesting and threshing the rice, plus meals. Some, but not many, barriofolk still cling to this pre-war practice. Rising costs of food may be another reason for discontinuing the former method of harvesting rice in Caticugan.

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To thresh the palay a large buri mat, often especially made for the job, is placed on the ground. A rough shelter of palm leaves usually is built over the mat to protect the threshers from the sun. A horizontal pole connects the two vertical poles that support the roof. The rice heads are then placed on the mat and the people rub them between their bare feet while grasping the horizontal pole for support. This is the common method of threshing rice in southern Negros. In Negros Occidental, the rice is usually threshed on a platform raised five to ten feet above the ground. The palay falls through the slatted floor of the platform to mats below. If a wind is blowing the palay is winnowed simultaneously.

The palay is gathered and winnowed in flat baskets to eliminate loose straw. The rice is then carried to the house and stored in large buri bags. There are not many separate storehouses in Caticugan; palay and unhusked or shelled corn, usually are stored in the houses. Rice stalks are fed to animals, often by merely turning horses and carabaos loose in the paddies. No other fertilizer is put on the paddies during my period of residence.

In the past the cut rice stalks in Caticugan were piled into stacks (tumpils). A mat of dried rice straw or coconut leaves was made on the ground with a tree

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stump in the center. Bunches of rice stalks, about two handfuls, were slightly leaned against the base of the stump. The stump was encircled in this manner with "rings" of rice. One "ring" or layer was placed over another and stacks six or seven feet high were made. No rice stacks were seen in Caticugan in 1951. The barrio-folk said tumpils were only memories of the past when the rice harvests were more abundant. I did see rice stacks built around a center bamboo upright in other parts of southern Negros.

Paddy Sizes and Yields in Caticugan and Environs

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While municipal land records were studied, a personal survey was made in Caticugan to check the figures obtained from these records as to size of paddies, also to get additional data on yield, residence of owners and tenancy rates.[33] Few farmers know the acreage of their fields. The method of determining field sizes has already been described. I had mimeographed forms made of the land records and

[33] Rural land records in the Philippines are not noted for reliability; this is true for other Asian countries such as Japan. Vide Richard K. Beardsley's review of The Japanese Village in Transition, in Pacific Affairs, XXIV, No. 4 (December, 1951), pp. 428-30. There have been no cadastral surveys in Siaton municipality. Recently the land records of Negros Oriental were rechecked to improve their accuracy. However, the "inspectors" are said to have been the local supporters of provincial politicos and the program occurred suspiciously close to an election.

transferred the data from these records to my forms. All land records for the barrios in the Siaton River valley were copied.

I interviewed about fifty families--about 40 per cent of the families resident in Caticugan. Of course, not all of the people living in Caticugan own or till paddies. Of the families interviewed, figures were obtained for twenty-six individual paddies from twenty families; other families did not cultivate any paddies. Six of these paddies were located outside Caticugan so they were eliminated. Of the twenty paddies, totaling nearly 25 acres, all were planted with Macan Sta. Rosa except one farmer who had interplanted a glutinous variety.

Another survey was made of lowland rice paddy sizes and yields in Sandolot and Datag to obtain comparative data. Seventeen families living in Datag and fourteen in Sandolot were interviewed. Their paddies, totaling 61 acres, were all planted with Macan Sta. Rosa, except one paddy planted with Lubang. According to the municipal land records the average size of the rice fields in Caticugan is .99 of an acre while my survey arrived at the figure of 1.1 acres. The average peddy in Sandolot-Datag was slightly larger--1.6 acres. In 1952 Siaton's average rice yield per acre was 891 pounds; for Caticugan, according to my survey, the yield was only 553 pounds per acre. The Sandolot-Datag average rice yield was lower than in Caticugan; 337 pounds per acre. These figures support the opinion that of all the rice fields seen in the Siaton

River valley, Caticugan's paddies looked the best. There is little doubt in my mind that the rice yield per acre for Siaton municipality in 1952, as estimated by the local agricultural agent, was too liberal. For example, the average rice yield in 1952 for the southern municipalities of Negros (Valencia to Tolong) was 774 pounds per acre.[34]

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According to Siaton's municipal land records, 122 acres of land are planted with lowland rice in Caticugan. This acreage is owned by 136 different individuals of whom 49 per cent live in Caticugan. Of the remaining owners 16 per cent live in Siaton poblacion, 10 per cent in Mantuyop, 8 per cent in Sandolot, and 6 per cent in Datag with several owners living in Inalad, Salag, and Maloh. More than half of the owners of ricefields in Caticugan do not live in the barrio, although they cannot be called absentee landlords in the strict sense. Many of these owners cultivate fields in Caticugan, bringing their plants from seed beds in their barrios.

243 311 423 427

While the records indicate that the 122 acres of paddy in Caticugan are owned by 136 different individuals, the actual number of owners is much larger. Many a paddy is owned jointly by brothers and sisters. Sometimes the land records indicate this fact by stating that

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[34] These figures were obtained from an unpublished report of the Provincial Agricultural Office, Dumaguete, Negros Oriental, 1952.

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the land is owned by the person listed and his or her "heirs" or "brothers." For example, one paddy in Caticugan, inherited on the death of a parent, is owned jointly by seven brothers and sisters. The land records often do not indicate these facts of ownership because the land continues to be registered under the name of an owner dead many years. Heirs often fail to change the land registration records at the municipio due to the small fee charged for the service.

Of the individuals interviewed during the survey in Caticugan, 50 per cent owned their ricefields, 37 per cent were tenants and 13 per cent owned some paddy and tilled others as tenants. In Sandolot-Datag area, of the thirty-one families interviewed, 74 per cent owned their ~~paddies while 26 per~~ cent were tenants. In order to obtain as wide a sample as possible, I did not request these families to give data on all of the ricefields they cultivated, but obtained figures for just one paddy. Therefore, some owners may have been also cultivating paddies as tenants. Three of the tenants in Caticugan were farming paddies owned by either a wife's brother or mother; another worked a paddy owned by a mother's brother. In Sandolot-Datag three tenants had as landlords a sister's husband, father's brother, and a third cousin, respectively.[35] [602]

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[35] A recent survey of thirteen barrios states that 31 per cent of the landlords of tenants were related by blood or marriage to their renters. Rivera and McMillan, op. cit., p. 43.

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In Caticugan, Sandolot and Datag, the average share of harvesters was 10 per cent of the total rice harvest. This is smaller than the share harvesters receive on upland rice caingins, which is usually 25 per cent of the total harvest. However, harvesting caingins is harder work and fewer laborers go to these fields than to the more conveniently located, easier-to-harvest lowland paddies. Actually, this percentage would be slightly higher if the few paddies harvested without helpers had been eliminated from this survey. In Caticugan, four paddies were harvested without outside help. As noted previously, most harvesters, as one farmer said, "take pity" on people with very small paddies or harvests that have been decreased by pests or inclimate weather.

CORN

Introduction

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Siaton is a part of the larger Southern Corn-Coconut region of Negros where corn is the dominant crop. Corn meal is usually eaten three times a day. In 1952, 3,196 acres of corn were planted in Siaton municipality producing an average yield of 11 bushels. In the same year 20,344 acres of corn were planted in the seven southern municipalities of Negros Oriental (Valencia to Tolong) with an average yield of 8 bushels. Since the

end of the last war Negros Oriental has imported about 40 per cent of the corn consumed from Mindanao.[35] 243 311

Barrio Caticugan is unique in Siaton municipality since sections of corn land and paddies can be irrigated. Some barriofolk grow one, and often two, crops of corn in their paddies before the latter are transplanted. Land devoted to irrigated corn in Barrio Caticugan and the division between the fields planted both with rice and corn and solely corn are shown in Plate XXIII.[1] This limit is imposed by the land's elevation that makes gravity flow irrigation impossible farther east.

Barrio Caticugan's canals were built originally not as an irrigation system but to drain the boggy land so it could be farmed. In fact, the land west of the main path of Barrio Caticugan was so boggy that no corn was planted here until forty or fifty years ago. Many old residents of Barrio Caticugan remember when only rice was raised in the barrio. The canals were said to have been much deeper in the past; now they are only several feet deep. In some parts of Barrio Caticugan, such as the northwestern end, the canals are silting up and the land is becoming increasingly boggy. For this 243 312

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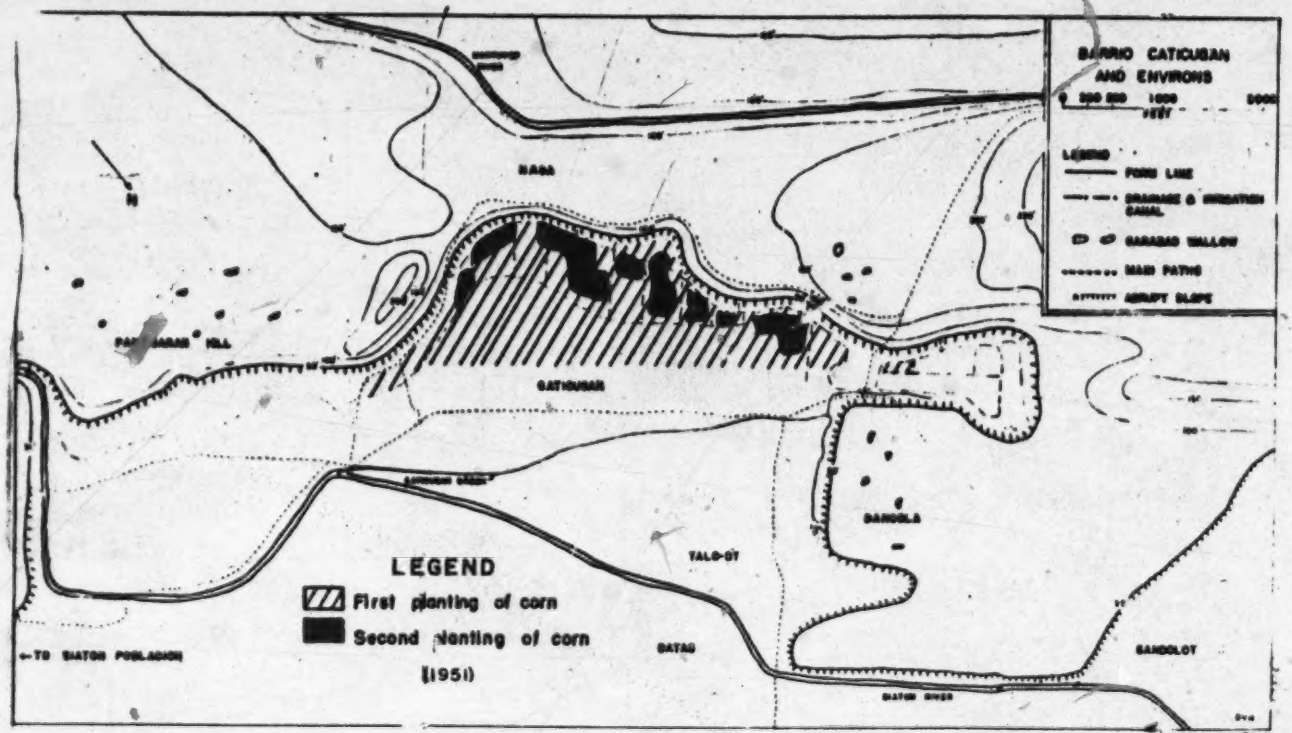
35 "Production Date by Municipalities: Crop Year from July 1, 1952 to June 30, 1953." Provincial Agricultural Office, Dumaguete, Negros Oriental, 1953. Typescript. Vide "Oriental Negros Expects Corn Increase," Philippines Free Press, XLIII, No. 30 (July 26, 1952), p. 22. This unsigned article stated that in 1952 the Department of Agriculture and Natural Resources estimated that only 17 per cent of the corn consumed in the province would be imported from Mindanao. An expected 23 per cent increase in the corn harvests because of increased use of fertilizers was anticipated.

1 [See p. 325, cat. 243 or 311 -- Analyst]




LAND USE (IRRIGATED CORN)

PLATE XXXII

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3/1
3/2

P. 325

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reason little corn is planted here and that which is sowed does not grow well.

There are no cooperative efforts to maintain the canals. Each farmer cares for the canals which run by or through his paddy. The distribution of the water is done without rancor because there is sufficient water for all. During my residence some older men in Barrio Caticugan talked about digging a new canal to irrigate more land. The owner of the spring that the proposed canal was to tap, however, requested ten gantas of shelled corn annually from every farmer through whose field the canal would pass. This price was considered excessive and the canal project was dropped. There was also talk about purchasing a second-hand pump to bring water from the Siaton River to Barrio Caticugan's fields. The largest landowner in Barrio Caticugan had the capital to purchase the pump but the project had not passed the discussion stage in 1953.[36]

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By irrigating some of their paddies the barriofolk can plant corn without waiting for the southwest monsoon. In 1951 the first irrigated paddy corn in Caticugan was planted in March, continuing into April. The sowing occurred immediately after the rice harvest so these

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[36]In 1952 the Mutual Security Agency allocated three million dollars for the purchase of irrigation pumps in the Philippines. James A. Storer, "Philippine Economic Progress," Far Eastern Survey, XXII, No. 8, (July, 1953) pp. 91-2. Ortigas states that both the Canaway and Sacsac rivers in Siaton were under consideration as possible irrigation sources. Ortigas, op. cit., p. 140.

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paddies did not lie fallow. Paddy corn, in 1951, was harvested from May to July and some farmers then planted a second paddy corn crop. This second planting is a gamble for if the precipitation is excessive the paddies flood and the corn dies. Frequently the second corn planting is a complete failure for this reason; however, in 1951 some farmers had a small harvest from their second corn crop. Some paddies never lie fallow and produce two crops of corn and one of rice in a year.

Preparation of Paddies for Planting Corn

The paddies are prepared for the first irrigated corn planting with the removal of the straw (ohot) and stubble from the last rice harvest. Sometimes the paddies are burned before they are flooded. The farmers state that unless the rice stubble is removed it is difficult to plow the land.

After the paddies are cleared they are flooded. An opening is made in a canal and the water flows from paddy to paddy. Sometimes a canal is dammed to raise the water to the same level as the field to be irrigated. Since the amount of water that flows in the canals is small it takes considerable time to irrigate the paddies. One farmer said it took him about two weeks to flood his one-acre paddy. Most of the fields are flooded for three to seven days before they are plowed; the time it takes to irrigate a field depends on its size and location with respect to the canals.

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After the paddies are flooded, they are permitted to dry for one or two days. Any standing water is drained for the farmers state if the paddies are sowed when flooded a beetle (gusawikan) eats the seed corn. The first plowing of the paddies, bongkag, is followed by their harrowing. The second plowing, okay, is done in the opposite direction the field was first plowed. The paddy is again harrowed. The third and final plowing, todling, makes the furrows in which the seed corn is planted. The furrows are about 2 feet apart. Furrows are made closer together than in the regular non-irrigated cornfields because the corn stalks do not grow so large in the paddies.

In some of the paddies which have a very clayey soil the land is not plowed and harrowed before the seed corn is planted. Furrows are made only where corn is to be planted; the rest of the paddy remains uncultivated. In Dolog the pay for a day's plowing is one basket of unhusked corn or three gantas of seed corn, specially selected for planting. [465]

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The Philippine plow is a rather crude implement made entirely of wood except for the iron share--the so-called "square" type with a horizontal foot, curved handle, short sheath, strongly curved beam, and single mould board. (See Plate XXIV.)[1] Both Jagor and Kroeber suggest that the Philippine plow is of Spanish origin. However, the same plow type is found in Java, Bali, and the Celebes as well as in China and Japan while there is

[1 See p 329 cat. 4/2 or 116 -- Analyst]

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The harrow (pakalas) is a simple but cleverly made bamboo implement. (See Plate XXV.)[1] A number of short bamboo poles (go-od) are joined together by two sticks (tohog). The go-od are cut so the branches growing from them become the harrow's teeth (saosao). When the paddies are harrowed the farmer may stand on the harrow or weight it down with large clods and stones.

Corn Planting and Associated Practices

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Methods of selecting seed corn (tingag) in Caticugan are quite backward. Instead of selecting corn ears from hills having strong vigorous stalks with a greater number of ears than other plants, neither broken, leaning, nor weak, the barriofolk select their seed corn from their household store. "Selection [of seed corn] can never be done effectively in a pile of corn ears or grains."[39] Various criteria, however, are used by the barriofolk in selecting seed corn. Large, healthy-appearing ears that have not been eaten by the weevil (bokbok) are chosen. The "eye" (the end of the kernel embedded in the cob) of the grain is examined. If the "eye" is black the kernel is not used for planting; kernels with "glittery" tops are considered good seed corn. Usually the kernels are taken from the middle portion of the cob only. If corn is to be planted in soil that is not considered sufficiently moist the seed may be soaked first overnight. However, this is not a common practice.

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[39]Uichanco and Sacay, op. cit., I, pp. 120-3.

1[See p. 332, cat. 412 -- Analyst]

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The most common corn variety planted in Caticugan's fields is Bisaya, also called Pakilab ("glittery") and Tinigwib. The provincial agriculture office classifies Bisaya corn as Cebu White Flint which was found in 1939 to be the second heaviest yielder in all seasons in the Philippines.[40] Some farmers in Datag, Sandolot and Casala-an plant a variety called Bagsiao in their lowland fields.[41] A few farmers plant Talariray and Kalipos, possibly additional names for Bisaya. Kalipos is said "to be like Bisaya but not pure" so it is probably a local strain.

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Planting the seed corn is largely a woman's job. Usually the men are plowing the furrows while the women and children follow behind to plant the seed corn. Planting of corn is a tiresome task but not backbreaking like transplanting rice seedlings. However, this factor is secondary in explaining why the women do the planting. There is no feeling among the men that planting corn is a "woman's job." In fact when asked the men will reply "Oh, everyone plants corn." But this is not entirely correct. A record was kept of individuals and their sex who planted corn in Caticugan over a period of several weeks. These figures are given in Table XVII.[1]

[183]

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[40] Uichanco and Sacay, op. cit., I, p. 113.

[41] The barriofolk said no Bagsiao was planted in Caticugan because it took longer to mature and did not stand the heat as well as Bisaya.

1 [See p. 334, cat. 243 or 462 -- Analyst]

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TABLE XVII

Division of Labor by Sex

In Planting Corn in Caticugan, 1951

| Planters | Number |
|---|---|
| Women | 67 |
| Girls | 15 |
| Boys | 10 |
| Men | 9 |

More than 80 per cent of the corn planters observed in Caticugan for this 2-week period were females.

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Planting corn is done with the feet. The planters walk down the furrow carrying seed corn in a coconut shell, bamboo container or straw hat. With bare feet they push away the larger clods and make a shallow depression inside the furrow. Four or five seeds are dropped in each hill. The seeds are then covered and the hill firmly pressed with the feet; the hands are never used. Since hills are planted one step apart, the distance between hills depends upon the pace of the planter. Sometimes, but not commonly, the field may be plowed in a grid pattern and the seed corn planted at the points where the furrows intersect.

There are lihis associated with the planting of corn. Many barriofolk prefer to plant their corn when the tide is high and during yayong--when the full moon rises immediately after sunset. Few people plant or work in their fields or paddies on Sunday for religious reasons.

The lihis for planting corn, like those for rice, are not rigidly structured. There are certain items that

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the people usually include, like malapgos and tubli, and other items that may or may not be used depending on the individual. This is true for most of the agricultural lihis. The variations that occur around the "lihi core" makes it difficult to describe them fully. Normally the women perform the corn planting lihi, probably because the men are disinterested and busy plowing the furrows for the women to plant.

The most common planting corn lihi is to bury certain plants or items in the first or the first three corn hills covered. Corn blessed during Holy Week is often planted for many barriofolk believe this seed is protected from insect damage. Malapgos, tubli and tanlad are widely [824] used and for the same purposes as in the rice lihi. Some bury the malapgos with the seed while others stick a twig in a hill. One informant reported he used malapgos so the corn would not wilt in hot weather and so the stalks would have many ears "like the malapgos berries." Malapgos grows along the river banks and the leaves are always a crisp bright green during the hottest part of the weather.

Some items used in the corn lihi are not employed in the rice planting lihi. The leaves of the tuba bush [824] (Jatropha curcas Linn.) which have a pungent odor, are sometimes included to protect the corn from insects. Tuba bushes are never to be attacked by insects, the barriofolk explain, because of their strong, almost disagreeable, odor. Charcoal is used for the people say it makes the corn "nice to see" or "the leaves dark green and not yellow."

The connection is that charcoal is a dark color and if the corn leaves are dark green the plant will be healthy and produce large ears. 243

As one progresses up the Siaton River valley tubli becomes less plentiful until it almost disappears. Its scarcity may be due to the wider use of the plant as a fish poison by this people. Since tubli is often unavailable in the northern barrios of the valley, the leaves of the suwa (Citrus grandis Osbeck), a citrus tree with strong-odored leaves, are substituted along with the shells of a fresh-water snail, ungka (Clithon bicolor Recluz). These two items are never used in Caticugan. Some barriofolk state that suwa and bendita protect the corn from damage by lightning. 824 243

Many, but not all, of the barriofolk of Caticugan bury their lihi items on the east side of the field. One informant explained that if the furrows run east-west, the lihi is made on the east; if the furrows run north-south, the southern side is selected. No one could explain why the east or south sides were considered the proper place to make the lihi. When questioned, they usually replied: "Because this is the way the gulang [old people] did it." Local folklore in southern Negros, however, contains references to the advisability of facing dwellings toward the rising of the sun. This may have been the original reason for the selection of the eastern part of the field for the lihi. [823]

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An old male informant from Tanjay poblacion said here many people put charcoal from the stove, red pepper and kalamongay leaves in the first three corn hills. This mixture is placed in the hills with closed eyes while the three hills are covered with a coconut shell. Such a lihi prevents stray chickens from finding the hills and scratching for the seeds. Charcoal and red peppers prevent insects from eating the seed corn while kalamongay makes the corn easy to husk. Kalamongay is a small tree whose leaves are eaten as greens, and easily stripped from their branches. While some items of the Tanjay lihi are different, the same principle of imitative magic exists.

Caring for the Corn Fields

[417]

Sometimes new fences are built before the corn fields are planted; however, it is difficult to push the sharpened poles into the ground before the rains. For this reason most of the people wait until after the planting to repair or build new fences. The old fences are repaired by adding newly split bamboos that are tied to the bamboo posts with rattan or sig-id. Building a new fence is time-consuming; the materials must be obtained from the hills and brought back to the barrio. Each year the people must travel farther to get rattan and sig-id.

The construction of fences depends on the risk of animals getting into the planted fields. Fields located along the base of Barrio Caticugan's bluff are invariably

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fenced for loose carabaos are pastured above. Fields close to the barrio's main path, however, are often unfenced for people can watch these fields from their residences.

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When the fields lie fallow, pigs usually forage at will in the barrio. Once the corn is planted the pigs are tied or penned. Normally the pigs are tied by a hind leg to a post under the raised floor of the house; this means increased work, for food must now be brought to the animals. Chickens remain loose but efforts are made to keep them from scratching in the newly planted fields.

In Caticugan wild pigs menace agriculture only in Upper Naga. At night they come from the hills across the Mantuyop River and often do considerable damage. The destruction of crops by wild pigs and monkeys (there are none in the vicinity of Caticugan) increases as one travels up the Siaton River valley.

Carabaos often damage crops in Caticugan. Several farmers lost most of their corn crop in 1951 due to destruction by loose carabaos. Once a small herd of wandering carabaos was caught in a newly-planted paddy in Barrio Caticugan. The paddy owners drove the herd to the poblacion where they were put in the public corral. The owners had to pay a fifty-cent fine for each animal in order to obtain their release. If the carabaos are not branded, as is often the case, another fifty-cent fee is charged for recording the brand at the municipio.

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Birds, particularly crows (owak) and the rice bird (mava) often eat the maturing corn. Small nooses (la-ang) may be placed in young corn and rice fields. While these nooses are not actually traps but merely appear to be so they are said to frighten the "clever crows." A series of a dozen small nooses are also tied to a rope that is suspended between two poles in the fields.

Locust (lukton) are sometimes serious pests in the Siaton River valley. Two types of bamboo poles are used to frighten them away with rattling noises. A 6- or 7-foot bamboo pole is cut and the top crushed so it makes a loud noise when shaken. This type of pole is called a kasakasa. A second type, known as palakpak, is made by cutting slits between the two top internodes of a bamboo and it produces the same rattling noise as the kasakasa. (See Plate XXVI.)1

During the post-war years no locusts have visited Siaton. The last recorded invasion was in 1937; in Dolog the farmers are said to have killed 300 cavans of locusts. Trenches about 60 feet long, 3 feet wide, and 5 feet deep, were dug; the locusts were driven into them and covered with earth. This method of killing locusts is called gahong.

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Lucas Ege's grandson told me once the Negritos came to the barrio to barter charms to protect the corn fields from the locusts.[42] They brought small bottles ("there

[42]Sometimes the barriofolk mentioned Negritos who once visited their community. Whether these people were true Negritos I do not know. It is quite possible that they were a Negrito-appearing people whom the barriofolk classified as Negritos.

1[See p. 340, cat. 243 or 116--Analyst]

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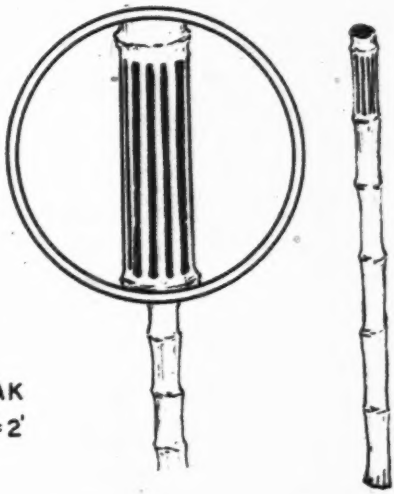
were plenty of bottles then because the Chinese stores sold much wine") containing roots known only to the Negritos. The bottle was taken by the purchaser who walked around his field once, burying it in the center. "Even if the locust came to the field they would not eat the corn." After the harvest the bottle was uncovered and used again. However if the bottle was brought inside the

PLATE XXVI



PALAKPAK
scale: 1" = 2'

house, the roots were said to turn into sigbins, mythical kangaroo-like animals of local folklore. This informant's mother once bartered a blanket for such a bottle with a visiting Negrito. His father was furious when he learned of the barter and made his wife return the bottle. None of the barriofolk have such bottles today for their contacts with the Negritos have ceased.

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A green worm (tohob) often attacks young corn and is said to cause the leaves to turn yellow. One charm (sumpe) against this particular worm is to stick a few branches of the thorny bagakay bamboo in the field. Magahats also put bagakay bamboo in their rice fields to frighten away the maya birds.[43]

Several weeks after the corn is sowed, hills that did not germinate are replanted (pona). Replanting is done in the same manner corn is planted in the saingins; a dibble stick is used to make a hole into which new seed is dropped. This is usually a woman's job. [462]

When the corn is five or six inches high the fields are usually plowed for weed control. The first plowing for weeds is called abre binagsa (a corruption of abrir (Sp.) "to open or uncover" and binagsa (Ceb.) "first"). Plowing is done in a criss-cross manner between the hills or rows of corn. About a month later, when the corn is nearly head tall, the fields may be replowed, known as abre tagorha. Sometimes this is done like the first plowing; or two furrows may be made between the rows, throwing soil over the corn stalks' roots. While nearly all farmers plow their fields once, the second plowing is often omitted if the fields are not weedy. A few farmers make no attempt at weed control. One field in Talo-ot had weeds higher than the mature corn but this was exceptional.

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[43] Oracion, op. cit., p. 54.

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Corn planting in the paddies overlaps the preparation of non-irrigated corn fields for the first crop. The preparation of the latter type of fields in Barrio Caticugan, between the rice-corn division and the main path, is done later than in neighboring barrios. Soils are quite clayey and the fields cannot be plowed until the ground has been thoroughly soaked. In the sandy loam fields of Talo-ot and Datag, however, this difficulty is not encountered.

Non-irrigated corn fields are prepared like paddies planted with corn with two exceptions: (1) the corn fields are not irrigated and (2) rarely harrowed. Some farmers reported weedy non-irrigated fields were harrowed but this was not observed; the paddies are harrowed only to remove the rice stubble. The methods of plowing and planting, and the lihis are the same for the non-irrigated fields as for the paddies planted with corn.

## THE DULOT

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Chapter I stated a special study was made to gather comparative data on certain aspects of culture change among the people living in the Siaton River valley. After the first exploratory trip to Apoloy I became interested in the variations of the dulot as practiced in these barrios and Caticugan. The dulot, a pre-harvest corn ceremony, embraces some of the more basic concepts of the barriofolk. The study of the dulot also samples culture change in the Siaton River valley and, in particular,

Caticugan. This section will first describe the dulot and then explain the distribution and variations of the ceremony in the different barrios in comparison with Caticugan. 243 178

The dulot is held before the corn is harvested in either caingins or lowland fields. There appear to be three major purposes for holding the dulot. First, it is an act of recognition of unseen spirits who, if not properly honored, can make the cultivators ill. Second, the dulot is an act of respect and honor to the kalags (souls) of previous owners of the field. Since land is seldom sold in the lowlands these souls normally are the parents of the cultivators.[44] The dulot is "like rent for the land" or a "payment" to the souls of former owners. A widespread belief is that these souls, if angered, can make the field workers sick; fever and stomach troubles are the most frequent afflictions caused by the angry spirits or unhonored souls. Third, the dulot is a premicias sa baul ("Thanksgiving for the field," i.e., for the harvest) to God. 243 [425] [753]

The dulot is an obvious blend of paganism and Catholicism. Animism and reverence for the souls of the dead are pre-Spanish beliefs. Catholicism certainly reinforced the honoring of the dead; this may have been one reason why Catholicism was disseminated so easily in the 243 177

[44] In the caingins the offering is made to the souls of one's departed parents.

Philippines. The concept of gratitude to God for an abundant harvest is a Catholic addition, even though this gratitude is also tendered to the spirits. 243 178

Cases of illness and a few deaths allegedly caused by these spirits or souls because a dulot was not held were reported. One incident affords an example. A resident of Barrio Caticugan became so ill he was unable to eat or sleep for three nights. This sickness occurred the day after a drinking bout in another barrio. Friends first brought him a wine called "Siok Pong" sold in the poblacion Chinese stores, and said to have medicinal qualities. Sick man could not drink the wine and his illness became worse. 243 753 [757]

He tried to think what could be causing his sickness; his heavy drinking was not considered as a possible factor. Finally, a mananabal (local herbalist, often called "quack doctor" in the poblacion) was called to question the patient. It was finally decided that his illness was due to failure to hold a dulot before harvesting his corn. An ancillary cause was thought the jokes he had told near a swampy place, unintentionally antagonizing the spirits that inhabited this locality.

The sick man contended it was unnecessary for him to hold a dulot for he was only a tenant; the dulot was the responsibility of the field's owner. The mananabal said this was not correct, the dulot was the responsibility of the person working the field, even if he were only the tenant. The patient promised to hold a dulot and it is reported his condition improved immediately. 243 755

Not everyone practices the dulot in Catiegan or in 243
the other barrios in the Siaton River valley. Some in- 184
formants reported that the present owners or tenants of a 183
field are not required to hold a dulot if the previous cultivators did not practice this custom. These individuals held no dulot because their "elders did not" or "our field is not accustomed to it." Most barriofolk, however, explained that once a dulot is held, they and future cultivators (be they tenants or owners) are obligated to continue the practice--the ideal but not the actual practice.

Explaining the dulot as a pre-harvest ceremony is 243
incomplete. Many barriofolk believe fresh corn should not 784
be sold or given to friends until the dulot is held. It is possible, however, for the cultivator and his family to eat fresh corn at home, and to serve guests, prior to the dulot. While traveling among the barrios along the Siaton River my assistant sometimes requested fresh corn from his friends. Several times he was refused because the dulot had not been held. Once, however, he was given fresh corn by a relative before his dulot had been performed.

The dulot ceremony is a food offering in the corn 243
field, although some say it may be held in the house. 782
What often happens is that the offering is made to the spirits in the field and a religious ceremony follows at the family altar for the deceased. This was done during one dulot I observed. The dulot is always held at night; the food is placed on a table in the field as for the

loto. After the field offering, the food is taken to the house and eaten. One informant said they buried their food offering in the field after the dulot, but this is rarely done. 243 782

A person noted for skill in holding dulots may be requested to officiate, although the owner or tenant can hold his own dulot if so desired. An old bachelor in Dangola was frequently requested to officiate at dulots in Caticugan; another recognized expert was said to live in Sandolot. In Naga one dulot was held by brothers and sisters whose fields adjoined. However, in Barrio Caticugan such cooperative dulots were uncommon. 243 791

Certain standard offerings are made in nearly every dulot. These basic items include: (1) seven binaluksan (rice wrapped in coconut leaves and then boiled, (2) one boiled chicken egg (usually but not always shelled), (3) one roasted chicken, (4) seven boiled ears of young corn, (5) seven tilads (tobacco leaves, areca nut, lime, and betel leaves), (6) seven tostos (homemade cigars), (7) seven tigols (homemade cigarettes), (8) seven kinalopis (grated fresh corn wrapped in husks and then boiled), and (9) tuba, usually four cups but sometimes one, two, or seven cups. Other items may be used such as seven nilunan (cakes made from finely ground cornmeal) seven cups of roasted cornmeal "coffee", and incense of the dried sap of the kamanan tree. 243 801

Seven is often a magical number among Caticugan barriofolk. Describing the superstitions of the people of Negros, Echauz wrote: "The number seven comes into all his 243 777 801

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undertakings and ceremonies..."[45] The offerings made by the Magahats in their rice and corn caingins include food items in sevens. Oracion reports: "Seven is normally the lowest number for the above items [i.e., in the Magahat's harvest food offering]. These items, however, can be increased to fourteen, twenty-eight, and fifty-six."[46] The Magahats offerings include many items used in the loto and dulot of the Siaton River valley barriofolk.

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One dulot in Sitio Lamtoc, Casala-an, will be described in some detail since it appears to have been typical. I arrived at Pas' house in the late afternoon. Pas, a widow with several grown sons living at home, was holding a dulot that evening. She was busy in the kitchen with the help of three female neighbors husking fresh corn to be used to make kinalopis. Large clay pots filled with kinalopis boiled on the fire for she expected a large crowd to come that evening. Her visitors were to be offered kinalopis to eat and to take home. She was hopeful that a dance might be held if a sufficient number of young people came, some with their guitars.

Around 8 p.m., a Lamtoc resident arrived who had been requested to hold the dulot. At first it seemed that the dulot might be postponed because the sons were unable to obtain the tuba which Pas said was "the most important item." Guhang, a similar alcoholic drink made from the

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[45]Echauz, op. cit., p. 143.

[46]Oracion, op. cit., p. 59.

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buri palm, could not be substituted for tuba. A small table was taken from the house and put in the cornfield when one son returned with the tuba. The table was only 20 feet from the house which was almost surrounded by the cornfield. Pas, her sons, and a few guests, including myself, sat on the porch and watched the offering.

The food offering was identical with the basic requirements previously listed. In place of the seven ears of boiled corn, however, seven husked and seven unhusked roasted corn ears were substituted. Four cups of tuba were set at each corner of the table that had been covered with green banana leaves. One shelled boiled egg was put between the legs of the roasted chicken placed in the table's center. Other items were neatly arranged on the table by the man to conduct the dulot.

The ritualist first "bathed" the food offering with the smoky incense of kamanan sap which was burned in a coconut shell containing live coals. Then the incense container was put on the ground under the table. The man walked away from the table among the rows of corn and softly mumbled an incantation to the spirits. We could not hear him. Later he said he had invited the spirits living in nearby creeks, big trees, stones, the river and glens to come to feast on the food. He told them if they were thirsty to drink the tuba; if they were hungry to eat the roast chicken; if they wished to smoke to help themselves to the cigars and cigarettes on the table. However, he invited no souls to partake in the offering.

The ritualist shortly returned, and one of Pas' sons also went to the table and drank a sip of tuba. If there had been more tuba the son would have emptied the cup and then refilled it. Since only a small amount of tuba was available, he took but a swallow. The ritualist refilled the cup and again walked into the corn rows to mutter his incantations. 243

During the dulot Pas' sons and their male companions snickered and quietly laughed among themselves. Pas and her female companions were quiet but appeared slightly bored. Although the writer's presence may have been a disturbing element, he knew the family well. The participants acted as they would at a social gathering; certainly they showed neither religious awe nor fear. The man performing the dulot was quite serious in mien, but gave no indication of annoyance at the attitude of the young people. 771 781 243

When the offering was finished the table and food were carried inside the house. A rosary then was held by the women for the souls of previous owners of the cornfield. When the rosary was finished a large pot of boiled corn ears and kinalopis were placed on the floor under the center joint of the roof. The pot was surrounded by four plates of boiled fresh-water shrimp. Two girls and one of sons lifted the pot three times; a little food was thrown upward and some was pushed through the floor slats, as a symbolic offering to the souls of Pas' departed parents. 243 [177]

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The group performed this ceremony with much amusement. Then all the guests were served a meal, including food prepared for the dulot offering.

More visitors came later, although not as many as were expected. Pas said this was because six other dulots were being held in Lamtoc the same night! The visitors were given kinalopis to take home; the man who conducted the dulot received an additional gift of food.

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The spatial distribution of the dulot in Caticugan is quite interesting. The dulot is practiced in Talo-ot, by most of the people who cultivate fields west of the main canal in Barrio Caticugan, and in lower Naga. People living east of the main canal in Barrio Caticugan and in upper Naga generally do not hold a dulot before harvesting corn. While the distribution of the dulot in the upper Siaton River valley is not known in detail, it is far more widely practiced in these barrios than in Caticugan. Lamtoc is a small sitio yet in one night six different families were holding a dulot. This attempt to delimit the dulot areas in Caticugan is only approximate. One woman living in Talo-ot cultivated as a tenant, a field between the main path and Caticugan creek; she held a dulot.

It is difficult to determine why the dulot is not held in upper Naga. Many factors are involved. First, there are only a few fields in this area. Second, more people are giving up the dulot in Caticugan than in the more remote barrios fact to be discussed later. Third,

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it is said if a field abandoned because of overflow of the Siaton River were later reclaimed, it was not necessary to resume the dulot even though "the field was once accustomed to it." This is the attitude of most barriofolk living in the Siaton River valley. Some of the fields in upper Naga are especially vulnerable to floods from the Mantuyop River since the bed is only five to ten feet below the level of the fields. Large boulders and other debris are deposited on the fields when the river floods, so reclaiming the land is difficult. Presumably when the fields were reclaimed the dulot was not resumed.[47]

It is somewhat easier to explain the present spatial distribution of the dulot in Barrio Caticugan. When Lucas Ege first purchased this land, he gave the fields southwest of the present main canal to the farmers who built and maintained a fence at the base of the bluff. This fence was necessary for there were many wild pigs, monkeys, and deer in the hills above. The fence protected he fields of the people living near the hills and those f Ege on the other side of the main canal.

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[47]Part of upper Naga was once planted with rice. However, the cultivation of the land was stopped in the early 930's because it was believed "haunted" by spirits. One armer's three sons and his mother-in-law died of "fever nd headaches" while cultivating the land. Their deaths ere believed to be signs that the spirits who lived there id not wish the land to be farmed. The owner told me hat he was planning to "pray to God" and resume tilling he land, however, he did not farm the land during my resisnce. While the soil of upper Naga is not the best it is p worse than the paddies of Dangola. There is very little ultivation of Pangligiran hill for the same reason.

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Lucas Ege apparently was a very religious and domineering individual. Since he did not practice the dulot he would not permit his relatives or tenants to hold the ceremony for their fields. Ege's grandson, still living in Barrio Caticugan, said Lucas substituted a novena (nine consecutive evenings of prayer) for the dulot. At the novena's conclusion he invited relatives and friends to a feast. This harvest novena was held in honor of St. Isidro who was selected as the patron saint of the barrio in 1951. Since the land southwest of the main canal had been given to the people who built the fence, Ege did not or could not prevent them from holding dulots in their fields. This is probably one reason why dulots are the most common in the southwest part of Barrio Caticugan.

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However, a more careful study of the dulots' distribution in southwest Barrio Caticugan shows a significant correlation with the location of hillside springs. Many of the barriofolk believe that in or near these springs (particularly places of lush vegetation) live creatures called kolisaos and kataos. The kolisao is a lizard-like creature with a human head and long hair while a katao is a dwarf with blonde hair who delights to play in the canals--and this is the place where canals are most numerous.

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If these creatures are disturbed or hurt, they can cause an individual to fall ill or even die; skin diseases, however, seem to be their speciality. Farmers with fields

near the vicinity of these springs always run the danger of unintentionally or accidentally annoying kolisaos and kataos. Dulots held in this locality include invitations to these creatures to partake in the food offering. Kolisaos and kataos are invited to attend dulots only when fields are near their supposed places of habitation. More barriofolk in this part of southwestern Barrio Caticugan practice the dulot than their neighbors whose fields are some distance from the springs. Most likely, therefore, the greater retention of the dulot by farmers with fields near these hillside springs has been due to their beliefs in kolisaos and kataos. 243 184

While the ideal pattern requires that a dulot once started should not be abandoned (excluding the exceptions noted) the actual practice is not the same. The dulot is slowly disappearing in Caticugan. The story of how one family in Naga stopped their dulot illustrates the decline of this custom. The sentences in () are questions I asked during the conversation. 243 178 184

> We [husband speaking] stopped our dulot. I was afraid I might make a mistake. What I did was to promise that every first corn harvest I'll sell a little corn, buy some candles, and light them in the church in honor of my dead parents.
>
> When I abandoned my dulot I went around the field saying: 'I am going to stop the dulot because I am ashamed and because I might make mistakes and because it is hard to get all the things needed. The land next to mine is continuing the dulot. You [the unseen spirits] just go there and eat if you want. They will make many sevens, more than five sevens. [This is a reference to the food offering.]

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(If you were afraid that you would make a mistake in holding the dulot, why did not you have some one do it for you?)

When I had two children [the wife interrupted] a mission came [to the poblacion] and I went to confession. I had a hint from the priest that maybe I was holding superstitious practices. So I thought maybe the priest meant the dulot. I told the priest my in-laws were practicing the dulot. I was advised by the priest to tell my in-laws to stop this superstitious practice. The priest said every year to sell a little of the harvest, buy candles and light them in the church in honor of our dead relatives. So when I came home I told my in-laws. That is why we stopped having the dulot.

That's right [the husband broke in] but it was also difficult to get all the things used in the dulot.

Here are three reasons for stopping the dulot. First, the priest's disapproval of the custom; second, the husband's fear that he might make mistakes during the offering; and third, the difficulty in obtaining the necessary supplies.

Other families in Caticugan have stopped the dulot when they purchased land from an owner who practiced the ceremony. Several cases of this nature were cited and the w owners reported that they had not become ill as many lieved they would. However, if someone had become ill is highly probable that these people would have attrib-ed the sickness to the absence of the dulot and would ve resumed its practice.

In the northern barrios the dulot is a community af-ir while in Caticugan it is a family activity performed in crecy. I was unable to witness a dulot in Caticugan be-use I was not told when they were to be held. Yet I had no ouble participating in a dulot in Lamtoc where I was not

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as well-known. This situation underlines a distinct difference between the dulot as practiced in these two localities.

The people in the northern barrios of the Siaton River valley expect guests to attend their dulots; in fact, there is a certain competition in attracting neighbors to one's dulot. No secrecy is involved. In Caticugan the dulot is a confidential family affair. Neighbors and friends are not invited. Usually they are not told when a dulot is to be held. Often the wife and children of the man holding the dulot do not go to the field or participate in the ceremonies.

Several factors explain the slow disappearance and secrecy of the dulot in Caticugan compared with the more isolated barrios. The changes that have occurred in the dulot reflect similar changes in other aspects of the culture of the barriofolk of Caticugan. The northern barrios continue the older cultural patterns while Caticugan is nearer the battleline of acculturation which is more rapid in the poblacion.

This has been true for several centuries. The Spaniards are more vividly remembered in Caticugan than in Casala-an. The influence of the Catholic and Protestant churches in the poblacion is more effective in Caticugan. It is more convenient for the Caticugan barriofolk to attend services and easier for the church officials to reach their barrio. Occasional missions of the Catholic church, where visiting priests come to marry those who have

been living as common-law couples, to baptize and confess the unbaptized and unconfessed, rarely reach as many people in the more isolated barrios as in Caticugan. At least, in one specific case the mission was partly responsible for abandonment of the dulot by a Naga family.

Children of Caticugan can more readily get a formal education than the children of Casala-an or Apoloy. In these northern communities the parents who wish a complete elementary education for their children must make arrangements to room and board them in the poblacion. For the children of Caticugan school is only a short walk from home. The young people of Caticugan have greater access to newspapers and magazines, to the poblacion reading center, and the radio, than the youngfolk of the northern barrios where illiteracy is prevalent.

The barriofolk, particularly the younger generation, are very sensitive about being called "country hicks" by their more sophisticated poblacion friends. For example, one reason why most young people of Caticugan dislike abaca clothing is that the homewoven material is a symbol of a rustic. To the better educated residents of the poblacion the dulot is a "pagan practice" and most of them have no scruples about ridiculing those who practice it. As a result many of the barriofolk are ashamed of the dulot yet not convinced that it is safe to abandon it. Stories of those who have stopped the dulot without any serious consequences are matched by tales of persons who have fallen ill for the same reason.

Many people of Caticugan continue the corn harvest ceremony of their pre-Spanish ancestors but perform it within the privacy of the family group. I know of families in Caticugan who absolutely denied holding a dulot yet whose neighbors said they did. In the northern barrios there was no embarrassment in discussing the dulot. It was a barrio custom. In Caticugan many barriofolk recognized the dulot as a backward unchristian custom, yet they do not feel entirely secure in discarding it; to discard the dulot means to challenge their beliefs in encantos, kolisaos and katsos. 243 178 184

The decline of the dulot also reflects the growing individualism so noticeable in Caticugan. The group has been losing the firm control once held over the individual. This change is apparent in the role of the family in courting and marriage customs. The old cooperative labor groups have almost disappeared in Caticugan; with increasing population and subdivision of land through inheritance the fields are often so small that volunteer labor activities are less necessary today. It also has become cheaper to pay for help than to furnish workers with meals. Caticugan is *en medias res* of a gradual transition from a bartering to a money economy that stimulates the growth of individualism. 571 178 181 184 [476]

The population of Caticugan has expanded considerably over the years, but the yield of the fields appears to have decreased. The acreage yield of corn in the northern barrios is more than twice as large as in Caticugan. An 184 178 243 433

insight into the once greater abundance of food in Caticugan is given from an offering made during the last part of the Spanish period. This offering included one pig, fifteen or twenty chickens (with white feathers), a basketful each of bingka, bodbod, and puto (all varieties of rice cakes), three plates with ten eggs each, and large quantities of tuba. In the past the ritualist who performed the dulot in Naga often received a basketful of corn for his service; none of the ritualists receives this amount today.

Some individuals who stopped the dulot in Caticugan said they did so because "it is too expensive today." The food offering to the spirits was not as costly as feeding the guests. The dulot described in Lamtoc required much corn to make the cakes, beside the other food served. It is possible that since the corn yield in these northern barrios is nearly twice that of Caticugan the community dulot is less of a burden. One reason given for having only a family dulot in Caticugan is that the expense of guests is eliminated. Dulots held for Caticugan's irrigated corn harvests would attract a large number of people since they would occur during a seasonal period of food shortage.

This detailed discussion of the spatial distribution of the dulot in both Caticugan and the northern barrios of the Siaton River valley illustrates how many factors must be considered in explaining change in one custom. There is no "royal road" to a clear understanding

of why the dulot is more widely practiced in the northern barrios or why more people in some parts of Caticugan continue the custom than their neighbors. The study also shows the value of the historical approach for Lucas Ege's personality is still influential in the dulot's distribution in Barrio Caticugan. Yet such an approach does not explain the total situation for pre-Hispanic beliefs in kolisaos and kataos and culture integration encourage many barriofolk to cling to the dulot.

Other Ceremonies Associated with Corn

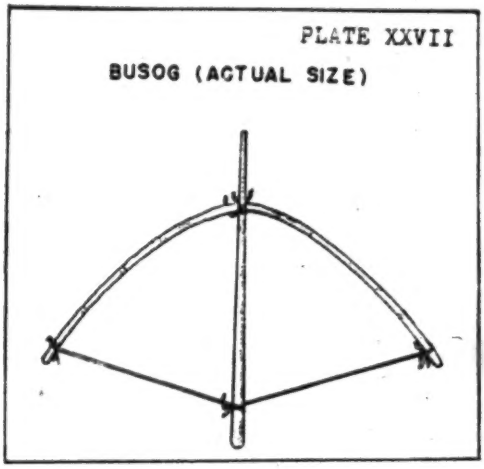
Other practices associated with corn in Caticugan are similar to practices among many primitive people for the magical increase of their food. For example, some of the first fresh corn picked or meal ground from the new harvest is placed in a pot with a sprig of busikad (Kyllinga nonocephala Roltb). A pinch of dirt from an ant mound, a piece of a broken China plate, and three lagit stones the size of the end of one's thumb are also put in the pot. Lagit stones are hard, heavy and smooth, best found in the river shallows where the water runs noisily, and are said to be "alive," reflecting the animism of the pre-Hispanic Filipinos.[48]

Some barriofolk omit the busikad and lagit stones but the pinch of dirt and the broken plate are almost

[48] Boga stones, said to be "dead," are soft, chalky and light.

always used. Water is then added to the pot and the corn or meal is cooked. The pinch of dirt from the mound of an ant and the busikad are said to make the corn easy to grind or the cornmeal to increase when cooked in the future. The broken plate is to make the corn "healthy like a China plate" while the lagit stones are to protect stored corn from the bokbok weevils.

Another similar practice, and for the same purpose, is to put busikad and bila-bila (Eleusine indica (Linn) Gaertn) in the bottom of a pot. A miniature bow and arrow is then added. (See Plate XXVII.) The tiny bow




and arrow are significantly called busog (i.e., "full"). These objects are covered with coconut or banana leaves, cornmeal and water are added, and the pot put on the fire. Bila-bila and busikad are said to increase all

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future cornmeal cooked. Both of these weeds are crawlers that cover the ground with many runners, and busikad is said to have a baking powder-like quality. The bow and arrow are included so one will "always feel full" after eating cornmeal.

The corn harvest lihi is almost identical with the one described for rice. Before the corn harvest (sangui) crosses are put in each corner of the field, although some put only one cross in the center. Several unhusked corn ears are hung on each cross and others add a bit of bendita palm. Prayers are usually repeated; however, some barriofolk said if the person did not know any prayers the mere putting of the crosses sufficed. When the harvest is finished the crosses are collected and taken home for use next year. It was my impression that this lihi was made more casually than the rice lihi.

The Manalabangs

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In Caticugan and other barrios it is nearly impossible to harvest corn or rice without accepting the assistance of the manalabangs or harvesters. This is particularly true of Barrio Caticugan's first paddy corn harvest for it occurs when there is a seasonal food shortage. Basically, the custom of harvesters in this area is a method of forced sharing of food. Some farmers resort to tricks to get their grain harvested without the knowledge of the manalabangs.

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The cultivators do not announce when they plan to harvest their grain. So the harvesters keep a careful watch over paddy corn fields when harvest-time approaches. Some will take siestas or even sleep overnight by a field they believe may be harvested soon. They may wait in a friend's house near the field while the children play outside until the harvest begins.

Most cultivators of cornfields and paddies in Caticugan and environs could easily harvest their crops without the assistance of the manalabangs. Yet they rarely refuse the helpers. When questioned about this matter they often replied "The manalabangs have to live like us" or "They also have intestines." If a cultivator refuses their assistance, the harvesters will comment, "Well, I am going to help you anyway. It is up to you whether you pay me or not." Under the circumstances one can hardly refuse to give the manalabangs a share of the harvest.

While it is not customary to turn away the harvesters, some owners attempt to harvest their corn without having to share the crop. A few begin the harvest at dawn or even on a bright moonlight night. Since most fields can be harvested by a few persons in several hours, the harvest is over before the news reaches the manalabangs. Some helpers do not like dawn harvests, however, because of danger from centipedes or poisonous spiders.

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One man in Barrio Caticugan harvested his first paddy corn crop at dawn to avoid manalabangs. A man

passing the field said he thought sigoins were eating the corn because it was so early in the morning. Some barrio-folk thought this dawn harvest unfair and the owner was said to be "greedy." In two instances fields were harvested Sunday morning when many of the women were attending church in the poblacion; normally no work is done in the fields on Sunday. Another cultivator began to harvest a small cornfield and attracted the manalabangs; then other members of the family harvested a larger field. The small harvest decoyed the manalabangs away from the larger field. 243 476

These harvesters are mostly women and young children. Men rarely harvest corn other than their own crop; they are said to be ashamed or embarrassed to do so. Most manalabangs who harvested corn or rice in Caticugan came from the nearby barrios. Once a harvest begins the news spreads rapidly and the manalabangs scurry toward the field with folded sacks on their heads to carry home their share. A field that could be harvested in several hours by a family may have forty or fifty unrequested harvesters. 243 476 462 857

While the share of the manalabangs varies it is never large. Their share depends upon (1) the size of the field; (2) the amount of corn harvested; (3) the number of harvesters present, and (4) the generosity of the cultivator. Relatives of the cornfield's owner or cultivator usually get more than non-relatives although both groups do the same amount of work. Harvesters who arrive after the harvest is completed may be given a few ears of corn 243 476

for consolation. Manalabangs who have fairly large cornfields are often given free corn even though they offer to purchase it. In the end, however, the giver loses nothing since his "gift" will be returned when the recipient's field is harvested. The manalabang harvest shares range from several ears of corn to as many as twenty ears. 243 476

When the paddy corn is harvested corn prices are at their peak in Siaton poblacion for this is the "starvation period"--the period when many family's last harvest corn supply is running low and the new crop is still immature. The harvesters also try to buy corn from the owner; some women come just to buy or barter fish or tuba for corn. Usually the owners are not eager to sell since most of them will have to buy cornmeal before the next harvest. Yet few refuse to sell or barter some of their harvest, although they often limit the amount a person may buy. To refuse to sell some of their corn harvest would mean some barriofolk would call them "greedy." 243 433 476 435 432

Manalabangs collect a small pile of corn ears they have harvested and sit down with a definite air of possession. This is the corn they insist on buying. In one case the owner refused to sell the manalabangs the amount of corn they had requested. Collecting all the individual corn piles, he resorted them into new piles, eliminating about a third of the corn. He asked fifteen cents for each pile of corn but settled for ten cents after the women bargained. These female manalabangs had already received their share for helping in the harvest; the 243 476 432

owner was definitely annoyed that he had to sell part of his harvest. 243 476 432

The price of corn varied in the harvests. Two handsful of ears for two or three cents, fifteen ears for the same price and a centavo an ear are a few examples of the prices. Relatives are normally sold more corn and at a cheaper price than non-relatives. The other harvesters do not object. One woman gave the mother of her son's girl-friend a basketful of corn to win her favor. 243 476 435
People often eat the corn they harvest on the spot; the husked ears are roasted on hot coals. [264]

Another reason why the harvesters' assistance is normally not refused is the widespread belief in "envious people." "Envious people" can do harm to one's person or crops through magic. If the manalabangs' help were refused one of them might attempt revenge on the cultivator or his crops. Older manalabangs may silently pray as they work that the cultivator may enjoy good health and abundant harvests in coming years. As one woman said, "the manalabangs just wish good for the owner while they work." 243 476

Corn is harvested by pulling the ears from the stalks. Harvested ears are collected in a basket called bukag. Helpers never know what their share will be until the harvest is completed. If the farmer is a tenant the owner is usually present to assist in the division of the harvest. No arguments over the manalabangs' shares were ever witnessed; they may think their share is too small but they do not complain openly. [427]

Corn stalks from the first paddy corn harvest are given to those who cut them. At this time the nearby grazing areas are green and fodder is plentiful. During the harvest or shortly afterwards men or young boys come to cut the stalks and carry them home for their animals. However, in the later corn and rice harvests the cultivators do not donate the harvested stalks. By this time the pastures have begun to dry up; the corn and rice stalks are retained by the owners for their own animals.

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Local Harvest Migrations

During July many people from Caticugan, the poblacion and nearby barrios go to Omanod to help in the corn harvest. Corn is usually harvested earlier in Omanod than in Siaton.[49] Omanod is situated in a small riverine plain in Sta. Catalina municipality, about three or four miles west of Barrio Bonawon. In 1951 people came from Bacong and Dauin to help in the Omanod corn harvest. Some took the bus and others from Siaton poblacion walked or rode horses. Women and young children outnumbered men. Several families in Caticugan and the poblacion left younger children under the care of an elder daughter while mother and father went to Omanod.

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[49] Siaton corn harvests sometimes occur before those of Omanod. Normally, however, the earlier rains of Omanod make it possible for the barriofolk to plant (and harvest) their corn before Siaton. However, in 1952, fewer harvesters went to Omanod from Siaton because both harvests occurred about the same period.

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The second paddy corn is usually planted in June or earlier. Not all of the ricefields are planted with a second corn crop. The year of my residence the second crop was planted before the first non-irrigated corn harvest was finished. If the paddies are planted and harvested late the chance of getting a second crop is smaller; precipitation is more abundant and the paddies flood, killing the corn. If the second corn crop is planted late it will not have time to mature before the rice must be transplanted. Corn that does not mature because of excessive moisture is fed to the animals. [231]

The fact that successfully raising a second corn crop in the paddies is difficult is reflected in the preparation of the land; the ricefields are merely furrowed, not plowed or harrowed, and often the cut stubs of previous corn stalks remain in the paddy. Since the land is not well tilled the second corn crop is usually weedy. Many farmers who planted a second corn crop in 1951 had sufficient time to prepare the land as thoroughly as they did for the first planting, but did not do so. As a result the yield is usually much smaller than the first crop.

Some old people believe it is unwise to handle harvested corn ears roughly. One informant told the story of the poor man who came to the house of a rich farmer who had kicked and thrown his ears of corn around "disrespectfully." The beggar asked for some corn but the rich man said he had none to give. Then the corn ears spoke to the poor man: "Take us with you, poor old man. This

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rich man does not treat us kindly." Very few people in Caticugan knew this story. Possibly, in the past, the barriofolk may have believed corn had a "soul"; among some of the peoples of Southeast Asia (for example, Indo-China) rice is believed to possess a soul.

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The second paddy corn and the first non-irrigated corn harvests usually occur in August and September. Manalabangs do not present such a problem since they are busy in their own fields and there are more crops to harvest. This is a busy period for everyone, particularly the women. They travel to Sandolot, Casala-an and other nearby barrios to obtain corn to replenish inadequate supplies. It is difficult not to think of the statement made by Taft that "the best man in the Philippines is the woman" when one observes the activities of these female harvesters. Their untiring efforts to maintain food for their family make many of them quiet heroes.

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"Wet season" corn is harvested in August and the "dry season" corn, second non-irrigated crop, is normally planted in October. September is the climax month of the rainy season so the farmers wait until October when the monthly precipitation decreases considerably yet the fields are still moist enough to plow and plant. The second non-irrigated corn crop is normally harvested in Caticugan and environs in January or February. Some northern barrios, like Dolog, plant a third corn crop but the acreage is small.

## Cornfield Sizes and Yields

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According to Siaton's municipal land records there are 580 acres classified as maizal (cornfields) in Caticugan, owned by 291 different persons. The records list 321 individual fields since some own more than one field; the average size was 1.9 acres. Of the owners of corn land 64 per cent live in Caticugan, 14 per cent in Siaton poblacion, 7 per cent in Sandolot, 5 per cent in Datag and 4 per cent in Mantuyop. The remaining owners live in Dumaguete, Zamboanguita, Maloh, Cabangahan, Omanod and Sta. Catalina poblacion. While 36 per cent of the owners of cornfields do not live in Caticugan, 51 per cent of the owners of paddies live in other communities.[51]

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I made a survey in Caticugan to check the accuracy of the municipal land records and obtain additional data on tenancy. Ownership and tenancy figures obtained through this survey indicate that tenancy is higher for paddy than cornfields. Information gathered from this survey is given in Table XVIII.

TABLE XVIII

Percentages of Ownership and Tenancy of Caticugan's Paddy and Cornfields -- 1951

| | Paddies | Cornfields |
|---|---|---|
| Owner | 50 | 60 |
| Owner-Tenant | 13 | 27 |
| Tenant | 37 | 13 |

51 These are approximate figures; field sizes may not be accurately recorded or may be in other sitios of Caticugan, a fact not always noted on the records. However, special care was taken to check as thoroughly as possible the actual residences and not to include fields in other sitios. I am grateful to the municipal treasurer, Ramon Regalado, and the chief clerk of the municipio, for assistance in this matter.

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I also made a survey of harvest yields and field sizes that included 51 acres of land--17 acres in Barrio Caticugan, 11 acres in Talo-ot and 23 acres in Naga. Caticugan's average yield for the first paddy and first non-irrigated crops was 6 bushels of corn per acre. The average size of the cornfields in Caticugan, based on this survey, was 1.2 acres while the average obtained from the land records was 1.9 acres. Several hundred husked cornears were measured from the second non-irrigated harvest of Barrio Caticugan; the average length of the ears was 2-1/2 inches. However, the second harvest from non-irrigated cornfields is usually smaller than the first harvest.

My survey included a small field in Barrio Caticugan where loose carabaos destroyed the crop and four fields in Naga, two in which the crop was damaged by wild pigs and two damaged by insects and floods. Total acreage of these fields was less than 5 acres; they were included in the averages for such incidents are fairly common. The survey's largest cornfield was 4-acre field in Talo-ot while the smallest was .3 of an acre. According to municipal land records the largest field in Caticugan was 27 acres (a field that had been divided among the heirs although the record was not changed) while the smallest field was .1 of an acre.

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In 1939 there were 47,440 farmers in Negros Oriental with 43.9 per cent owners, 12.1 per cent part owners, and 43.7 per cent tenants.[52] According to my surveys,

[52] Yearbook of Philippine Statistics: 1946, p. 138.

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the tenancy for both paddy and cornfield in Caticugan is 55 per cent owner, 20 per cent part owner, and 25 per cent tenant. These figures bear out my opinion and that of other informed observers that in Siaton the tenancy rates are lower than the average for the province.

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I made a similar survey to determine the average yield, field size, and the harvester's share in the Siaton River valley barrios. In Dolog only the two landlords (the present mayor of Siaton and the former deputy governor of the province, both brothers) were interviewed for they own most of the cultivated land. The figures, combined with those of Caticugan, are given in Table XIX.

TABLE XIX

Cornfields: Average Sizes and Yields and Harvesters' Shares in Siaton River Valley - 1951[53]

| Community | Average Size Of Fields (Acres) | Average Yield Per Acre (Bushels) | Harvesters Share of Total Harvest (Percentage) |
|---|---|---|---|
| CATICUGAN | 1.2 | 6 | 15.5 |
| Datag | 1.5 | 7 | 15.0 |
| Sandolot | 1.2 | 12 | 15.0 |
| Casala-an | 1.2 | 12 | 15.3 |
| Dolog | - | 20 | - |

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Table XIX indicates that corn yield per acre increases as one goes up in the Siaton River valley. Yields

[53] The survey included 71 acres in Casala-an, 44 acres in Sandolot and 47 acres in Datag. The two landlords of Dolog gave me information on their fields that totaled 35 acres. Data obtained from Datag, Sandolot and Casala-an were gathered by my assistant who took two days to collect the figures. Obtaining such information is often difficult when the barriofolk are not well acquainted with the field worker. For this reason I felt my assistant, a former school-teacher in Sandolot, well-known and respected by most of the people, could collect the data more accurately.

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in Casala-an and Sandolot are twice those of Caticugan while in Dolog the yield is more than triple. These figures bear out my opinion that cornfields in the north look healthier, the stalks were taller and the number of ears per stalk greater. Of all the growing corn I saw in the Siaton River valley Dolog's fields appeared to be the best. More fertile soils and greater precipitation with less chances of drought periods are some explanatory factors.

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Methods of preparing the land, seed selection, corn varieties, and care of the planted fields do not differ significantly among the barrios. As stated in Chapter II, the annual precipitation in the northern barrios is greater than in Caticugan and Siaton poblacion. In the northern part of the Siaton River valley the soil is rich, well-drained sandy loam. Caticugan's corn often suffers, as in 1951, from lack of rain during the growing season. In 1951 I was sure that the first non-irrigated corn was going to be a near total loss for lack of rain. While this did not occur some fields and parts of other fields had to be replanted because the young corn died.

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A certain standardization of the harvesters' share appears to exist in the Siaton River valley. One might imagine, as I did, that their harvest shares would be larger in the northern barrios where the yield is greater. The manalabangs' share in the rice harvest was only 10 per cent, a reasonable difference since rice is scarcer and of greater value than corn.

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The agricultural techniques of the average southern farmer in growing corn are backward. Tillage is done with shallow plowing equipment and often is neglected. Artificial or natural fertilizers are generally not used, mainly because the farmers lack capital. The distribution of fertilizer, however, by the Mutual Security Agency reached Siaton in 1952. The fields are badly eroded in many localities as a result of careless farming practices. Ideal corn land is slightly rolling with good drainage during the rainy season. Since corn is planted in rows on undulating land, excessive erosion often results. Few farmers attempt to half erosion by terracing or cover-cropping, preferring to permit the land to recuperate by lying fallow for short periods. These agricultural methods are reflected in the average yield of the region, about 8 bushels per acre--40 per cent below the national level of 15 bushels an acre. The average yield per acre in the United States in 1950 was 37.4 bushels. Crops associated with corn are tabios, string-beans, cassava, mungos, and peanuts. Camotes and a variety of fruits, such as mangos, papaya and bananas are also grown. Vegetables are grown either for family consumption or sale, in gardens near the residences.

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Within the Southern Corn-Coconut region Siaton and Zamboanguita municipalities have the largest percentage (23) of cultivated land devoted to rice. Rice is grown mainly for family consumption; very little is

Vegetables and Other Garden Crops

Vegetables approximate guhang as the most important source of cash income for the majority of families in Caticugan. The majority of barriofolk have a small home garden, plagued by insects, farmyard animals and lack of care. The gardens are rarely fenced. A number of families plant vegetables mainly for sale in the poblacion. Gardens are usually tended by women, who also sell the vegetables. In a recent descriptive account of a barrio in Bulacanan province, Luzon, this fact is stated indirectly:

> At Anilao [the name of the barrio] day begins in the night's small hours, when the men rise to go fishing...When the men return home at dawn, the women are up, breakfast has long been ready...All morning the men sleep, while the women work the vegetable gardens or gather grass to sell to rig drivers.[71]

Nearly every morning a few women from Caticugan could be seen carrying vegetables to sell to the poblacion.

Vegetable gardens often are planted on the canal banks in Caticugan. This location is considered desirable because the ground is usually moist and better drained during the rainy season when many gardens die of flooding. Pieces of thorny bamboo are put in the ground to support stringbeans, gourds and squashes. A few women hang strings of seaweed on the bamboo supports of the gourds and squashes; these are said to repel insects.

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[71] "Life in Barrio Anilao," Philippines Free Press, XLIV, No. 40 (October 3, 1953), p. 28. This unsigned article consists mainly of photographs that present some realistic scenes of barrio life. Underlining in quotation by writer.

20: Hart E-5 (1951) 1954 OA: Philippines
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Much has been written of the average Filipino's dislike of vegetables. Hayden states:

> A number of attempts have been made to promote vegetable gardening in the barrios. The habits of a people as to what they shall grow and what they shall eat are slow to change...[72]

In Caticugan, however, the majority of the barriofolk apparently like vegetables--making allowances for individual differences. There are a host of reasons why more vegetables are not raised and eaten by rural Filipinos; the myriad pests, lack of and excess of water, and difficulties in obtaining seed. One can become unpopular in a community where goats, pigs and chickens are rarely penned by constantly complaining to the authorities of a neighbor's marauding animals! As a result many Filipinos who might raise more vegetables become discouraged and value harmonious relationships in the community above a thriving home garden.

If the women often sell more vegetables in the marketplace than their families eat this is not because they dislike vegetables. Tomatoes that bring fifty cents in the Siaton marketplace would not feed as many persons as the cornmeal or fish this money buys. It is not that the people scorn vegetables so much as it is the necessity of selling them in order to buy needed staples. Vegetables may assume a larger role in the average rural Filipino's

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[72] Hayden, op. cit., p. 660.

diet when there is no need to barter or sell them for more filling dietary necessities and when cultural factors favor vegetable production.

Though women predominate in gardening activities in Caticugan the poblacion school teaches only the boys to grow vegetables. It was an early American idea to add gardening activities to the elementary curriculum; the officials concerned did not realize that in the barrios gardening is mainly a female activity. This is probably because women, not men, are the vendors of vegetables. In fact, a man who would sell vegetables in Caticugan would be a deviant in the eyes of most of the barriofolk. One man who vended vegetables was known to all as a bayute, a name for very feminine-acting men. In southern Negros the school boys are being trained to do a girl's work in the barrios.

Kalamongay

The most commonly grown vegetable in Caticugan is kalamongay (Tag. Malungay: Moringa oleifera Linn.), a small tree-like plant that produces leafy branches. The branches are cut and stripped; the small tender leaves are cooked as greens. Kalamongay often grows so tall that small children can climb it or the top branches are cut with a small knife tied to a bamboo. When the rains come kalamongay is cut back and new cuttings planted. Sometimes ashes are spread around the base of the newly-planted

cuttings to protect them from ants. During this period of several months kalamongay greens are relatively scarce.

Tangkong

Another popular but not as widely grown vegetable is tangkong (Ipomoea aquatica Forsk, previously known as Ipomoea reptans (Linn.) Poir.) Tangkong is an aquatic morning glory that trails on mud or floats on the water of quiet pools. Tangkong was grown in Caticugan only along the banks of the Caticugan creek. Caticugan tangkong had a local reputation for being "very fat and big."

Brown incorrectly writes: "The plant [tangkong] is not cultivated but grows wild."[73] While wild tangkong is gathered in some of Caticugan's paddies during the rainy period it is smaller and less succulent. The tangkong patches along the creek are planted and cared for by female owners. Tangkong is usually planted at the end of the rainy season. During the wet season the heavy rains swell the Siaton River, flood the Caticugan creek, and wash away tangkong patches planted at the beginning of the previous year's dry season. During the dry season tangkong is splashed with water once or twice a day or the plant is said to wilt and the leaves to become dry and yellow.

The price of tangkong varies throughout the year. When kalamongay is scarce, just after it is trimmed in

[73] Brown, op. cit., III, p. 858.

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profit of $1.85 from her tangkong patch for one month (June 16 to July 16). By the middle of July tangkong often became so cheap that she fed much of it to the pigs.

The woman who had the largest tangkong patch in Barrio Caticugan kept a record of her sales, at my request, for one month (June 16 to July 16). She sold tangkong in the poblacion twenty days in this period, netting $5.60. During the same period she also sold sixty cents worth of tangkong to persons coming to her patch in the barrio. Her total profit for the month was $6.20. The previous year the same woman said her profit from the sale of tangkong was more than $25. In fact, the young woman and her brother, both unmarried, were building a new house; the neighbors said this was largely financed by the woman's tangkong profits.

Eggplant

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Eggplants (talong) are another fairly common vegetable grown in Caticugan. Nearly every family has a few eggplants that bear small fruits. Like most vegetables new eggplants are planted at the beginning of the rainy season; the old stalks are trimmed then so they will produce new fruits. Tomatoes (tamatis) are grown but they are very small and are often sold, or eaten, when they are partly green.

Other vegetables grown are gourds (upo: Lagenaria leucantha Linn.); green onions (sibuyas bombay); patola

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[824]

(sikwa: Luffa acciangula Linn.); red peppers (sile: Capsicum frutescens Linn.); squash (calabasa: Cucurbita maxima Duc.) and stringbeans. One garden was planted with some halum (Amaranthus viridis Linn.), a stubby plant with edible reddish leaves that is said to be a favorite of the Chinese living in Manila.

Gabi

Gabi, commonly known as taro, is usually planted in Caticugan's canals. A low palm leaf wall is made by weaving leaves between bamboo stakes placed near the inside canal banks. The space between the wall and the bank is gradually filled with sediment where gabi is planted. Gabi is eaten all year, when available, except on Holy Friday; many barriofolk believe if one eats gabi on this religious holiday they will become "nervous" and subject to "shaking fits." A few planted gabi in holes that were only partially filled so when the rains came the water was retained. Ubi is another root vegetable grown in Caticugan; it is not eaten, however, when the plant is leafing for then the roots are said to be fibrous. Little gabi and ubi are raised in Caticugan or sold in Siaton poblacion.

Tobacco

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Only one family raised tobacco in Caticugan; they had planted about fifteen plants in their garden. Most of the tobacco smoked by the people is grown in Bacong and

uncooked leaves are itchy and the pigs will not eat them. The food is put in a bamboo or stone trough placed under the house. Pigs are fed once a day, usually in the late afternoon. The job of preparing food and feeding them usually is done by young girls and women.

One fairly widespread custom is the belief that a small turtle kept in kinilis water may prevent the pigs from becoming sick. The urine and feces of the little fresh-water turtles are said to have medicinal qualities and protect the pig from hog cholera. One family had three turtles in the kitchen kinilis can.

Stray pigs do a great deal of damage to vegetable gardens. In the poblacion the people explain the few vegetable gardens as due to stray pigs and goats. A local ordinance makes owners liable for their stray animals; now and then a drive is made by the police to fine owners of stray pigs. On the whole, however, the ordinance is not enforced, mainly because few people report violations. Many people complain but few take action.

Goats

Goats (kanding), like swine, are a pre-Spanish animal; Pigafetta writes that when Magellan's group landed at Cebu the people had pigs, goats and chickens. Goat meat is considered less desirable than pork by most of the people; the principalia of the poblacion would rarely serve goat meat to guests. However, the goats of Siaton

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One could write a surprisingly adequate account of barrio life by describing only the activities that occur along Siaton River. The barriofolk take their morning baths at the river, while the children play games along the sandy banks. A man waters and washes his carabaos and horses; a small boy turns over stones, looking for fish to "shoot" with his "gun." Later the women come to fetch water in bamboo tubes, or to beat the family wash on flat stones as they gossip. A man comes to the bank to see if his line caught an eel during the night; a group of men clean a slaughtered pig or goat for a wedding or funeral. A raft of green bamboos, cut upstream, floats seaward. Where the banks are high there may be tiny gardens of green onions, eggplants and tomatoes.

In the afternoon a woman comes to the river to get a lagit stone, or moss for a lihi for a new house a family is building. Women return from the poblacion where they have sold their vegetables. Several men wade across the river, carrying a coffin to the poblacion church for the final rites. Children ford the river, as they return from the elementary school. In the evening, by the light of the moon, young girls search wet stones for snails. Later, men return from an evening of drinking and talking with friends in the poblacion gubang stalls. Siaton River, shallow and quiet during the dry season, turbulent and swift during the rainy season, is truly the "life stream" of Caticugan.

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The agricultural techniques of the average southern farmer in growing corn are backward. Tillage is done with shallow plowing equipment and often is neglected. Artificial or natural fertilizers are generally not used, mainly because the farmers lack capital. The distribution of fertilizer, however, by the Mutual Security Agency reached Siaton in 1952. The fields are badly eroded in many localities as a result of careless farming practices. Ideal corn land is slightly rolling with good drainage during the rainy season. Since corn is planted in rows on undulating land, excessive erosion often results. Few farmers attempt to half erosion by terracing or cover-cropping, preferring to permit the land to recuperate by lying fallow for short periods. These agricultural methods are reflected in the average yield of the region, about 8 bushels per acre--40 per cent below the national level of 15 bushels an acre. The average yield per acre in the United States in 1950 was 37.4 bushels. Crops associated with corn are tabios, string-beans, cassava, mungos, and peanuts. Camotes and a variety of fruits, such as mangos, papaya and bananas are also grown. Vegetables are grown either for family consumption or sale, in gardens near the residences.

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Within the Southern Corn-Coconut region Siaton and Zamboanguita municipalities have the largest percentage (23) of cultivated land devoted to rice. Rice is grown mainly for family consumption; very little is

sold. The paddies of the average farmer in Siaton and Zamboanguita are so small that they cannot produce sufficient rice to last the families through the year. About 23 per cent of the cultivated land is also occupied by coconut palms. In Pamplona is one of the largest coconut plantations in Negros; it is owned and managed by Americans. Generally, however, coconut plantings vary from 5 to 15 acres and are owned by Filipinos. Many families have a few coconut trees that provide their chief cash income. Coconut palms usually appear along the littoral where the sandy soils are too well-drained for other crops and the internal drainage from the Central Mountain range favors coconut cultivation. Coconuts, however, are frequently planted along field boundaries and extend toward the interior of many parts of this region.

Coconut palms begin to bear as early as five years after planting and often produce nuts when a century old. The Laguna variety is common in this region; it is an early-bearing tree that usually produces nuts after eight or ten years. The fresh coconut meat is dried under the sun or in crude, smoky ovens, tapahans. The dried meat is known as copra and is the chief export of Dumaguete port; in 1951 it amounted to more than $5,000,000. The prosperity of this region is closely tied to copra prices. When prices are high, for example, enrollment in both public and private schools rises; but when copra prices fall school enrollments decrease

GUHANG

Of all the "cash crops" of Caticugan guhang is probably the major source of cash income for the largest number of families. The fermented sap of the buri palm (Corypha elata Roxb.) is the source of guhang. Though much as been written about making tuba (from the sap of the coconut tree) there are fewer accounts of making guhang. One poblacion wit said the name of the drink came from the desire, after excessive drinking, "to go hang yourself." Brown states:

> This [the buri] is the largest and most stately palm found in the Philippines. Its straight trunk attains a diameter of one meter and height of 20 meters...The plant grows 25 to 30 or more years, during which time large quantities of starch collect in the trunk. It then flowers once and dies...[54]

Besides being the source of guhang the buri has many other uses in the Philippines. The palm is the source of alcohol, vinegar and sugar, all made from the sap while the trunk yields large quantities of starch. The edible kernels of the fruit are used to make sweetmeats. The immature unopened frond is utilized in many parts of the archipelago to manufacture mats, sails, bags, while the buri's petiole yields the so-called Buntal fiber from which the famous hats of Baliuag and Lucban are woven.[55] Barriofolk in Caticugan do not make sugar from the buri's sap, although flour was extracted from the

[54] Brown, op. cit., I, p. 284.

[55] Brown, op. cit., I, pp. 286-95.

palm's trunk during the war when acute food shortages existed. Most of the bags and mats made in Cateugan are woven from the buri while the hats worn by the people come from Bohol.

The sale of guhang furnishes many barriofolk with their largest source of cash income. The Siaton poblacion map (Plate XVII)[1] shows the number of stalls selling guhang. The widespread use of the buri to make guhang is shown by the number of dead palms (576) cut in six weeks by the provincial agriculture office in just Siaton poblacion. Many dead buris were left standing at the end of this project. If Siaton's municipal ordinance that requires each owner of a guhang buri to pay a tax of $2.50 was effectively enforced, this local industry would bring a sizeable income to the municipality.

Older informants said when they were young little guhang was made in Siaton since only a few buris grew in the municipality. Some informants stated that the barriofolk of Siaton first learned how to make guhang from the people of Tolong. Once they learned the process they began to plant the palm. Other informants, however, said that Siaton men who worked in Dumaguete's Chinese bodegas (warehouses) learned to make guhang while in the city. When they returned to Siaton they introduced the process, teaching the people of Siaton how to make the mildly alcoholic drink. All available evidence, the possible derivation of Dumaguete's name (from manangueto, a specialist who makes guhang), the older settlement of Dumaguete,

[1] [this plate (p. 178) is missing]

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its better roads to Siaton, would seem to indicate that guhang-making diffusion came from the east not the west. Yet many of the older people insisted that Siatonites first learned to make guhang from residents of Tolong.

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There is little folklore concerning the buri. Some barriofolk tell a story that explains how they first learned to make guhang. One day a tall buri was felled by a typhoon. While cutting the tree to remove it from the field the men noticed sap running from the fresh cuts. They drank some of the sap, discovered its pleasant taste, and reasoned how much more sap they could collect from a living buri. So they started to make guhang.

In selecting a buri, the mananguete prefers a palm which is 25 to 30 feet tall. Buri palms that are either too short, young or old do not give as much sap as those that are "just right." When the stems of the fronds of a buri radiate counter-clockwise around the bole and the fronds droop downward, the palm is thought to be especially well-suited for producing large quantities of fine-flavored sap.

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Once the tree has been chosen the mananguete climbs to the top on a bamboo ladder. This ladder is a long bamboo with the branches trimmed so short stubs remain as steps. Often the upper third of the ladder has removable pegs; when the owner is not obtaining guhang he removes the pegs as he descends. This makes it difficult for others to take any guhang during his absence.

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The buri's top fronds are cut while the lower ones are left on the palm. On these lower stems a rude bamboo platform is built where the manangueta stands to collect guhang and people sit while drinking in the tree. (See Plate XXVIII.)[1] Usually a few fronds are used to make a roof over the buri's "eye" (mata or talobtob), shading both the "eye" and drinkers from the sun.

The pith on the exposed top of the trimmed buri is carefully cut away until the "eye" is exposed. The "eye" or "heart" is the inner part of the bole (parenchyma) where the sap flows. Cutting of the "eye", the manangueta warns, must be done with extreme care or the "eye" splits ruining the buri. After making a small exposure of the "eye" the manangueta usually waits for three days--some say a week--until the lihi is performed. One should wait until young sprouts begin to grow in the "eye." If the "eye" is too liberally trimmed before this time, the buri "leaks" at its base.

> The sap is obtained from the buri palm in two ways. Apparently the more usual way is to cut an inflorescence near its base...and collecting the sap which flows from the cut surface, in small earthen jars. The second method, used in Tayabas [Luzon] and some other provinces, but not known to a great many localities, is employed on trees which have not flowered and which may, indeed, be very far from maturity. The trees are stripped of leaves and then cut so that the heart of the tree is exposed. The surface thus exposed is cut and channeled, furnishing a clean tissue which is continually exposed to the air, but protected from the sun by a covering of thatch. In three or four days, sometimes one, the sap begins to flow steadily and rapidly...56

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56 Brown, op. cit., I, p. 296.

1 [See p. 378, cat. 245 or 11[illegible] -- Analyst]

- TOP VIEW of GUHANG TREE -

20: Hart E-5 (1951) 1954 OA1 Philippines
Central Bisayas OA.14

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After the prescribed period has lapsed, the mansanguete or the owner of the buri holds the lihi. One important reason for the lihi is to protect the palm from "envious persons" (tawo moguat) who, according to the people, are able to damage the buri if they wish. "Envious people" are those who hold a grudge against the owner of the tree, often because they are refused free drinks, or feel the owner is greedy with his guhang. They become angry at the owner because they arrived too late to buy guhang or their ire stems from past misunderstandings. Such individuals may "whip" the buri with paniawan (Tinospora rumphii Boerl.), a warty vine with a very acrid sap, that is said to make the guhang bitter or even stop the sap's flow.[57] One story was told of a man who "whipped" his own buri with a piece of paniawan "just for fun"; he did not believe folklore about the vine. The sap of his buri soon stopped flowing. Later he "treated" the tree with honey and the sap resumed its flow.

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"Envious persons" may also spoil the sap's flavor or kill the buri by driving a fish bone into the trunk, striking the trunk with the barbed tail of the pag-i (ray fish), or smashing a seaworm (bahagbahag) against the palm. Others say a guhang-producing buri can be damaged by flashing a light across the tree and a rotten egg thrown against the palm makes the sap malodorous.

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[57] Brown, op. cit., I, pp. 533-5. Paniawan is also known as makabuhai (Tagalog).

Many items are used in the buri lihi in Caticugan. Each mananguete, however, seems to improvise. Certain items are basic to all the lihis such as pag-i, sharpened bits of thorny bamboo, pauli roots (Cleidion spiciflorum Merr.), and guhang vinegar. Other items depend upon the individual making the lihi and perhaps their availability. I always asked for the specific purpose for each lihi item but the explanation given in some cases was only "it protects the buri," how or why was unknown. Table XX summarizes the information gathered concerning the buri lihi.

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TABLE XI

Guhang Lihi Chart for Caticugan and Environs

| Items Used in Lihi | Purposes |
|---|---|
| 1. Guhang vinegar | 1. To give the guhang a strong taste |
| 2. Roots of pangasan vine that have a bitter taste | 2. To give the guhang a strong taste |
| 3. Bark and roots of badbad tree | 3. Protection against "envious persons" 754 |
| 4. Tagilaway (an insect that is said always to be secreting saliva; tagilaway means "saliva"). | 4. To keep the buri sap flowing |
| 5. Bahagbahag (a seaworm) | 5. Protection against "envious persons" 754 |
| 6. Roots of uli-an vine(uli-an means "bring back"). | 6. Ensure constant flow of sap. If sap stops this may be added to "bring back" sap. |
| 7. Roots of the pauli tree (Pauli means "to come back" or "to go home"). | 7. Same reason as uli-an. Also protection against "envious persons." 754 |

TABLE XX (Continued)

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| 8. | Barb of ray fish (pag-i) | 8. Protection against "envious persons" |
| 9. | Pieces of sharpened thorny bamboo | 9. Protection against "envious persons" |
| 10. | Discarded flashlight bulb or battery | 10. Protection against "envious persons." The idea seems to be that "neither will work without the other," i.e., the flashlight will not work without a bulb or a battery. |
| 11. | Red peppers | 11. To improve the taste of the guhang |
| 12. | Gunpowder | 12. Protection against "envious persons" who might shoot buri. Used in Bonbonon but not in Caticugan. |
| 13. | Mallorca (a commerically produced alcoholic drink made from sugar cane alcohol) | 13. To improve the taste of the guhang |
| 14. | Scrapings from a wild pig's tusk | 14. Protection against "envious persons" |
| 15. | Salt | 15. So "eye" will not leak, be soft and give plenty of sap |
| 16. | Scrapings from the spur of a wild chicken | 16. Protection against "envious persons" |
| 17. | Chicken feathers of any color | 17. Reason or purpose unknown |
| 18. | Bark of the kalingay tree | 18. So when a person drinks guhang he will not get diarrhea. |
| 19. | Kolino roots | 19. Protection against "envious persons" |
| 20. | Tango sa lite ("teeth of the thunder.") The barriofolk report when lightning strikes a tree little stones are sometimes found sticking to the bark. | 20. Protection against "envious persons" |

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[82]

TABLE XX (Continued)

| | |
|---|---|
| 21. Kalamongay stems ("kalamongay sometimes looks like a dead stick but it keeps sending out new growth all the time") | 21. To keep the sap flowing |
| 22. Lead from a bullet | 22. Protection against "envious persons" |
| 23. Paniawan vine | 23. Protection against "envious persons" |

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The purposes of the various items used in the guhang lihi can be classified into three categories: (1) to protect the buri from "envious persons"; (2) to improve the guhang's flavor; (3) to ensure an abundant and constant flow of sap. The flow and the taste of sap are two uncertainties in making guhang; this may account for their more complete coverage by magic.

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There is good reason for this obvious concern over "envious persons" who may desire to harm the buri producing guhang. It is difficult to refuse friends, and especially relatives, a free glass or two of guhang. Yet if one does not refuse there would be little to sell. Both sexes are fond of guhang and gather regularly around the buris when the owners are collecting guhang. If a palm is noted for a particularly fine-flavored guhang, it attracts more barriofolk. While many will not ask for a free drink the purpose of their presence is painfully clear to the tree's owner. Their thirst normally is limited only by the donor's generosity.

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I often frequented guhang trees because they were excellent places to gather information; "mellowed" by the drink the people often enjoyed discussing and arguing over answers to questions. I never saw a group refused free drinks. If an owner were "greedy" with his guhang nothing would have been said at the time which the guhang owners know. This disgruntled individual might later return to the tree as "envious person"; generosity in Caticugan was usually sired of a warm heart and a practical mind.

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One of my most pleasant memories is sitting with the men at the top of the buri, under the little thatch covering, drinking, smoking and talking. Thirty feet above the ground the air was cooler and fresher and a breeze usually rustled the dead fronds. Below the community stretched out under its quilt-like fields. At the palm's base might be a small group of men and married women drinking guhang as it was lowered from the top in a bamboo container tied to a rope. If a few young dalagas passed, salacious wisecracks would usually be made by the young men with malicious cheerfulness and the girls might be so bold as to stop for a drink. In the distance one could hear the dull echo of a mananguete's "bamboo gong" (tambol), signaling the vendors who wished to purchase guhang that he was in his tree.

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When the groups gather at the guhang trees it is a time of relaxation, of gossiping, joking and discussing plans for tomorrow. A game of dama (similar to checkers) might be started.

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might be started. Noon is a popular time for these gatherings or just after the day's work is done. A buri-producing guhang is rarely without flies, bees and thirsty drinkers looking for a few "drinks on the cuff." At night the men may gather at the buri by the light of the lamp. Guhang trees are a sort of "rural poolhall" in Caticugan.

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Guhang lihis are always made by men. This is unusual since most of the other lihis in Caticugan, particularly in regard to agriculture, are held by women. However, there is a fairly general feeling among many of the barriofolk that it is not wise to permit a woman to ascend a guhang buri since she might contaminate it--especially if she is menstruating. Some believe a menstruating woman might cause the guhang to become malodorous or the sap to stop flowing. Other reasons why few women climb a buri are well summed up by this comment of one woman.

> There is nothing wrong if women climb guhang trees, only it is too dangerous for women to climb. Our skirt might be tangled in the thorns [of the tree] and there is danger of falling. We have a new guhang and just the other day I climbed our guhang because somebody came to buy some guhang and my son and my husband were out working in the field. Our guhang is quite short and nothing happened to the guhang [because she climbed the tree].

Another woman said:

> I have climbed our guhang many times. Others said that it is not good for women to climb the guhang for the guhang might become malodorous. But I do not believe in this because the tuba [guhang] of the guhang [buri] that I have climbed many times did not become malodorous.

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However, I never once saw a woman climb or sit at the top of a buri.

When the lihi is to be held the owner or a mananguete ascends the ladder to the top of the buri. The "eye" is retrimmed with a special bolo called ig-alabis and a small hole bored into its center. Many of the ingredients listed for the lihi (Table XX)[1] are put in a small bottle and mixed with vinegar and/or Mallorca. Most of this liquid is poured into the hole made in the "eye" and the bottle may be left in the palm. The pag-i tail and three small sharpened pieces of bagakay bamboo are put in the hole in the "eye"; sometimes a piece of paniawan vine is hung on one of the upper frond stems.

Three days after this lihi the buri's "eye" is again retrimmed. A small groove now is cut in the "eye" to direct the flowing sap down a trough and into a large jar (tadyao). (See Plate XXVIII.)[2] Normally the "eye" is trimmed once if not several times each day.

> Fresh cuts [of the "eye"] should be made at frequent intervals, as the rate of the flow [of the sap] may be thus temporarily increased as much as 50 per cent. The rate also varies according to the thickness of the slice removed; at least, if the exudation is from the top of the trunk...As it flows from the tree and for a short time after, the sap is colorless, odorless, and neutral or slightly alkaline. After standing a viscous, followed by a putrid, fermentation develops when no precaution is taken to prevent it. The sucrose begins to invert in a few hours and the process is complete in about thirty hours. A comparatively small yield of alcohol results from the spontaneous fermentation of the sap; a greater portion of the reducing sugars being changed by the viscous, putrid, and other fermentations than by the alcoholic...[58]

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[58] Brown, op. cit., I, p. 298.

1 [See p. 350ff, cat. 273 + 245--Analyst]

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Powdered tan-bark (tongog), purchased in the poblacion and pounded in the mortar, is added to the sap that has been collected in the jar. During the war when the tan-bark from Mindanao was unobtainable, the bark of the antipolo tree was used as a somewhat unsatisfactory substitute. Tan-bark is not grown locally, most of it comes from Mindanao, and costs about ten cents a pound in Siaton poblacion. The addition of the powdered tan-bark gives the guhang a golden color, improves its flavor, and is said to prevent diarrhea.

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Guhang vendors are always young girls or women, reflecting the general barrio pattern that vending is a woman's job. The vendor's profits are small. A dama (17 to 18 quarts) of guhang wholesales from the buri's owner for about seventy-five cents. The standard price for a quart of guhang in Siaton poblacion is five cents; therefore, a vendor's profit on a dama is about ten to fifteen cents.

Profits of the vendors are limited not only by the price but by the supply of guhang. Often the stalls in Siaton poblacion would close early in the evening for lack of guhang. Every evening men, and a few women, usually residents of the poblacion, collect at the guhang stalls to drink and talk; I rarely saw intoxicated drinkers at these evening gatherings. A pleasant custom of the poblacion stall owners permits prospective customers to sample guhang to determine its taste, without cost, before buying.

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The sale of guhang is the most important source of the cash income of many families in Caticugan. I estimate that about 25 per cent of the families living in Caticugan owned buri palms. Some of these families, however, owned trees that were too young to produce guhang. It is difficult to estimate the average income made by selling guhang from typical buri. Profits depend on many variable factors such as the length of time the sap flows, the quantity obtained, the amount of tan-bark used, the taste of the guhang (said to depend on the age of the tree and the soil), and the amount given to friends.

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Nearly all mananguetes agreed that the normal guhang buri produced for two to three months. One manangueta said he remembered a buri that gave sap for nine months but this was extraordinary. The process of obtaining sap "bleeds" the palm to death; after several months the buri is nearly dead and becomes somewhat dangerous to climb.

Profits from a buri producing sap for two to three months were estimated by some to be between $50 to $100. These estimates seem somewhat high. One guhang buri in Naga produced sap for five weeks; the gross profit from this palm was $24, of which $4 was spent for tan-bark. One buri in Barrio Caticugan flowed for one month netting the owner only $8 "because so many of my relatives wanted free drinks that I had little to sell."

Through the cooperation of the owner, I was able to keep an account of one guhang-producing buri. This

palm's sap started to flow April 14 and stopped June 22. The gross income of the owner was $54 of which $12 was spent for tan-bark, leaving a net profit of $42. The money from guhang sales, deposited in a "bamboo bank" (a pole of the house wall), was not counted until the buri died so the figures are probably accurate.

The price of a mature buri in Siaton ranges from $10 to $25. In the municipal tax records buri owners are assessed one dollar for each palm. If the mananguete is not the tree's owner, profits are divided in several ways. Sometimes the profits are split 50-50 after the owner has deducted what he considers the buri's value. In another case the mananguete received one-fourth of the profits plus all the free guhang his family could consume. The money from the sale of guhang from this buri was deposited in a bamboo bank kept in the palm. The owner said he did not want to keep the cash in his near-by dwelling "because I might be tempted to gamble with it."

The buri's value is also reflected in the number of disputes that often result concerning its ownership and use. Three court cases occurred during my residence concerning the illegal use of another person's buri. In one case the defendant was accused by the plaintiff of illegally using two of his buris to make guhang and asked $100 damage. There are many quarrels over buri palms that do not reach the local court. An example of such a quarrel that happened in Naga is given on the next page.

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One time Ingoy [informant's first cousin] came to my place and started to make guhang from my buri. I was gathering coconuts for a Chinese in the poblacion. My wife and children were left alone in the house. My children were playing in the space under the house. Suddenly Lucia [informant's wife] heard buri palm leaves falling and she shouted to the children not to go near the tree. But Ingoy was in the tree and he answered: 'I'm the one here cutting leaves. What do you want? Where is your husband? I want to fight him because I want to go to San Ramon [penal colony in Mindanao].' So my wife immediately got me and I came home but he was gone. For three or four days I stayed in the house but Ingoy did not return to the buri.

One day he passed near my house carrying a sack of corn to be ground. I called him: 'You come here.' Ingoy said: 'Why?' I said: 'I want to talk with you.' He said: 'You come here if you want to talk to me.' So I went to him and asked him: 'Are you the one who cut my buri?' Ingoy said: 'Yes. I did it.' I said: 'Is it true you said you wanted to fight with me and go to San Ramon?' Ingoy said: 'Yes. It is true.' So I hit him three times. But he did not try to fight back. Nicara was weaving in a house near-by and she laughed. Ingoy's sister who saw us fighting cried: 'Please do not kill Ingoy.' [Informant imitated female voice of Ingoy's sister.] So Ingoy went on his way and his wife was crying but he left my buri alone.

Ingoy complained to the barrio lieutenant. He told him that I and my children ganged up on him. But I said I have witnesses and if he wanted to bring the matter to the court I was willing. But he never did. It was Ingoy's wife who brought Ingoy back to his house because after this quarrel he did not go home directly. I told Ingoy: 'It is not like before when I was small and whatever you and my relatives said I had to follow blindly. Now I have to take care of what is my own. Our parents usually quarreled and now that our parents are dead, their children will be the ones to quarrel.

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If the flow of the sap decreases or stops there are various remedies for the situation. A gash may be cut in the side of the palm's trunk at its base and a small fire built near the incision. The sap may resume its flow but the fire gives it a smoky taste. Others repeat the lihi previously described each day adding the fluid from the bottle until

the sap begins to flow or the task abandoned as hopeless. A deep hole may be bored into the "eye" to increase the diminishing flow of sap.

As one travels up the Siaton River valley the buri palms decrease; at Dolog they disappear. The sap of the ediok palm (Cabo Negros: Arenga pinnata Wurmb (Miller)) is used to make a mildly alcoholic drink called habyob. The ediok produces large bunches of dates that hang on slender stalks from the top of the palm. A stalk is selected and then violently shaken and hit with a stick each morning until it flowers. Then the stalk's tip is cut and a bamboo container is attached at the end to collect the sap. The ediok's sap flows about the same length of time as the buri; tan-bark is also added to habyob for the same reason it is put in guhang.

MINOR SINGLE CROPS OF CATICUGAN

Spencer lists twenty-one different cropping combinations for the Philippines. Of these combinations six are chiefly lowland, eight chiefly upland, and seven are combined upland-lowland crop combinations.[59] The intercropping type typical of Caticugan is the "corn and minor crop" combination listed by Spencer under the combined upland-lowland category. The various cropping combinations in Caticugan are: (1) corn-peanuts; (2) corn-camotes; (3) corn-balatong (Cow peas: Vigna sinensis Linn.); (4) corn-balatong-cassava;

[59]Spencer, op. cit., pp. 11-12.

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Some farmers intercropped mungos with corn while others planted mungos two or three weeks after the corn. Mungos are usually planted between the cornhills since they do not spread as do cowpeas. Mungos begin to mature in about three months. There are no special lihis for mungos.

Coconuts

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In 1951 there were 66,526 coconut palms (about 1,051 acres) in Siaton municipality.[64] Although there are a few palms in Talo-ot, most of the coconut trees are located along the western bluff overlooking Barrio Catiugan, the main canal and barrio path. One grove along the barrio path was recently planted and the trees are not yet bearing. The largest grove (about 410 trees) is owned by the most affluent resident of the community.[65] The majority of the owners of coconuts have only a few trees, and many families possess no coconut palms.

According to the barriofolk coconuts selected for planting must: (1) be mature; (2) contain internal fluid that one can hear by shaking the nut; (3) have no cracks in the outer husk. Nuts are usually placed in a damp spot until the sharp green shoot pierces the outer husk; a favorite spot is under the dwelling near the water jar where waste water is thrown.

[64] The provincial agricultural office, Dumaguete, states there are 156 coconuts planted to a hectare, or about 63 palms an acre.

[65] This figure was obtained from the municipal land records; the owner's plot of coconuts, 6.5 acres, was valued at ₱567.

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The hole in which a nut is planted is filled in gradually as the sprouts grow, and some people wait until the sprout is several feet tall before planting the nut. The former method is said to be better but "takes more sacrifice" for the young tender sprouts are a favorite food of stray pigs. Sometimes stones and earth fall into the hole and damage the new sprout. When individual trees are planted a little fence is usually built around them so that pigs and goats cannot eat the young growth. The nuts are watered by hand.

A lihi is performed when coconuts are planted. The best time to plant coconuts, like cassava, is when the moon is full and the tide low; then they will bear many nuts even when still young. In the first hole are put a piece of nipa palm leaf, a plant called lobi-lobi, and a sprig of malapgos. The nipa and lobi-lobi are reported to make the trees bear abundantly, although one man said nipa was used so the trees would grow rapidly like the nipa palm. Malapgos is a "guarantee of plenty of nuts, even during the hot season"; the same connection is implied that is given as the reason for using malapgos in lihis for rice and corn.

Under favorable conditions the barriofolk said trees begin to produce nuts after six or seven years.[66] Once coconut trees are sufficiently tall so they cannot be

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[66] "Coconut trees begin to bear when they are six to ten years old." Uichanco and Sacay, op. cit., I, p. 284.

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damaged by farmyard animals they receive no care. Rats are the greatest pest. Sometimes the ground under many trees is littered with fallen young nuts that rats have gnawed to eat the tender meat. In Caticugan no one attempts to protect their trees from the rats. In the northern barrios now and then I saw thorny vines wound around the trunk to keep the rats from climbing the palm.

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The first nuts of a palm are harvested without any ceremony. Normally in Caticugan the nuts are harvested every three months, by a man who climbs the tree using notches cut into the trunk. Nuts are either twisted from their stems or cut with a bolo. Husking the nuts is often done by the women. The nut is split and the meat extracted with a bolo or smaller knife; the meat is then dried on mats in the sun for three days. The copra (dried coconut meat) is sacked, carried to the poblacion and sold at any of several Chinese stores. Chinese copra dealers in Dumaguete send trucks along the National Road to pick up the copra from local stores.

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It is difficult to assess the income the barrio people receive from their copra. Copra prices vary from year to year as do the harvests. A farmer in Barrio Caticugan said forty trees earned him fifty dollars in one year; another reported an income of sixty dollars from fifty trees. The owner of the largest coconut grove was not willing to divulge data of income received from copra. However, a tenant said just from one harvest the owner got twenty sacks of copra weighing from 135 to 150 pounds

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each. At the price copra was then selling, his crop would have brought around $160. Since the coconuts are harvested four times a year his income for 1951 may have been about $600.[67]

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Coconut trees in Caticugan and Siaton poblacion are free from the most destructive of coconut diseases, cadang-cadang. The greatest pest in this vicinity is the coconut beetle, bakokang, (Uang (Tag.): Oryctes rhinoceros Linn.)

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> The adult beetle bores into the cabbage of coconut and feeds on the more tender tissues. Holes in the trunk and coconut fronds of which the leaflets have been cut in bilaterally symmetrical pattern are telltale signs that the tree has been attacked by the pest. Standing dead trunks of coconuts are often attributed to its work. It is believed, however, that infestation by Oryctes alone does not kill a tree, but that it provides the entrance hole for the Asiatic palm weevil (Rhynchophorus ferrugineus Fabr) or the bud-rot organism [caused by Phytophthora palmivora Butler].[68]

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Dead buri palms are important breeding places for the bakokang in Caticugan. When the buri dies from producing guhang, the interior rots until the trunk is a hollow shell filled with sawdust-like material. Bakokang eggs are laid in these rotting interiors where the grubs develop. Once the buris stop giving guhang, the trees are permitted to stand; very few of them are cut by the barriofolk.

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[67] Copra was loaded at the Dumaguete wharf in sacks of about 220 pounds and sold for $11-15 per 220 pounds (100 kilos).

[68] Uichanco and Sacay, op. cit., I, p. 268.

end a bamboo container (sankob) is attached that collects the sap. Ginit is put in the top of the container to keep out insects that are attracted by the sweet scent of the sap. 273

An average coconut bud will produce sap for about one month, although not all buds give sap. Tan-bark is powdered and added to the tuba for the same reasons as in making guhang. There are no lihis connected with making tuba. Tuba is collected once a day; the house of this tuba maker was a favorite barrio meeting place.

Cacao

In 1951 only 50-60 cacao bushes grew in Caticugan. Cacao beans sold in the poblacion for about four dollars a pound--so expensive that few barriofolk drank or served chocolate except at wedding feasts or during the local fiestas. Owners of the cacao bushes ground the seeds and made small patties of chocolate which were dried in the sun. 245 435 251

One farmer in Barrio Caticugan had an ingenious method of watering his four cacao bushes and one coffee tree. A bamboo filled with water was propped against a tree so that the lower end was at the base of a cacao plant, and the water slowly dripped through a small hole. When the ground around the plants became too damp this hole in the bamboo was plugged for a few days. 245

Faded rags, originally red, were tied to branches of many of the cacao bushes. Some people believe that, 841

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when a cacao bush is passed or brushed by a menstruating woman, the fruit may rot or the flowers fall if it is not protected with these rags.

Jackfruit

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A number of jackfruit trees (So-oy: Artocarpus odoratissima Blum) grow in Caticugan. The jackfruit was brought to the Philippines from India (here known as yaca) during the Spanish period.[70] The fruit is eaten raw or boiled as a vegetable. Sometimes jackfruits are wrapped with an old mat or paper, as are squashes, to protect them from the insects; the most serious of jackfruit's pest appears to be ants.

Pineapples and Papayas

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Several small patches of native pineapple, penia, (Ananas comusos Linn.) occur in Barrio Caticugan. The plants, however, were usually given little care; the fruits were small and wormy. Some barriofolk in Caticugan had a few papaya trees (Kapaya: Carica papaya Linn.); they said that more papayas were not grown because of excessive flooding during the rainy season. This explanation, however, was largely rationalization because in many localities papayas could have been grown without risk of flooding at any time of the year. Green papayas were sometimes grated as a "salad" or fed to pigs.

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[70] Antonio de Morga, Blair and Robertson, op. cit. XVI, p. 88.

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There were only four or five coffee trees in the entire barrio. The price of coffee beans in the poblacion was high; most of the people in Caticugan, and many in the poblacion, drank "coffee" made from toasted ground cornmeal.

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There was a custom in the barrio of tying a broken pot or bottles to the cacao, gourd and papaya plants. The pots or bottles were said to make the plants produce large fruits and prevent the fruit from falling when immature. This custom was observed in Siaton poblacion, in nearly every barrio visited in southern Negros, and in Dumaguete City.

Bananas

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Not many bananas are raised in Caticugan or Siaton poblacion. The western barrios, e.g., Cabangahan and Giliga-on, produced most of the bananas sold in the stores of Siaton poblacion; often busses from the west would leave bunches of bananas in the poblacion for sale. However, there were many days when bananas could not be purchased in the marketplace or in the sari-sari stores along the National Road. The banana bud is cooked and eaten as a vegetable; this may be one reason for the scarcity of the fruit in Caticugan.

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Kapok

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In 1948 less than 5 per cent of the total Philippine production of kapok was grown in Negros Oriental. Some kapok trees, doldol (Agave cantalu Roxb.) grow in Caticugan

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but practically no commercial activities are connected with the fiber. Before the last war a few people were said to gather kapok, either domestic or wild, and sell it to Chinese stores in the poblacion. Children would go to the forests to get pods from wild trees, to sell to Chinese for about five cents a pound. Today, however, no one in Caticugan sells kapok; the ground under most trees is littered with rotting pods. Many trees had died recently. Another reason the people said no one sold kapok was that most men dislike climbing the trees because the limbs break easily. Kapok is used by the barriofolk to stuff sleeping pillows. A device called lokogan is whirled between the palms of the hands in a basket of kapok to remove the seeds. (See Plate XXIX.) However, only one was seen in Caticugan.

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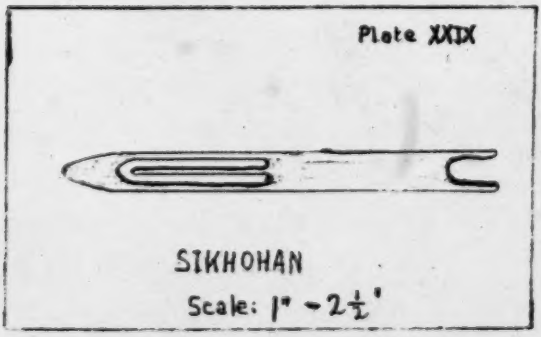

supports. (See Plate LXXII, 4 and 22.)[1] Unlike the looms in Ilocos that are built underneath the house, using the upright beams supporting the dwelling for part of the loom structure, Caticugan looms are kept inside the dwelling. The loom is a Malayan horizontal type with two foot treadles that manipulate two cord heddles for speedy intercalation of the spool shuttle.[11] The weaving product is a coarsely-woven stiff fabric called abaca (Cebuano: hinabol).

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Nearly all women who wove abaca said they learned the technique from their mothers; one informant said she was taught by her father who had learned from his mother. A few men were said to weave, although no men living in Caticugan did so.

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Stripping the fibers from the abaca plant and building the loom are a man's work, whereas the processing of the fiber, weaving and the final preparation of the cloth are a woman's work. Several older women in Caticugan were able to weave when they were in their early teens. There was one abandoned loom in Caticugan that the owner said was smaller than the normal loom; it had been used by a mother to teach the girl to weave. Normally, however a girl learns to weave on the regular-size loom.

No abaca is grown in Caticugan so the fibers must be purchased from abaca-growing communities. This may be a minor factor in the decline of weaving in Caticugan.

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[11] On this matter see the articles by H. Ling Roth, "Studies in Primitive Looms, Part III: 6. Indonesian Looms," The Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland, XLVII, 1917, pp. 323-66.

1 [See p. 710, cat. 286 -- Analyst]

Most abaca used for weaving is bought in the northern barrios of Bantolinao and Nasig-id. Several women were furnished abaca by the owner who later received one-half of the cloth.

Fiber to be woven must be stripped from the abaca plant with special care; for example, no pulp should remain on the fiber. Often growers who sell abaca to the Chinese in Siaton poblacion purposely leave pulp on the fibers so the bundles will weigh more.

Dyes

Three vegetable dyes, tagun, taloto, and antipolo, were once used to dye colored weft thread for abaca cloth. Tagun (Indigofera suffruticosa Mill) grows wild in the nearby hills; once in the past it was cultivated as a source of black dye. Domesticated tagun, according to the barriofolk, made a better dye than the wild variety. Water was heated and tagun leaves were added; a little lime was then sprinkled into this mixture and care taken lest the water boil. "If the water boiled," one woman explained, "the dye was not any good because the leaves became tender right away." Bark of the taloto and antipolo trees was powdered to make a red dye. Red fibers were sometimes re-dyed with tagun "so they would be reddish and very shiny." Today these vegetable dyes are rarely, if ever, used. Weavers buy chemical dyes in the poblacion; a package of four different dyes costs ten cents.

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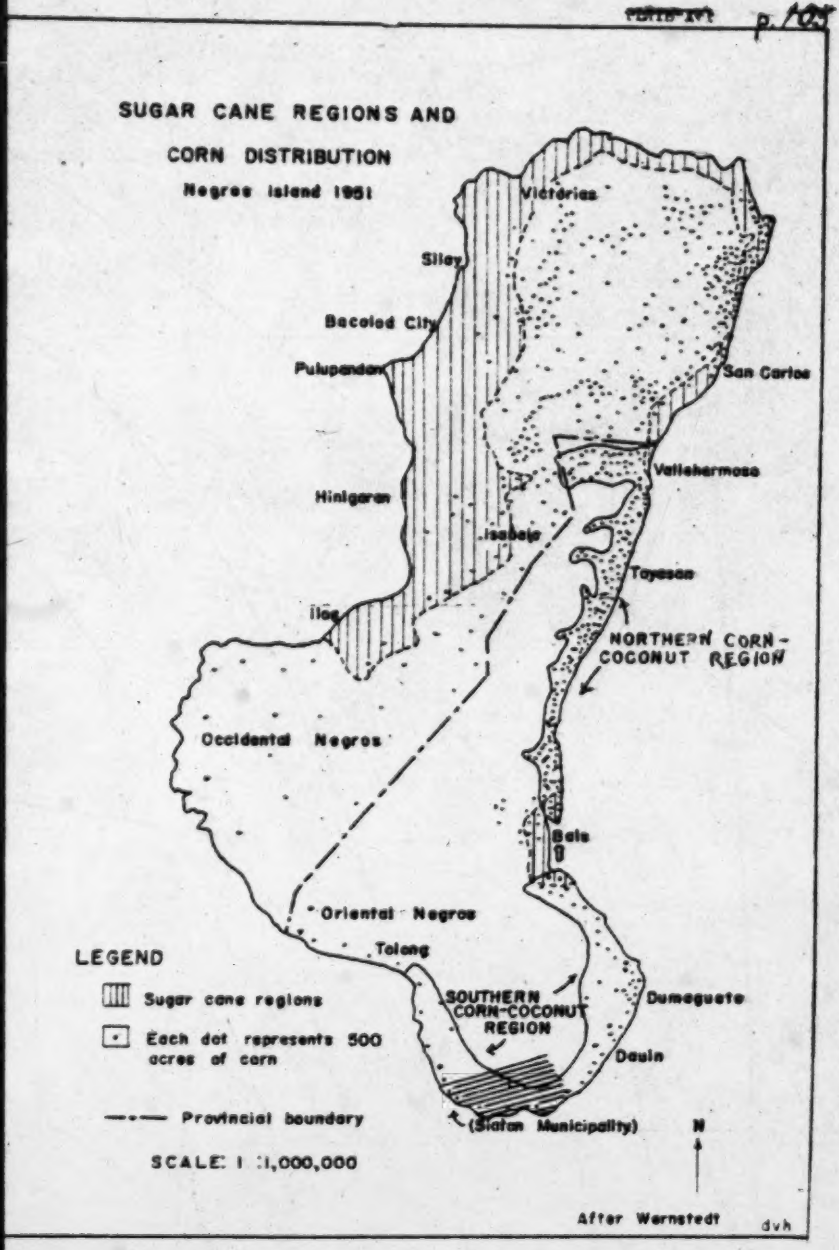

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Spanish regime sugar had become a major export but was a relatively backward industry. "Not until after the free trade developments of 1909 did the sugar industry expand markedly, though the United States already was the chief market."[99]

The major sugar cane-producing areas of the Philippines are central Luzon, Panay, and Negros. In 1950-51 Negros produced nearly 2 per cent of the world's total sugar cane. In contrast to the backward practices associated, for the most part, with the corn-coconut and rice regions of Negros: CB 249 [433]

> The techniques used in the sugar-producing areas represent an entirely different stage in the application of technical know-how to agriculture than do the practices used in any of the other agricultural crops...Mechanized farming is practiced in most of the sugar cane-producing areas where land holdings are of sufficient size to permit economic use. Artificial fertilizers are applied on almost all of the cane fields. The use of modern land farming techniques in sugar cane cultivation bears immediate cash returns, which is not the case with coconuts or other crops.[100] CB

Most of Negros' sugar cane is grown on *haciendas* (plantations) some of which are as large as several thousand acres. The *haciendas* are contracted to supply the mills with cane. In the case of the large Victorias sugar district, more than 450 individual planters supply cane for the Victorias Milling Company. For the most 249 257

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[99] Spencer, op. cit., p.803.

[100] Wernstedt, op. cit., pp.142-3.

part, the planters receive 60 per cent of the sugar obtained from the cane while the mills retain the remainder. In 1952 there were twelve sugar cane mills operating in Negros with only one in Negros Oriental (Bais). 249 257

At Victorias the workers are provided with squat cement houses with running water and electricity. Victorias is a small city with a church (one of the most dramatically modern structures in the Philippines), stores, hospital, recreational facilities, and schools. The general standard of living of the mill workers is much higher than that of the average farmer of Caticugan. Mr. Frederico Ossorio, General Manager of the Victorias Milling Company, has initiated a cooperative vocational school, and other programs to encourage community development and leadership among the workers. 257 361 [511] [874]

Negros' major sugar region begins in the south with Ilog and continues northward and eastward along the littoral. (See Plate XVI.) This region has been divided into the northern and western subregions. On Negros' eastern coast there are two small sugar cane districts, San Carlos and Bais. The sugar cane regions and the plains of Negros coincide closely. (See Plates V and XVI.)[1] 311 249

Wernstedt reports: "The western sugar subregion is the most important sugar-producing region on Negros Island, and the most important single sugar-producing

1 [See pp. 38+105, cat. 311+249 -- Analyst]

region in the Philippines. Here more than 160,000 acres of land are devoted entirely to sugar cane."[101] Table XIII gives the percentage of land devoted to different crops in the western sugar cane subregion of Negros Occidental.

TABLE XIII

Percentage of Land of Each Municipality[102] Devoted to the Major Crops, 1950-51 Western Sugar Subregion

| Municipality | Sugar Cane | Corn | Coconut | Rice (a) | Vegetables |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Saravia | 73 | 8 | * | 18 | * |
| Silay | 48 | 12 | 1 | 38 | 1 |
| Talisay | 55 | 14 | 3 | 27 | 1 |
| Bacolod City | 42 | 6 | 9 | 41 | 2 |
| Murcia | 47 | 11 | * | 39 | 3 |
| Bago | 28 | 3 | 1 | 67 | 3 |
| Pulupandan | 56 | 1 | 5 | 33 | 5 |
| Valladolid | 8 | 1 | 2 | 88 | 1 |
| San Enrique | 21 | 2 | 4 | 72 | 1 |
| La Carlota | 67 | 8 | 0 | 22 | 3 |
| Pontevedra | 44 | 2 | 1 | 51 | 2 |
| La Castellana | 46 | 9 | 1 | 41 | 3 |
| Isabela | 41 | 8 | 1 | 48 | 2 |
| Hin.gaan | 28 | 8 | 2 | 59 | 3 |
| Binalbagan | 41 | 9 | 1 | 45 | 4 |
| Himamaylan | 25 | 5 | 7 | 62 | 3 |
| Kabankalan | 31 | 6 | 1 | 59 | 3 |
| Ilog | 37 | 8 | 5 | 48 | 2 |

(a) Indicates both upland and lowland rice
(*) Indicates less than 1 percent

The western subregion with its seven sugar districts produced 43 per cent of the entire Philippine sugar cane

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[101] Wernstedt, op. cit., p. 183.

[102] Wernstedt, op. cit., p. 183. Separate figures for the newly-created Magallon municipality (June 6, 1951) are not given for when these were compiled Magallon was not separated from Isabela.

in 1950-51 or nearly 64 per cent of the total Negros crop.

Wernstedt aptly describes the general landscape of western Negros:

> The sugar lands of Negros present much the same landscape picture wherever they are encountered. In many respects they are more reminiscent of the wheat lands of Midwestern United States, than those characteristic of the Orient. Extensive rolling fields are covered with waving cane, looking not unlike waving wheat from a distance. Modern farm machinery can be seen at work in the fields, small cross-road villages house the agricultural workers, and large gleaming factories dot the landscape like Midwestern grain elevators. All look somewhat incongruous amidst the intensively cultivated rice paddies dotted with lumbering carabaos pulling wooden plows through the fields.[103]

This chapter has aimed to survey the general features of Negros' cultural landscape with emphasis on those factors that highlight the position of Siaton municipality and Caticugan. Caticugan is one of more than 300 *barrios* of Negros Oriental, located in a relatively sparsely settled part of the Southeastern Coastal lowlands. The barriofolk are subsistence farmers whose major crop is corn, although some rice is raised. The western province of Negros is primarily a sugar cane and rice area, with more people, urban settlements, transportation facilities, and modern agricultural methods. The people of Caticugan live outside the cash economy of Negros' sugar *haciendas* and *centrals*. Besides

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[103] Wernstedt, *op. cit.*, p.186.

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(sikwa: Luffa acciangula Linn.); red peppers (sile: Capsicum frutescens Linn.); squash (salabasa: Cucurbita maxima Duc.) and stringbeans. One garden was planted with some halum (Amaranthus viridis Linn.), a stubby plant with edible reddish leaves that is said to be a favorite of the Chinese living in Manila.

Gabi

Gabi, commonly known as taro, is usually planted in Caticugan's canals. A low palm leaf wall is made by weaving leaves between bamboo stakes placed near the inside canal banks. The space between the wall and the bank is gradually filled with sediment where gabi is planted. Gabi is eaten all year, when available, except on Holy Friday; many barriofolk believe if one eats gabi on this religious holiday they will become "nervous" and subject to "shaking fits." A few planted gabi in holes that were only partially filled so when the rains came the water was retained. Ubi is another root vegetable grown in Caticugan; it is not eaten, however, when the plant is leafing for then the roots are said to be fibrous. Little gabi and ubi are raised in Caticugan or sold in Siaton poblacion.

Tobacco

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Only one family raised tobacco in Caticugan; they had planted about fifteen plants in their garden. Most of the tobacco smoked by the people is grown in Bacong and

sold. The paddies of the average farmer in Siaton and Zamboanguita are so small that they cannot produce sufficient rice to last the families through the year. About 23 per cent of the cultivated land is also occupied by coconut palms. In Pamplona is one of the largest coconut plantations in Negros; it is owned and managed by Americans. Generally, however, coconut plantings vary from 5 to 15 acres and are owned by Filipinos. Many families have a few coconut trees that provide their chief cash income. Coconut palms usually appear along the littoral where the sandy soils are too well-drained for other crops and the internal drainage from the Central Mountain range favors coconut cultivation. Coconuts, however, are frequently planted along field boundaries and extend toward the interior of many parts of this region.

Coconut palms begin to bear as early as five years after planting and often produce nuts when a century old. The Laguna variety is common in this region; it is an early-bearing tree that usually produces nuts after eight or ten years. The fresh coconut meat is dried under the sun or in crude, smoky ovens, tapahans. The dried meat is known as copra and is the chief export of Dumaguete port; in 1951 it amounted to more than $5,000,000. The prosperity of this region is closely tied to copra prices. When prices are high, for example, enrollment in both public and private schools rises; but when copra prices fall school enrollments decrease

Most barriofolk go to Omanod to work as harvesters while some women and young girls go to barter bread, matches, used American clothing and other wares for corn. These vendors rarely sell their wares for money. They barter for corn, and get more corn than they could if they sold their articles. Sometimes, when the harvest is over, the vendors will sell their remaining merchandise rather than carry it home. Others go to Omanod solely to buy corn for the price is lower than in Siaton poblacion. The people usually stay with relatives or friends in Omanod during the harvest period.

Unhusked corn is usually stored in the house, the ears piled in a corner of the room or in a bin. Corn is not husked until it is ready to be shelled and ground. Lagit stones or sea shells may be put with the corn to protect it from the weevils that often do considerable damage. Perhaps only one out of every twenty families in Caticugan has a separate storehouse for corn. The average family's corn supply is small and consumed steadily so individual storehouses are unnecessary. Storehouses that exist are usually built near the residences, although in a few cases they may be at the field's edge. Theft is rare because many would be afraid to steal corn for fear of barang.[50]

[50] Barang is the belief in the supernatural ability of certain persons to cause illness or death to their enemies. These specialists are said to own magical bees that are trained to penetrate the victim's body at their owner's command. Several cases of deaths allegedly due to barang motivated by thievery were reported by the barriofolk of Caticugan.

Balatongs are usually planted in every other cornhill, three to five seeds per hill. Some plant the beans in furrows between the hills because they say the fast-growing vines retard the growth of corn. In some cases the balatong spread so rapidly that the corn cannot be plowed for weeds. There are no special lihis for planting or harvesting balatongs. 241

In Caticugan balatongs are usually planted in May or June, the wet season, and harvested from October to December. The mature pods are put on buri mats in the sun to dry. The pods must be covered with cloth so the beans will not be dispersed when the pods shatter upon heating. When thoroughly dried, the remainder of the pods are shelled by hand and the beans stored. 241 251

Mungos

Four varieties of mungos are raised in the Philippines, differentiated according to the color of the bean.[63] The Dull Yellow type is raised in Caticugan. Very few mungos, however, are planted in Caticugan; in 1951, 77 acres of mungos were planted in Siaton municipality--an excessively high estimate of the local agricultural inspector. I have been in most of the larger cultivated areas of the municipality and rarely saw more than a few small patches of mungos. One reason for their scarcity is cost of seed. In the stores of Siaton poblacion, mungos were more costly than rice. 241 [311] [435]

[63] Uichanco and Sacay, op. cit., I, pp. 364-5.

end a bamboo container (sankob) is attached that collects the sap. Ginit is put in the top of the container to keep out insects that are attracted by the sweet scent of the sap. 273

An average coconut bud will produce sap for about one month, although not all buds give sap. Tan-bark is powdered and added to the tuba for the same reasons as in making guhang. There are no libis connected with making tuba. Tuba is collected once a day; the house of this tuba maker was a favorite barrio meeting place.

Cacao

In 1951 only 50-60 cacao bushes grew in Caticugan. Cacao beans sold in the poblacion for about four dollars a pound--so expensive that few barriofolk drank or served chocolate except at wedding feasts or during the local fiestas. Owners of the cacao bushes ground the seeds and made small patties of chocolate which were dried in the sun. 245 435 251

One farmer in Barrio Caticugan had an ingenious method of watering his four cacao bushes and one coffee tree. A bamboo filled with water was propped against a tree so that the lower end was at the base of a cacao plant, and the water slowly dripped through a small hole. When the ground around the plants became too damp this hole in the bamboo was plugged for a few days. 245

Faded rags, originally red, were tied to branches of many of the cacao bushes. Some people believe that, 841

and the roots deep, as with belyakag and bolot, the men usually obtain the corms. Now and then one sees two or three men with broad-pointed iron-tipped digging sticks (sakal) set off for the hills. 222 [412]

In digging for igao one looks for a place where a plant has withered and died. The sakal is pushed gently into the opening in the earth at the base of the plant to see if there is a root; since the roots are shallow, they are easily obtained. Once the root has been uncovered, it is stuck through with a stick that serves as a handle; juice from the leaves and the corm makes the skin itch if contact occurs. There are no associated beliefs connected with igao because "it is easy to dig, always shallow in the earth."

Preparation of the igao corm takes considerable time; this is one reason why it is utilized only during food shortages. The root is first sliced into chips that are dried until they become brittle. The dried chips are pounded to powder in the rice mortar. This flour is strained through abaca cloth, dampened and repounded until it "is like wet cotton." One woman said the damp igao flour should be "pounded continuously for two hours"; if not adequately processed one becomes dizzy from eating igao porridge. A few women in Caticugan had stored small amounts of igao flour. 252 [251]

Sale of Fish Caught in the Bonsods

Most fish caught in the bonsods are sold in Dumaguete because of the higher prices paid in the city. Fish are taken to Dumaguete by the busses that run between Tolong-Dumaguete and Siaton-Dumaguete. The bonsod owner pays fifty cents for each box (about the size of an orange crate) of fish hauled to Dumaguete; a tax of one cent a pound is paid on fish sold in the marketplace. Large fish like tuna are tagged on the tail and sent individually to the city market. When the tagged boxes of fish arrive in Dumaguete marketplace they are taken by the owner's agent (in one case a woman) who receives 10 per cent of the profits.

If a large bonsod catch is made and no busses are available until the next day, Siaton operators may hire a small truck owned by a local resident. Since ice is not available, the fish must be sold quickly or they spoil. The lament of a cafe owner near the Siaton River bridge was that during fishing season busses and trucks rarely stopped at his place because they were usually carrying fish to Dumaguete. The drivers feared a leisurely trip might cause the fish to spoil.[62]

Marine fish never were plentiful in the poblacion marketplace during my residence--and fresh-water fish were

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[62] According to the Bell Report the Philippine fishing industry needs to be provided with "cold storage transportation to expand the market for fish, and...the development of freezer packers." The Bell Report, op. cit., p. 66.

While Siaton was an independent parish, including Dauin, the priest still lived in Dauin due to the danger of Moro raids in Siaton. 175*

The first tributes were collected in 1817 from the people of Mangudkod. Individuals over eighteen years had to pay twenty centavos (ten cents) to the government. The tribute (or tributo) was established during Legaspi's day and was a kind of head tax paid to Spain. The tribute was payable in money or kind to the encomenderos.[40] 175* 651

In 1817 or 1818 an earthquake occurred in southern Negros "which lasted for nearly three months", i.e., the after-shocks. 175* 731 252

> The earth was always moving, so the people had difficulties in cooking their food. They had to build a big fire and hang their pots over it. Or they cut one bamboo node, put rice inside, added water, and corked the end. They threw this node into the fire and when the bamboo was charred, the rice was cooked.

This was one of the many earthquakes which shook this region; some caused serious destruction.

During the office of Capitan Etib (1817-1818) the group decided to send a small colony from Mangudkod to begin a settlement which is today Barrio Bonbonon. Bonbonon is situated near the bluff of the southern 175* 166

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[40] The payment made in Siaton, according to Gadiane, was not that common in the Philippines. At first the tributo was eight reales (about fifteen centavos), raised to ten in 1602 and twelve reales in 1851. Zaide, The Philippine Since Pre-Spanish Times, p. 171.

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Peanuts

In 1951 only 37 acres of peanuts were planted in Siaton municipality; the most common variety was "Spanish White." In Caticugan peanuts were always intercropped with corn; the peanut-corn combination does not prevent a second corn crop since peanuts mature in 105-125 days. Peanuts are grown in the other barrios in the Siaton River valley, especially sitios Dolog and Comon (Apoloy). Usually peanuts are planted after the corn is about an inch above the ground lest the vines retard the corn's growth. There is no special lihi for peanuts; the people say that those held for the corn suffice.

Balatong

Balatong or cowpeas are usually intercropped with corn or corn-cassava combinations. Cowpeas require a clayey loam and, in Caticugan, were usually planted in this soil type. The barriofolk plant the Brownish-Red balatong variety that is one of the highest yielders; the two important varieties grown in the Philippines, however, are White Paayan (or Kibal) and New Era.[62] The balatong pods are cooked as a green vegetable; the mature dried beans are prepared in the same way as mungos. [252]

Cowpeas are usually planted at the same time as corn and mature in three to six months according to whether they are planted in the wet or dry season.

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[62] Uichanco and Sacay, op. cit., I, p. 590.

223 [825]

Farther north there are said to be a considerable number of manok ihalas (Red Jungle Fowl: Gallus gallus gallus, Linne.) that the barriofolk hunt; some are merely domesticated fowl that have gone wild. There were no wild chickens in Catiougan and the men did not hunt for them. While the trapping of wild birds is done by both sexes, it is often the sport of young boys. Wild birds furnish a very small part of the diet of only a few families in Catiougan.

LIZARDS

224

One large lizard (ibid) is hunted by some barriofolk although most of them hunt ibid only in periods of acute food shortage. This lizard is usually found in bamboo groves or in the kamansilis trees near the river; it is hunted with the blow-gun, trapped with grated coconut meat, or run down by dogs. Large ibid are said to weigh as much as 10 pounds. The meat, boiled in coconut "milk," "tastes like chicken." Another large lizard (halo) found in the locality is not eaten. [252]

COLLECTING WILD HONEY

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Once the hives of wild honey bees (potyakon) were hunted for their honey. Few wild beehives are found today in Catiougan or environs. When the hives are found accidentally, the honey is collected; the people are fond of it. One informant said that when he was a young man

and the roots deep, as with belyakag and bolot, the men usually obtain the corms. Now and then one sees two or three men with broad-pointed iron-tipped digging sticks (sakal) set off for the hills. 222 [412]

In digging for igao one looks for a place where a plant has withered and died. The sakal is pushed gently into the opening in the earth at the base of the plant to see if there is a root; since the roots are shallow, they are easily obtained. Once the root has been uncovered, it is stuck through with a stick that serves as a handle; juice from the leaves and the corm makes the skin itch if contact occurs. There are no associated beliefs connected with igao because "it is easy to dig, always shallow in the earth."

Preparation of the igao corm takes considerable time; this is one reason why it is utilized only during food shortages. The root is first sliced into chips that are dried until they become brittle. The dried chips are pounded to powder in the rice mortar. This flour is strained through abaca cloth, dampened and repounded until it "is like wet cotton." One woman said the damp igao flour should be "pounded continuously for two hours"; if not adequately processed one becomes dizzy from eating igao porridge. A few women in Caticugan had stored small amounts of igao flour. 252 [251]

are libgos, kolakdop, layat and tongogtangog. Ammakol is said to be available throughout the year while the layat, songadsongad and layalaya are gathered mostly in May and June.

Sometimes a lucky person finds a lot of mushrooms and sells them in the marketplace; they are quickly purchased. One day a young man came to Siaton poblacion with a half a gunny sack of libgos that he sold for five cents a hatful. Mushrooms are normally sliced and mixed with vegetables or fried in lard.

WILD FRUITS

Certain wild fruits are eaten in season. One popular fruit, somewhat similar to a cherry, is the lumboy (Tag: duhat; Syzygium cumini (Linn.) Skeels).[15] Lumboys ripen in April and May; children often gather large quantities and sell them in the poblacion. In Sitio Katogasan (Barrio Datag), lumboy trees are said to be very plentiful.

Wild guavas (bayabas) are fairly plentiful in Caticugan; they occur mostly in the nearby hills.[16]

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[15] An analysis of the mineral content and food value of fresh and oven-dried lumboy samples has been made. The analyses indicate that lumboy is a good source of calcium and fair in iron. Brown, op. cit., III, pp. 158-9.

[16] Guavas are one of the commonest and best known fruits in the Philippines, a native of tropical America that has become thoroughly naturalized. Brown, op. cit., III, pp. 152-3.

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Guavas ripen in August and September. Rarely, the barrio-folk make guava dulce which is pulverized guava pulp, boiled in a frying pan filled with water until tender. The cooked pulp is eaten mixed with brown sugar.

The small round fruit of the ano-on tree is eaten usually in April. The fruit is red when mature, it is often gathered by the children although the tree is not abundant in the vicinity of Caticugan. Fruit of the kamansilis (Pithecolobium dulce (Roxb.) Benth) is also gathered and eaten, particularly by the children. Many kamansilis trees grow in Caticugan, especially along the Siaton River bank. The fruit is small and flat and only the inner pulp is eaten. The bark of this tree is used also in tanning.

Some small ~~wild~~ mangoes are gathered in August and September. The ~~domesticated~~ mango is quite popular in Siaton and the demand always exceeds supply. People who have large mango trees often send boxes of the fruit to Dumaguete where they bring a higher price than in Siaton poblacion. Sometimes low fires are built under the mango trees to force early production of fruit.

[433]
[438]

PALM FLOUR

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A coarse flour can be made from the saksak, ediok and buri palms. This flour is an "emergency food" in Caticugan but some people in northern communities, like Dolog, use flour made from the saksak rather frequently before the first corn harvest. During the last war the

252 [722] 262

barriofolk utilized these palms for flour; but during my residence no one was observed making palm flour. In Caticugan the buri is used for guhang production and there are only a few sdiok and saksak palms. The time needed to make the flour discourages most barriofolk.

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The process of making flour is almost identical for the three palms. The trunk of the palm is cut into sections about 3 feet long. For the buri, leaves that have a whitish tinge along the outer edges of the stem are regarded as a sign that the tree has abundant inner pulp. Some state that the cutting and pounding of the pulp to make flour must be done in silence, "even if you have companions"; otherwise the powder will not separate when put into the container of water.

The outer bark of the palm is peeled and the inner pulp cut into sections and dried for several days. However, some state that a bamboo pick (sagongsong) or a pestle may be used to reduce the inner pith to a pulp. It is possible to store the dried sections of the palm for future use.

When one wishes to make flour the pounded pith or cut sections are soaked in water for several hours until the powder sinks to the bottom of the container. A crude container may be made from the bark of the palm, called solo. Some squeeze the moist pith over an abaca strainer while others pour water on the pith. The mixed water and pulp is called onao. After the powder has settled, the water is poured off. The flour is used to make pancakes

(kinogay), cooked in green bamboo tubes, or prepared in the sinakol manner (steam cooked), often mixed with tiktik or binlod (finely ground cornmeal). Sometimes the people from the northern barrios in the Siaton River valley come to Caticugan to barter this type of flour for corn and rice. This was not done, to my knowledge, during this field research.

Hunting and food gathering activities are related to the inadequate food supply of the barriofolk. The wild pig is not a serious agricultural problem in Caticugan and the meat is admittedly inferior to that of the domesticated pig. Most wild plants are considered as "emergency foods" to be gathered and eaten only when staples are low; i.e., when the corn and rice from the last harvest are low and new crops are not ready to harvest. For barriofolk during this period the foods collected may be important; however, this is true only of a minority in Caticugan unless there is a poor harvest or crop failure.

If the cultivated food supply were adequate all year long, hunting and, particularly, food gathering, probably would cease. Young men might continue to hunt wild pigs for sport and some wild foods would, most likely, be gathered (the "delicacies" such as mushrooms, lumboy, etc.). The role hunting and food gathering play in the daily life of the barriofolk of Caticugan today is a reflection of seasonal inadequacy of food supply and low living standards.

The barriofolk said that people living in the northern 526
barrios sometimes came to Caticugan to barter bolot for 438
corn. The corms are diced, boiled in coconut "milk" and 252
then salted or sugared to taste.

Kobong (Tag: nami; Dioscorea hispida Dennst.), a 222
native yam, is also gathered. Like igao, kobong tubers 252
must be carefully processed before consumption. Encarnacion states that if kobong corms are eaten without proper preparation they may produce death; the corms contain a poisonous alkaloid called dioscorine.[13] Kobong are sliced into thin chips and dried for several days. Then they are put in water, usually in a creek, on mats weighted with stones. Each morning, for several days, "one must stir the still water so the powder soaked off will float away." Then the chips are squeezed and put under the sun. This process removes the dioscorine and most of the sugar and starch leaving mainly the fiber. When thoroughly dried, kobong chips are pounded into a coarse flour that is used to make porridge or stored. One should not dig kobong when the wind moves the vine, according to some informants, because if one does and later eats the tubers dizziness results.

No wild seeds of any sort are gathered, or were in 222
the past, by the barriofolk of Caticugan. They do not 262
gather many wild vegetables, except for these corms. Some collect wild tangkong or halum (often in the flooded

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[13] Brown, op. cit., I, pp. 398-401.

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Snails are gathered all year except when the river is flooded and too swift to collect them. Even during the rainy season, the snails are collected between floods. Another factor that discourages people from gathering snails during the rainy season is the appearance in the river of the poisonous golden-colored fish, lupo. When stepped on, this fish inflicts a painful wound.

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Both sexes gather snails in the river, although it is done mostly by women and young children. As one female informant explained: "Women are easier to group together than men and in the evening the men like to drink guhang." Snails are collected in the day or at night by moonlight or a flashlight.

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Kapia, Ungka and Bong-Bong are usually found on top of stones at night or under them during the day. The people explain that at night the snails come from under the stones to feed. Soso and Tibo-Tibo normally occur on the sandy river bottom. When snails are gathered during the day stones are turned over along the river edge where the water is shallow. The people wear a small bamboo container or carry a can in which to put the snails.

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Snails are boiled, sometimes with vegetables, to make soup (sabao). The meat is then extracted from the shell and eaten. Most houses have a nearby kitchen midden of discarded snail and clam shells.

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To make lime (apog) for betel nut chewing, snail shells are put in a half section of dry bamboo that is

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placed on dry palm leaves. The other half of the bamboo, the "lid," is fitted on top and covered with more leaves. Then the leaves are fired. When the fire burns out, the burnt shells are carefully picked up lest they shatter and are put in a container of water. The water is then thoroughly stirred; after the lime has settled, the water is poured off. Some wash the burnt shells after firing and crush them without soaking in water. A bamboo container for carrying lime for betel nut chewing is called sugong; a container carved from carabao horn is called luka.

Marine Snails and Clams

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Table XXVIII, Varieties of Marine Clams and Snails Gathered in Siaton, presents pertinent data regarding local names, scientific identification and frequency of catch of marine snails and clams. (See Pages 636 - 637.) These mollusks, a fairly frequent part of the diet of barriofolk, give both variety and flavor to their daily fare. Like the fresh-water snails, they may be boiled to make a weak soup, eaten as meat, or cooked with vegetables. In the northern barrios marine mollusks are rarely eaten owing to the distance from the sea. Whereas a few people gather marine mollusks all the year, the southwest monsoon's arrival makes it difficult for the sea becomes rough. Like the free-water mollusks, the marine snails and clams are collected mainly during the dry season.

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sure that no such observations have been made previously regarding this species. Such a migration readily explains the presence of the Talaud specimens in a marine habitat. 226 136

Dr. Chace wrote concerning the Tolo crab:

This species has been recorded in the literature from Celebes, Flores, Ceram, northern Sumatra, and the Andamans. There are specimens in our collection from Uki Island in the Dutch East Indies and the Baganga River, Mindanao. I do not believe that this species has been recorded in the literature from the Philippines.[30]

Shrimp

The reddish-black Analsalon is the smallest of the four types of shrimp in the river and creeks. The blackish Magus has an indistinct white stripe on its back; the female is said to have no pincers. The Naturale, a whitish-grey shrimp, is not found as frequently as other types in Caticugan Creek. Shrimp are frequently boiled with vegetables to give a better flavor. [252 262]

The shrimp caught are small, from one to three inches. However, during the rainy season in the river and creeks near Caticugan shrimp are caught from four to six inches long. The people say these bigger shrimp are washed down from the upper reaches of the Siaton River and its tributaries by the swift currents of the rainy season. I have seen shrimp from eight to nine inches long that had been caught in creeks near Balanan.

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[30]Personal communications to the writer from Dr. Fenner A. Chace, Jr., April 15 and November 6, 1952.

Crabs

When the brown shrike begins to sing in September or October the Katang, Kalampay and Tolo crabs are said to begin their migration down river. The crabs spawn at the mouth of the river; they begin late in September and continue until early in November. October is the chief month of migration for these crabs. 226 136

The mature Katang and Kalampay are about the same size; the Tolo is smaller. A mature Katang is as large as the back of one's hand; a Tolo rarely grows larger than a fifty-cent coin. The Katang receives its name from a C-like mark on its back. When Katang and Kalampay migrate the barriofolk turn out in force to obtain them with traps, nets and by hand. Some young men stand in the river and feel with their feet for the crabs on the bottom. When a crab is felt (or bites their foot) they duck under the surface to grab it. Females Katang are prized because they carry good-sized bunches of orange-colored eggs; the male Katang, however, has large pincers and more meat than the female. 226

In December or January the Katang young (Lavagay) begin their migration upstream. They move by thousands along the river edges, over the stones in the shallow water, marching like well-drilled cadets. The barriofolk catch the Lavagay, sometimes with blankets, then pound and salt them to make a variety of ginamos. Some people [136] [252].

A general pattern does appear, however; the barriofolk more often have domestic altars in their dwellings, of various degrees of elaborateness. These altars are less popular mong many of the poblacion principalia (who are Catholics); their popularity and frequency increase in homes of the urban wealthy. Some city homes I visited had a separate room that was a place of worship, a sanctuary with expensive religious pictures and elaborate figures of saints and the Holy Family. The nearness of the local church may account for the decline in number of altars in Siaton poblacion.

Kitchen equipment normally includes the large clay water jar and a dirt and ash-floored cooking platform or hearth (dapog). The small clay pot rests (hornos) cost fifteen cents and are put on the hearth; they resemble the Japanese shichirin. While most barriofolk now use the horno some still cook by setting pots on three stones placed in a triangular position and known as sug-ang.[8] This was the old way of cooking before the horno's introduction. Every kitchen has a few cooking pots. More people are buying iron kettles for cooking. Pot rests (balanka) are made of rattan or corn cobs. (See Plate LVIII.)[1]

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[8] There are a number of riddles concerning the sug-ang.
"Three brothers have but one name." (Bicol)
"What are those three houses facing each other that cannot be burned?" (Igorot)
The answer to both is sug-ang. Buaken, op. cit., pp. 348-50.

1 [See p. 658, Cat. 417 -- Analyst]

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tied to the house posts and the pig's trough is usually in the silong. In a few cases the silong was enclosed with a loosely woven bamboo grill. Many houses have small porches, most of them roofed, with bamboo benches; a few potted plants grow on the porch and the corn or rice grinders (galingan) are often kept there. (See Plates LIX and LX.)[1]

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Two types of grinders are made from a grey granite. One is used to grind corn into meal (bugos mais) and the other to make flour rice for rice cakes (binka).[9] Corn or rice kernels are dropped into the hole at the top of the grinder and ground between the teeth of the lower part of the mill. These grinders are gradually disappearing; most barriofolk take their corn (rarely rice) to the kerosene machine mills in the poblacion. I saw one corn grinder abandoned near a residence; the owner said she discarded it because their corn was ground in the poblacion.

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Another device often seen in barrio dwellings is the kagoran that is used to shred coconut. The meat is rubbed against the iron shredder and collected below in a dish. Shredded coconut is mixed with a little water and squeezed by hand to make "coconut milk" used in preparing rice cakes and other foods. (See Plate LXI.)[2]

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[9] The same type of corn grinder is used by the Magahats. Oradion, op. cit., p. 85, Plate 56, illustrates the galingan (as also called by Magahats) for grinding corn. The Magahats evidently do not have the rice grinder used in Cateugan

1 (See p. 661 ff, cat. 412 or 116 -- Analyst)

2 (This plate is missing -- Analyst)

Spanish regime sugar had become a major export but was a relatively backward industry. "Not until after the free trade developments of 1909 did the sugar industry expand markedly, though the United States already was the chief market."[99]

The major sugar cane-producing areas of the Philippines are central Luzon, Panay, and Negros. In 1950-51 Negros produced nearly 2 per cent of the world's total sugar cane. In contrast to the backward practices associated, for the most part, with the corn-coconut and rice regions of Negros:

> The techniques used in the sugar-producing areas represent an entirely different stage in the application of technical know-how to agriculture than do the practices used in any of the other agricultural crops...Mechanized farming is practiced in most of the sugar cane-producing areas where land holdings are of sufficient size to permit economic use. Artificial fertilizers are applied on almost all of the cane fields. The use of modern land farming techniques in sugar cane cultivation bears immediate cash returns, which is not the case with coconuts or other crops.[100]

Most of Negros' sugar cane is grown on haciendas (plantations) some of which are as large as several thousand acres. The haciendas are contracted to supply the mills with cane. In the case of the large Victorias sugar district, more than 400 individual planters supply cane for the Victorias Milling Company. For the most

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[99] Spencer, op. cit., p.803.

[100] Wernstedt, op. cit., pp.142-3.

part, the planters receive 60 per cent of the sugar obtained from the cane while the mills retain the remainder. In 1952 there were twelve sugar cane mills operating in Negros with only one in Negros Oriental (Bais). 249 257

At Victorias the workers are provided with squat cement houses with running water and electricity. Victorias is a small city with a church (one of the most dramatically modern structures in the Philippines), stores, hospital, recreational facilities, and schools. The general standard of living of the mill workers is much higher than that of the average farmer of Caticugan. Mr. Frederico Ossorio, General Manager of the Victorias Milling Company, has initiated a cooperative vocational school, and other programs to encourage community development and leadership among the workers. 257 361 [511] [874]

Negros' major sugar region begins in the south with Ilog and continues northward and eastward along the littoral. (See Plate XVI.) This region has been divided into the northern and western subregions. On Negros' eastern coast there are two small sugar cane districts, San Carlos and Bais. The sugar cane regions and the plains of Negros coincide closely. (See Plates V and XVI.)[1] 311 249

Wernstedt reports: "The western sugar subregion is the most important sugar-producing region on Negros Island, and the most important single sugar-producing

1 [See pp. 38+105, cat. 311+249 -- Analyst]

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The wearing of scapularies, amulets, etc., blessed at Roman Catholic shrines, would seem to have given the idea added sanction during the Spanish regime, and the anting-anting of today has words of sacred significance and figures of the Virgin or crucifix (frequently drawn in rude style in ink on a ragged breastplate of cheap cotton cloth), besides meaningless words and figures of beasts which date back to pre-Catholic days..."[155]

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A carabao had been killed the day the Babaylanes arrived in Siaton because it had gored a man. When this meat was offered to them they refused, explaining they did not eat meat on Wednesday, probably a reinterpretation of the Catholic custom. The next morning, without disturbing the residents, the Babaylanes left for Dumaguete. News of their movement toward the city threw the people in Zamboanguita, Dauin, and Bacong into confusion. Messengers were sent from Zamboanguita to Dumaguete notifying the officials of the Babaylanes pending attack and requesting troops for the protection of the community.

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Fifty armed tiradoras (sharpshooters) were sent from Dumaguete. They met the Babaylanes at Barrio Bulak (Bacong) and "herded them like sheep until they arrived at the school building in poblacion Bacong." The Babaylanes were kept in the building all night. Gadiane does not report what fate befell this group, although he mentions negotiations were carried out with the new governor of Negros Oriental "for this was already the time of the revolution."

[155] LeRoy, The Americans in the Philippines, II, pp. 214-5, footnote No. 1.

Finally two young boys and a girl are selected from 241
the group and their mouths are stuffed with roasted rice. 788
The person who puts the rice into the boys' mouths repeats: "Pokpok bata" and for the girl "Pokpok baye." Pokpok means "plenty" or "full" while bata and baye mean "boy" and "girl" respectively. The purpose of this ceremony is to ensure a full storehouse of rice for the caingin cultivator after the next year's harvest. Now the guests eat and if there are sufficient young people present, and some who can play guitars, a dance may follow. One woman enthusiastically said that the "loto is the happiest part of the harvest season in the mountains."

It is difficult to assess the importance of the 262
food the barriofolk of Caticugan obtain through bartering with or working for caingin cultivators. Caingin gleaners probably are those whose food supply is ~~very low~~; dried cassava and camote chips are not a popular or widely eaten food in Caticugan. Dried cassava and camote chips often are eaten during the "starvation months," the period following the rice harvest, before the first corn crop is mature. Women who went to Padang during March were mothers and wives searching for food for their families during this period of food shortage. Corn and rice obtained from upland caingins are important supplementary foods for those who make the tiring hike to the mountains to harvest in steep-sloped caingins.

stumbled over while walking or plowing. This object is divided and planted in three hills that form a triangle in the middle of the field. This lihi must be done in the afternoon when stars are visible and the three hills are planted with the elbows, not the hands. The pieces of wood or stone supposedly ensure that the camotes will be as large as the object stumbled over; planting when the stars are visible "will make the camotes as plentiful as the stars in the sky." Inserting the cuttings with the elbows makes the camotes "large as one's elbows."

The custom in Caticugan is to top the camote plants for greens before the tubers are mature. Studies made at Los Baños show that topping camotes "reduces the yield of the roots so much that the combined income from roots and vines would be less than that from roots alone in the untopped plants." The account adds, however, that "topping...offers a way of getting immediate returns."[61] In Caticugan, the results of this research are unknown but the findings would probably have little effect on the topping of camote plants because "immediate returns" count most with the barriofolk.

Camotes take from four to five months to mature and become fairly plentiful in the barrio and marketplace by November and December. When boiled the camotes have a

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[61] Uichanco and Sacay, op. cit., I, p. 446.

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greyish color and are usually very fibrous. Boiled camotes stuck on small bamboo sticks are often sold in Siaton's marketplace and small stores.

Cassava

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The so-called native cassava (balanghoy) was brought to the Philippines from Mexico during the early days of the Spanish regime. Varieties of cassava with commercial possibilities were not introduced into the Philippines until the American period. In some localities, like the Sulu archipelago, cassava is the staple food; in Siaton, however it is merely a supplementary seasonal food. The plant is cultivated by Filipinos for the tubers which store from 15 to 40 per cent starch. [146]

Only 32 acres of cassava were planted in Siaton municipality in 1951; very little was grown in Caticugan. [311] While three types of cassava are known and planted in the area--Visaya, Java and Australia--most of the cassava in Caticugan is Visaya. The Visaya variety grown in Caticugan may be Mandioca Sao Pedro Preto. The barriofolk report that Visaya cassava tastes better than the Java variety and contains more starch. Australia cassava is reported to be grown mainly in Nasi-id and Bantolinao, sitios of Caticugan. Visaya cassava takes from ten to twelve months to mature, although the barriofolk of Caticugan dig immature roots after six months. [262]

Two small patches planted solely to cassava in Caticugan were both in Naga. These patches were too

in paper and state that the exact number of hills planted during the lihi is unimportant. The cassava lihi may be done in any part of the field as long as it is practiced for the first planting. 241

If these agricultural lihis for the crops do not succeed, if the crops are infested with pests and the harvests poor, the farmers believe their tribulations are due to "the will of God" (pagbu-ot sa Dios). Failure of the lihi is not attributed to ineffectiveness of the practice, by the majority of the people. This concept of God's will is a major theme of community life in Caticugan. It is the belief that man does not fail God so much as God fails man and that man, helpless in such situations, resigns humbly and quietly to his fate. This concept of man's relation to God is the basis for much of the conservatism of the barriofolk. 241 777

Once the cassava is planted the plants receive little care. There is no weeding of cassava patches, although cassava intercropped with corn is plowed for weeds. Rats, said to be the major cassava pest, destroy the larger tubers. When the first cassava tuber is dug, a simple lihi is often practiced. The tuber is boiled with some sugar to render all roots subsequently dug from the field "sweet and nice tasting." Often cassava roots are dug before they are fully mature, especially if the family needs food; with the end of the barrio fiesta in February, cassava tubers disappear except for those which were sliced, dried and stored. 241 [262]

used to make charcoal for the women's irons. Coconut "milk" is obtained by squeezing grated meat in water and dippers and cups are carved from the hard shells. Sap from the coconut palm produces mildly alcoholic drink, tuba, that is popular throughout the Philippines. Only one man made tuba in Barrio Caticugan so the account that follows is based mainly on this informant's explanation. Tuba is considered superior to guhang by the barriofolk and costs more when purchased in the poblacion. So little tuba is made, however, that it is difficult to buy the drink at stores. The alcoholic content of tuba and guhang appears to be about the same for a given period of fermentation.

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Tuba is the drink produced from the sap collected from the bud (bulok) ~~of~~ the coconut tree. Since the bud produces the coconuts, ~~making tuba~~ reduces the yield of the tree; this is one reason why some owners did not make tuba. A coconut tree selected for tuba-making should have at least three buds. The brown mat-like material (ginit) is cleaned away from the top of the tree where the fronds radiate outward--a process called la-as. Stones are placed on the broad stems of the fronds where they grow from the trunk to push them downward to make it easier to get at the bud.

The selected bud is wrapped with rattan and the end is tied to a branch, pulling the bud downward to facilitate the flow of the sap. The tip of the bud is cut every day so the sap will continue to flow liberally. At the bud's

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when a cacao bush is passed or brushed by a menstruating woman, the fruit may rot or the flowers fall if it is not protected with these rags.

Jackfruit

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A number of jackfruit trees (So-oy: Artocarpus odoratissima Blum) grow in Caticugan. The jackfruit was brought to the Philippines from India (here known as yaca) during the Spanish period.[70] The fruit is eaten raw or boiled as a vegetable. Sometimes jackfruits are wrapped with an old mat or paper, as are squashes, to protect them from the insects; the most serious of jackfruit's pest appears to be ants.

Pineapples and Papayas

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Several small patches of native pineapple, penia, (Ananas comusos Linn.) occur in Barrio Caticugan. The plants, however, were usually given little care; the fruits were small and wormy. Some barriofolk in Caticugan had a few papaya trees (Kapaya: Carica papaya Linn.); they said that more papayas were not grown because of excessive flooding during the rainy season. This explanation, however, was largely rationalization because in many localities papayas could have been grown without risk of flooding at any time of the year. Green papayas were sometimes grated as a "salad" or fed to pigs.

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[70] Antonio de Morga, Blair and Robertson, op. cit. XVI, p. 88.

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There were only four or five coffee trees in the entire barrio. The price of coffee beans in the poblacion was high; most of the people in Caticugan, and many in the poblacion, drank "coffee" made from toasted ground cornmeal.

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There was a custom in the barrio of tying a broken pot or bottles to the cacao, gourd and papaya plants. The pots or bottles were said to make the plants produce large fruits and prevent the fruit from falling when immature. This custom was observed in Siaton poblacion, in nearly every barrio visited in southern Negros, and in Dumaguete City.

Bananas

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Not many bananas are raised in Caticugan or Siaton poblacion. The western barrios, e.g., Cabangahan and Giliga-on, produced most of the bananas sold in the stores of Siaton poblacion; often busses from the west would leave bunches of bananas in the poblacion for sale. However, there were many days when bananas could not be purchased in the marketplace or in the sari-sari stores along the National Road. The banana bud is cooked and eaten as a vegetable; this may be one reason for the scarcity of the fruit in Caticugan.

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Kapok

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In 1948 less than 5 per cent of the total Philippine production of kapok was grown in Negros Oriental. Some kapok trees, doldol (Agave cantalu Roxb.) grow in Caticugan

20: Hart E-5 (1954) 1954 OA: Philippines
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Much has been written of the average Filipino's dislike of vegetables. Hayden states:

> A number of attempts have been made to promote vegetable gardening in the barrios. The habits of a people as to what they shall grow and what they shall eat are slow to change...[72]

In Caticugan, however, the majority of the barriofolk apparently like vegetables--making allowances for individual differences. There are a host of reasons why more vegetables are not raised and eaten by rural Filipinos; the myriad pests, lack of and excess of water, and difficulties in obtaining seed. One can become unpopular in a community where goats, pigs and chickens are rarely penned by constantly complaining to the authorities of a neighbor's marauding animals! As a result many Filipinos who might raise more vegetables become discouraged and value harmonious relationships in the community above a thriving home garden.

If the women often sell more vegetables in the marketplace than their families eat this is not because they dislike vegetables. Tomatoes that bring fifty cents in the Siaton marketplace would not feed as many persons as the cornmeal or fish this money buys. It is not that the people scorn vegetables so much as it is the necessity of selling them in order to buy needed staples. Vegetables may assume a larger role in the average rural Filipino's

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[72] Hayden, op. cit., p. 660.

diet when there is no need to barter or sell them for more filling dietary necessities and when cultural factors favor vegetable production.

Though women predominate in gardening activities in Caticugan the poblacion school teaches only the boys to grow vegetables. It was an early American idea to add gardening activities to the elementary curriculum; the officials concerned did not realize that in the barrios gardening is mainly a female activity. This is probably because women, not men, are the vendors of vegetables. In fact, a man who would sell vegetables in Caticugan would be a deviant in the eyes of most of the barriofolk. One man who vended vegetables was known to all as a bayute, a name for very feminine-acting men. In southern Negros the school boys are being trained to do a girl's work in the barrios.

Kalamongay

The most commonly grown vegetable in Caticugan is kalamongay (Tag. Malungay: Moringa oleifera Linn.), a small tree-like plant that produces leafy branches. The branches are cut and stripped; the small tender leaves are cooked as greens. Kalamongay often grows so tall that small children can climb it or the top branches are cut with a small knife tied to a bamboo. When the rains come kalamongay is cut back and new cuttings planted. Sometimes ashes are spread around the base of the newly-planted

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The people say today there is "no incentive" to own horses (kabayos) due to the small herds of cattle; the horses were widely used before the war to care for the cattle.

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In Caticugan horses are normally ridden by the men and serve as a means of transportation among the barrios; I never saw them used in farming activities, harnessed to any type of vehicle, and only rarely ridden by women. Some horses are kept in corrals in Caticugan but most of them are permitted to roam the nearby hills; it is often a job to catch them when they are wanted. I once counted twenty-one horses grazing in Dangola. Horses are sometimes ridden bareback but normally a wooden saddle (siya sa kabayo) is used. The barriofolk eat horse meat when it is available. However, a horse is not killed until it is very old, injured, or sickly; then the animal is slaughtered and the meat sold. My assistant's horse looked sickly so he had it killed and the meat was sold quickly in Barrio Caticugan.

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Pigs

The scrawny pig with a bony back and uncurled tail, constantly rooting for food, is a typical barrio sight. Most families have several pigs (baboy); often one pig is the "fiesta pig" fattened during the year for this celebration. Next to beef, pork is the most prized meat. The native pig is called baboy while the few foreign strains are called Englisa. A nursing pig is called anaoy while her young are known as baktin.

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A bamboo pole against the tree enables the chickens to climb into the branches, although most of them can fly. The chickens are rarely fed by their owners and are lean and tough when eaten. Nests are usually found in the silong (space under the raised house), among the rafters, or in a corner of a room. Plate XXXI[1] shows one type of nest used in Caticugan. A large bamboo is split and the splints woven apart with rattan; dried grass is often put inside. There is a constant battle to shoo the chickens from a house, since they try to sneak into the kitchen to eat uncovered food.

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The barriofolk eat few eggs, not that they dislike eggs, but eggs bring a good price in the poblacion--five cents each in 1951. Sale of a dozen eggs enabled the vendor to purchase several gantas of cornmeal that go farther in feeding the family. Eggs not sold are normally used for settings. In the poblacion chickens sell for fifty to seventy-five cents and scores of chickens are sold each week in Dumaguete.

## The Bolhon and Palihog: Cooperative Labor Groups

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The growing individualism in Caticugan life, already cited, includes agriculture. I shall describe some of the cooperative agricultural practices of the past and indicate reasons for their decline in present-day Caticugan.

During Lucas Ego's period there were two types of cooperative labor groups in Caticugan, the bolhon and

1 [See p. 432, Cat. 231 -- Analyst]

are regarded as inferior to their staples, except for fruits and mushrooms that are considered delicacies. Food gathering activities in Caticugan reflect inadequate harvests or small fields. If the fields' harvests and sizes were increased and the people less dependent on a somewhat erratically distributed precipitation, food gathering would almost entirely disappear. Under normal conditions only a minority of families regularly collect food each year; a poor corn harvest, however, increases considerably the number of collectors.

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## WILD PIG HUNTING AND ASSOCIATED RITES

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Besides being the most destructive wild animal in the Siaton River valley, the wild pig is the only animal hunted by the barriofolk, save for a few wild birds and a large iguana-type lizard, ibid. There are no monkeys in Caticugan and the men do not purposely hunt them, although they eat the meat if available. In the past wild deer were hunted near Caticugan with the bow and arrow, but both the deer and the bow and arrow have vanished. Many men hunt wild pigs with homemade spears. It is said in Caticugan that no one has ever owned a gun.

Wild pigs occur in the hills and mountains west and north of Caticugan. One young man killed twelve large pigs, "not counting the little ones," within several months; another man in Barrio Canaway killed twenty-three pigs in nine months. A noted hunter of Naga was said to have killed as many as fifty wild pigs in a year. Though the meat of the wild pig is stringy and tough, it is a not

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seared the hair from the pig, butchered and cleaned it. As he removed the hair from the pig he said softly: "Thanks [speaking to the spirits] for this boar. I hope the next time we hunt we can get a bigger one and it will not be so difficult to kill." He let the dogs drink some of the pig's blood from his cupped hands and eat pieces of the intestines for them to eat. Hunting dogs usually get the pig's intestines as their share. Some hunters, however, said "if you really like the intestines you keep some for yourself."[7]

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Hunting wild pigs by Caticugan men does not furnish most families with sizable quantities of meat. Only twice during my residence did I see slaughtered wild pigs in barrio kitchens. Frequently I was invited to eat with the barriofolk yet I was never served wild pig. There are a few men who do spend considerable time during the dry season hunting wild pigs; for the majority, however, hunting wild pigs is only an occasional activity. It is my opinion that a few men (perhaps one in Caticugan) specialize in hunting wild pigs, selling or bartering the meat for staples. The young men usually hunt for the enjoyment they receive from the chase.

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[7]Oracion's account of wild pig hunting among the Magahats does not mention any ceremony similar to the hood. However, when a pig is killed its liver is removed on the spot, chopped into small pieces and scattered on the ground. "This is his offering to the spirits." Oracion, on. cit., p. 67.

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FOWLING

Only a few barriofolk in Caticugan practice fowling. The birds caught are minor food items. One fairly common method of trapping the galanggiyang (Philippine Glossy Starling: Apolonis panayensis (Scop.)) is to place a large bamboo in a tree. Small openings are cut into each section so the birds will build nests inside. When the young starlings are ready to fly they are taken from the nest, plucked, gutted, salted, and soaked in tuba vinegar. I visited a family in Talo-ot when they were having Sunday meal of about twenty two-week old starlings that had been roasted over coals. I saw about four or five such bamboo nest-traps in Caticugan. (See Plate XXXIII.)[1]

A number of other wild birds are trapped and eaten. The most common are the bontog (both the Barred Button Quail: Turnix suscitator nigrescens (Tweed); and Painted Quail, pitao, Coturnix chinensis lineata (Scop.)); ponay (Pink-necked Green Pigeon: Treron vernans vernans (Linne.)); and the tokmo (Philippine Turtle Dove: Streptopelia bitorquata dusumieri (Temm.)).[8]

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[8]Identification of these birds was made through the use of Jean Delacour and Ernst Mayr, Birds of the Philippines, Macmillan, New York, 1946, and by consultation with Professor Dioscoro S. Rabor, a noted ornithologist of Silliman University, and one especially well-informed on the birds of Negros. Other birds trapped are dalag-dalag or antolihao (Black-naped Oriole: Oriolus chinensis suluensis Sharpe); tibalas (Brown Shrike: Lanius cristatus lucionensis Linn.); tangol-ol (Yellow-vented Bulbul: Pycnonotus goiavier goiavier (Scop.)); manatad (Green-winged Ground Dove: Chalcophaps indica indica (Linne.);[2]

1 [See p. 516, cat 223 or 116 -- Analyst]

2 [Footnote 8 continued on p. 517, cat. 223 or 116 -- Analyst]

Guavas ripen in August and September. Rarely, the barrio-folk make guava dulce which is pulverized guava pulp, boiled in a frying pan filled with water until tender. The cooked pulp is eaten mixed with brown sugar. 222 252

The small round fruit of the ano-on tree is eaten usually in April. The fruit is red when mature, it is often gathered by the children although the tree is not abundant in the vicinity of Caticugan. Fruit of the kamansilis (Pithecolobium dulce (Roxb.) Benth) is also gathered and eaten, particularly by the children. Many kamansilis trees grow in Caticugan, especially along the Siaton River bank. The fruit is small and flat and only the inner pulp is eaten. The bark of this tree is used also in tanning.

Some small wild mangoes are gathered in August and September. The domesticated mango is quite popular in Siaton and the demand always exceeds supply. People who have large mango trees often send boxes of the fruit to Dumaguete where they bring a higher price than in Siaton poblacion. Sometimes low fires are built under the mango trees to force early production of fruit. [433] [438]

PALM FLOUR

A coarse flour can be made from the saksak, ediok and buri palms. This flour is an "emergency food" in Caticugan but some people in northern communities, like Dolog, use flour made from the saksak rather frequently before the first corn harvest. During the last war the 262 252

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barriofolk utilized these palms for flour; but during my residence no one was observed making palm flour. In Caticugan the buri is used for guhang production and there are only a few sdiok and saksak palms. The time needed to make the flour discourages most barriofolk.

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The process of making flour is almost identical for the three palms. The trunk of the palm is cut into sections about 3 feet long. For the buri, leaves that have a whitish tinge along the outer edges of the stem are regarded as a sign that the tree has abundant inner pulp. Some state that the cutting and pounding of the pulp to make flour must be done in silence, "even if you have companions"; otherwise the powder will not separate when put into the container of water.

The outer bark of the palm is peeled and the inner pulp cut into sections and dried for several days. However, some state that a bamboo pick (sagongsong) or a pestle may be used to reduce the inner pith to a pulp. It is possible to store the dried sections of the palm for future use.

When one wishes to make flour the pounded pith or cut sections are soaked in water for several hours until the powder sinks to the bottom of the container. A crude container may be made from the bark of the palm, called solo. Some squeeze the moist pith over an abaca strainer while others pour water on the pith. The mixed water and pulp is called onao. After the powder has settled, the water is poured off. The flour is used to make pancakes

(kinogay), cooked in green bamboo tubes, or prepared in the sinakol manner (steam cooked), often mixed with tiktik or binlod (finely ground cornmeal). Sometimes the people from the northern barrios in the Siaton River valley come to Caticugan to barter this type of flour for corn and rice. This was not done, to my knowledge, during this field research.

Hunting and food gathering activities are related to the inadequate food supply of the barriofolk. The wild pig is not a serious agricultural problem in Caticugan and the meat is admittedly inferior to that of the domesticated pig. Most wild plants are considered as "emergency foods" to be gathered and eaten only when staples are low; i.e., when the corn and rice from the last harvest are low and new crops are not ready to harvest. For barriofolk during this period the foods collected may be important; however, this is true only of a minority in Caticugan unless there is a poor harvest or crop failure.

If the cultivated food supply were adequate all year long, hunting and, particularly, food gathering, probably would cease. Young men might continue to hunt wild pigs for sport and some wild foods would, most likely, be gathered (the "delicacies" such as mushrooms, lumboy, etc.). The role hunting and food gathering play in the daily life of the barriofolk of Caticugan today is a reflection of seasonal inadequacy of food supply and low living standards.

The barriofolk said that people living in the northern 526
barrios sometimes came to Catiougan to barter bolot for 438
corn. The corms are diced, boiled in coconut "milk" and 252
then salted or sugared to taste.

Kobong (Tag: nami; Dioscorea hispida Dennst.), a 222
native yam, is also gathered. Like igad, kobong tubers 252
must be carefully processed before consumption. Encarnacion states that if kobong corms are eaten without proper preparation they may produce death; the corms contain a poisonous alkaloid called dioscorine.[13] Kobong are sliced into thin chips and dried for several days. Then they are put in water, usually in a creek, on mats weighted with stones. Each morning, for several days, "one must stir the still water so the powder soaked off will float away." Then the chips are squeezed and put under the sun. This process removes the dioscorine and most of the sugar and starch leaving mainly the fiber. When thoroughly dried, kobong chips are pounded into a coarse flour that is used to make porridge or stored. One should not dig kobong when the wind moves the vine, according to some informants, because if one does and later eats the tubers dizziness results.

No wild seeds of any sort are gathered, or were in 222
the past, by the barriofolk of Catiougan. They do not 262
gather many wild vegetables, except for these corms. Some collect wild tangkong or halum (often in the flooded

[13] Brown, op. cit., I, pp. 398-401.

paddies) and a few use the leaves of the dapdap (Erythrina variegata L. var. orientalis (L.) Merr.) tree as greens. Sometimes the blossoms of wild bananas are gathered, boiled, and eaten. 222 262

MUSHROOMS

Wild mushrooms, though not very plentiful, are gathered by the barriofolk. Most people are fond of mushrooms, and consider them a delicacy. Individuals rarely make special searches for mushrooms; they watch for them when traveling in the mountains. Mushrooms are usually collected during the rainy season; they are found growing in bamboo groves, on dead logs, rotting banana or abaca stalks (often in caingins) and other shady places.[14] 222

Eleven different types of edible mushrooms (ohong) are gathered by the barriofolk: amamakol, libgos, kolukdop, lavat, saha-an, kotmava, ohong (a poisonous type is also known by the same name), talopo, tangogtangog, lavalava and songadsongad. The most common varieties that grow near Caticugan

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[14] Few cases of fatal mushroom poisoning occur in the Philippines since the poisonous species rarely grow in the lowlands; they thrive best in cool places in the mountains. "It is a common belief in the Philippines that thunder and lightning have something to do with the spontaneous appearance of mushrooms. When thunder begins to rumble, especially during May or early June, at the start of the rainy season, young and old in rural communities rush out to the open fields and meadows to search for mushrooms." The general name for edible mushrooms in Tagalog is kabute, in Negros and Panay, ohong, and Leyte ulaping. Jose M. Mendoza, "Philippine Mushrooms." The Philippines Journal of Science, LXV, Nos. 1-2, (January-February, 1938), pp. 13-15. My collection of mushrooms for identification spoiled: for this reason the English or scientific names are not given. Mendoza's study did not list the Cebuano names for these mushrooms. [811] [146]

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Snails are gathered all year except when the river is flooded and too swift to collect them. Even during the rainy season, the snails are collected between floods. Another factor that discourages people from gathering snails during the rainy season is the appearance in the river of the poisonous golden-colored fish, lupo. When stepped on, this fish inflicts a painful wound.

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Both sexes gather snails in the river, although it is done mostly by women and young children. As one female informant explained: "Women are easier to group together than men and in the evening the men like to drink guhang." Snails are collected in the day or at night by moonlight or a flashlight.

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Kapia, Ungka and Bong-Bong are usually found on top of stones at night or under them during the day. The people explain that at night the snails come from under the stones to feed. Soso and Tibo-Tibo normally occur on the sandy river bottom. When snails are gathered during the day stones are turned over along the river edge where the water is shallow. The people wear a small bamboo container or carry a can in which to put the snails.

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Snails are boiled, sometimes with vegetables, to make soup (sabao). The meat is then extracted from the shell and eaten. Most houses have a nearby kitchen midden of discarded snail and clam shells.

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To make lime (apog) for betel nut chewing, snail shells are put in a half section of dry bamboo that is

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placed on dry palm leaves. The other half of the bamboo, the "lid," is fitted on top and covered with more leaves. Then the leaves are fired. When the fire burns out, the burnt shells are carefully picked up lest they shatter and are put in a container of water. The water is then thoroughly stirred; after the lime has settled, the water is poured off. Some wash the burnt shells after firing and crush them without soaking in water. A bamboo container for carrying lime for betel nut chewing is called sugong; a container carved from carabao horn is called luka.

Marine Snails and Clams

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Table XXVIII, Varieties of Marine Clams and Snails Gathered in Siaton, presents pertinent data regarding local names, scientific identification and frequency of catch of marine snails and clams. (See Pages 636 - 637.) These mollusks, a fairly frequent part of the diet of barriofolk, give both variety and flavor to their daily fare. Like the fresh-water snails, they may be boiled to make a weak soup, eaten as meat, or cooked with vegetables. In the northern barrios marine mollusks are rarely eaten owing to the distance from the sea. Whereas a few people gather marine mollusks all the year, the southwest monsoon's arrival makes it difficult for the sea becomes rough. Like the fres-water mollusks, the marine snails and clams are collected mainly during the dry season.

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task with getting nipa leaves. The largest clam found in these areas is the Toway; one pokes a bolo (brought to cut nipa leaves) or a stick into a soft mount or bubbling hole in the damp sand of the swamp to get Toways. Four types of snails that are found in nipa swamps are: Dalodalo, Hagonipa, Libodbod, and Taboysoy (the latter clings to the palm trunks and leaves).

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Two types of seaweed are gathered and eaten by the barriofolk: a green moss, lumot, and a brownish moss, lagot. Lagot is put in hot water, then drained and garlic, salt, and vinegar added. These two seaweeds are gathered during the dry season along the beach. When the rainy season begins the mosses "become slippery and are not good to eat." Only a few families in Cateugan were observed eating these mosses.

## METHODS OF OBTAINING RIVER FISH

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A large share of the fish eaten locally is caught in the Siaton River. Many families eat more river fish than sea fish. They either lack money to buy sea fish or there may be none for sale in the marketplace.

Table XXIX[1] lists local names, and in most cases, scientific identification, of types of fish caught in the Siaton River.

River fish are caught in eight different ways: (1) with nets (ta-an and tangkop); (2) with bamboo-rattan traps (asag, balantak and bobo); (3) with fish poisons; (4) by the galobog method; (5) by a process called

1 [See p. 540, cat. 226 or 116 -- Analyst]

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sure that no such observations have been made previously regarding this species. Such a migration readily explains the presence of the Talaud specimens in a marine habitat.

Dr. Chace wrote concerning the Tolo crab:

> This species has been recorded in the literature from Celebes, Flores, Ceram, northern Sumatra, and the Andamans. There are specimens in our collection from Uki Island in the Dutch East Indies and the Baganga River, Mindanao. I do not believe that this species has been recorded in the literature from the Philippines.[30]

Shrimp

The reddish-black Analsalon is the smallest of the four types of shrimp in the river and creeks. The blackish Mazus has an indistinct white stripe on its back; the female is said to have no pincers. The Naturale, a whitish-grey shrimp, is not found as frequently as other types in Caticugan Creek. Shrimp are frequently boiled with vegetables to give a better flavor.

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The shrimp caught are small, from one to three inches. However, during the rainy season in the river and creeks near Caticugan shrimp are caught from four to six inches long. The people say these bigger shrimp are washed down from the upper reaches of the Siaton River and its tributaries by the swift currents of the rainy season. I have seen shrimp from eight to nine inches long that had been caught in creeks near Balanan.

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[30] Personal communications to the writer from Dr. Fenner A. Chace, Jr., April 15 and November 6, 1952.

say Lavagay that escape will not return to the sea for seven years. 226

The Tolo crab is usually found around rocks in shallow water; more live in the river than in Caticugan Creek. They are caught in the balantak, ta-an and asag along with the Hipon, shrimp and fish. 226 136

The Alimango is a large crab, growing to the size of a small coconut, that lives in nipa and mangrove swamps or in the tidal reaches of the river. They are caught by digging them from their holes in the sand or mud. Another method is to put a fish trap baited with chicken guts or fish in the swamp. One man living in Baybay caught eight good-sized Alimangos in two days with such a baited trap.

River fish, shrimp and crabs form a considerable part of the aquatic food. Caticugan barriofolk eat more aquatic food from the river and creek than from the sea. As one travels to barrios farther from the sea, the importance of the sea as a source of food diminishes. The sea food eaten in Casala-an, for example, consists mainly of dried fish or canned sardines bought in the poblacion. Caticugan people do not prefer river to marine aquatic food; they often lack money to buy sea fish in the marketplace. During the rainy season the supply is often inadequate for the demand, whereas prices are higher. Although the people of Caticugan live only a mile from the sea they lack the necessary equipment to 226 262 433 435

226 471

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one in the barrio owned a boat. One man had a partnership with a resident of a seaside barrio; the former made the bobo, the latter furnished the boat and they shared the catch equally. This was the only such partnership discovered in Caticugan.

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The barriofolk of Caticugan depend largely on products of the creek and river for their proteins. Data of diet indicate that pelagic products are not common in the daily diet. The small fish, eels, shrimp, crabs and snails obtained from the creek and river compose the bulk of aquatic foods eaten in Caticugan. The importance of this source of food for rural Filipinos has been overlooked almost entirely.[75]

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As with agricultural and food-gathering activities, pre-Hispanic animism appears in aquatic techniques. The ceremonies related to the construction of boats, fish corrals and the rituals connected with the installation of these devices, reflect deep-rooted beliefs in unseen spirits who are the titular owners of sea products. While some poblacion residents who finance fish corrals are sceptical of these concepts, they usually are tolerant of their workers' attitudes. Perhaps these more sophisticated individuals, not thoroughly convinced of the falsity of these beliefs, take the attitude that "most superstitious practices do no harm and may do some good," a Cebuano saying. These attitudes and customs associated with securing

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[75] The Rivera-McMillan report includes several pages of "typical menus of rural households" (Appendix C) that make no mention of fresh-water shrimp or snails. However, one picture is included (p. 162) that shows a small family eating "rice, small shrimp, and snail for supper." The lack of this information in the typical menus may be due to the barriofolk's hesitation to admit eating snails. Rivera-McMillan, op. cit., pp. 212-3.

TABLE XXXV (Continued)

228

| Name of Fish | Frequency of Catch | Class |
|---|---|---|
| Balantiog | Almost Never | C |
| Balawis | " | C-D |
| Indangan | " | D |
| Kugtong | " | C-D |
| Kume | " | E |
| Lombalomba | " | E |
| Lumod | " | E |
| Malasugi | " | B-C |
| Liplipan | " | B-C |
| Tamban | " | D-E |
| Tuloy | " | C-D |

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[99]Only names for regular-size fish are given under this column.

[100]Code is: A (first class); B (Second class); C (third class); D (fourth class); and E (fifth class, usually not eaten when caught.) First class fish are those having white meat and skins, golden stripes, are non-odorous, and have a "good taste." As would be expected, tastes vary so only the general consensus is given in this column.

[101]Only one informant was familiar with this fish, Bogkanon.

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[102]Before the arrival of a school-teacher from Siquijor, few people in Siaton poblacion ate the Salanga. One day a large Salanga was caught and the teacher bought the fish for a small price. He dried the meat and sent chunks to his friends. Today a number of people in the poblacion eat the Salanga that is said to taste "like carabao meat." Salanga is considered somewhat of a delicacy by many people living in Siquijor.

parks in front of a general merchandise store across the street from the busy marketplace. The wooden benches of the bus are often full an hour before it departs, but the conductor continues to appeal to passers-by for more fares. Finally the crowded bus leaves but circles hopefully around the marketplace in search of a few more passengers. 494 484

There is an excellent paved road from Dumaguete to Bacong poblacion so the driver races along the highway, honking furiously at the two-wheeled tartanillas with their little ponies hauling passengers or firewood to the city. Outside of Dumaguete the bus passes a muscovado sugar mill, a relic of the past, that makes the unrefined brown sugar that most barriofolk buy. [263] In Negros, "Sugar Bowl of the Philippines," refined sugar is too expensive to be used by the majority of the rural people. Stilted bamboo and nipa-roofed houses line the road with gay potted plants in the windows. Copra, shelled corn or palay may be drying on woven buri mats along the roadside; over the rickety bamboo fences hangs the family wash. To the east through the dark green of coconut groves is the blue sea, and beyond lies Siquijor Island.

The bus passes through Bacong poblacion with its plaza, little kiosk (bandstand) and white-washed statue of Jose Rizal, the "George Washington" of the Philippines. The marketplace is filled with people buying and selling. Small groups are having morning coffee and bread;

GUHANG

Of all the "cash crops" of Caticugan guhang is probably the major source of cash income for the largest number of families. The fermented sap of the buri palm (Corypha elata Roxb.) is the source of guhang. Though much as been written about making tuba (from the sap of the coconut tree) there are fewer accounts of making guhang. One poblacion wit said the name of the drink came from the desire, after excessive drinking, "to go hang yourself." Brown states:

> This [the buri] is the largest and most stately palm found in the Philippines. Its straight trunk attains a diameter of one meter and height of 20 meters...The plant grows 25 to 30 or more years, during which time large quantities of starch collect in the trunk. It then flowers once and dies...[54]

Besides being the source of guhang the buri has many other uses in the Philippines. The palm is the source of alcohol, vinegar and sugar, all made from the sap while the trunk yields large quantities of starch. The edible kernels of the fruit are used to make sweetmeats. The immature unopened frond is utilized in many parts of the archipelago to manufacture mats, sails, bags, while the buri's petiole yields the so-called Buntal fiber from which the famous hats of Baliuag and Lucban are woven.[55] Barriofolk in Caticugan do not make sugar from the buri's sap, although flour was extracted from the

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[54] Brown, op. cit., I, p. 284.

[55] Brown, op. cit., I, pp. 286-95.

owner was definitely annoyed that he had to sell part of his harvest.

The price of corn varied in the harvests. Two handsful of ears for two or three cents, fifteen ears for the same price and a centavo an ear are a few examples of the prices. Relatives are normally sold more corn and at a cheaper price than non-relatives. The other harvesters do not object. One woman gave the mother of her son's girl-friend a basketful of corn to win her favor. People often eat the corn they harvest on the spot; the husked ears are roasted on hot coals.

Another reason why the harvesters' assistance is normally not refused is the widespread belief in "envious people." "Envious people" can do harm to one's person or crops through magic. If the manalabangs' help were refused one of them might attempt revenge on the cultivator or his crops. Older manalabangs may silently pray as they work that the cultivator may enjoy good health and abundant harvests in coming years. As one woman said, "the manalabangs just wish good for the owner while they work."

Corn is harvested by pulling the ears from the stalks. Harvested ears are collected in a basket called bukag. Helpers never know what their share will be until the harvest is completed. If the farmer is a tenant the owner is usually present to assist in the division of the harvest. No arguments over the manalabangs' shares were ever witnessed; they may think their share is too small but they do not complain openly.

(see Plate XXXV, Detail A)[1] the catch is scooped out of this section. 227

Ta-an nets have the advantage of not having to be watched constantly; they are set up by men. Ta-an catches are for family consumption. One group that netted Hipon with a tangkop near the Siaton River mouth caught two cavans in an afternoon. Large catches usually are made near the mouth or just off the mouth of the river, with bigger nets; Hipon sell in the marketplace for about five dollars per five-gallon can. The owner of a big net receives one-half of the catch, and his assistants divide the remainder equally. Young girls or women vendors from Caticugan and other barrios go to the mouth of the rivers during Hipon runs to sell or barter boiled bananas and other foods. 226 [435] [265]

The Asag and Balantak River Fish Traps

Two common types of fish traps used in Siaton River are the balantak and the larger asag. Small bobo fish traps may be placed in the river but this type of trap usually is put in the sea. The largest asag seen, at Sitio Daliw (north of Casala-an), was 12 feet long. (See Plate XXXVI.) This asag, owned by one family, had stone retaining walls three to four feet high, several feet thick, and about 25 feet long. The walls ordinarily last until rainy season when they are washed away by the flooded river. Fish smaller than four or five inches could have passed 227

2 [See p. 546, cat. 227 -- Analyst]

1 [this plate (p. 544) is missing -- Analyst]

used to make charcoal for the woman's irons. Coconut "milk" is obtained by squeezing grated meat in water and dippers and cups are carved from the hard shells. Sap from the coconut palm produces mildly alcoholic drink, tuba, that is popular throughout the Philippines. Only one man made tuba in Barrio Baticugan so the account that follows is based mainly on this informant's explanation. Tuba is considered superior to cubang by the barriofolk and costs more when purchased in the poblacion. So little tuba is made, however, that it is difficult to buy the drink at stores. The alcoholic content of tuba and cubang appears to be about the same for a given period of fermentation.

Tuba is the drink produced from the sap collected from the bud (bulok) of the coconut tree. Since the bud produces the coconuts, ~~making~~ tuba reduces the yield of the tree; this is one reason why some owners did not make tuba. A coconut tree selected for tuba-making should have at least three buds. The brown mat-like material (ginit) is cleaned away from the top of the tree where the fronds radiate outward--a process called la-as. Stones are placed on the broad stems of the fronds where they grow from the trunk to push them downward to make it easier to get at the bud.

The selected bud is wrapped with rattan and the end is tied to a branch, pulling the bud downward to facilitate the flow of the sap. The tip of the bud is cut every day so the sap will continue to flow liberally. At the bud's

are said today to be more numerous than before the war. 231
One man has a herd of 150 goats that graze on Bondo.

Goats are much easier to care for than pigs. A rattan-woven collar is put around their necks and they are tied to stakes to graze. Now and then, like horses, they may be driven to the sea to obtain salt.

Most Filipinos do not drink goat milk. For Caticugan barriofolk this is not due to a dislike of milk; 272 231 canned milk is a luxury much desired. The reasons why no goat's milk is drunk are that the female goats are either pregnant or they are nursing kids. The people prefer increase in the herd to drinking the milk. No handicrafts use goat or pig hides since the method of preparing the animals for eating does not produce any skins.

Chickens

One of my favorite riddles collected in Caticugan 231 524 is:

Rain or shine,
Always wearing short pants. What is it?

(Mag-ulan ug mag-init,
Sigi rang gapinungkol. Unsa man?)[79]

The answer is "a rooster"! Nearly every family in Caticugan had a few chickens (manok). Fowls run loose, foraging for food during the day; at night they roost in the trees.

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[79] There is a similar Tagalog riddle: "Muddy or not muddy, the dress is raised to the knees." Manuel Buaken, I Have Lived with the American People. Idaho, Caston Printers, Ltd., 1948, p. 353.

south, about a 20-minute walk, is the sea, To the and fisher- 361
men have their boats, nets and their fish corrals in the offshore waters. To the west of the mouth of the Siaton River is Baybay, a small sitio in a coconut grove.

One could see Caticugan from the National Road were it not for the coconut palms. Caticugan, Naga, Talo-ot and Dangola are really one community, although known by different names and divided by low bluffs or shallow streams. Kinship ties, trading activities, 621
land ownership, and friendships all bind the people in the different settlements into a functioning group. There are two main paths to Caticugan. One path skirts 363
the cockpit which is empty except on Sundays or holidays, while the other path fords the river around a bend to the north. (See Plate XVIII.)[1] Taking the path by the cockpit one crosses the river, passes through a small willow-covered flood area and up a small rise to the fields of lower Caticugan, often called Pilapil (rice paddy) by the older residents. Northwest along 273
the path one passes dead buri palms, killed by the process of making guhang, and the houses of the people. There is a little sari-sari on the porch of one house 366
where cookies, pop, kerosene, lard, and matches are sold. Continuing, one comes to a tiny bamboo chapel 368
and the only wooden residence, that of the richest man 362
in Caticugan. The path finally ends at the bluffs of Dangola.

1 [plate XVII (p. 131) is missing -- ANALYST]

GUHANG

Of all the "cash crops" of Caticugan guhang is probably the major source of cash income for the largest number of families. The fermented sap of the buri palm (Corypha elata Roxb.) is the source of guhang. Though much as been written about making tuba (from the sap of the coconut tree) there are fewer accounts of making guhang. One poblacion wit said the name of the drink came from the desire, after excessive drinking, "to go hang yourself." Brown states:

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Besides being the source of guhang the buri has many other uses in the Philippines. The palm is the source of alcohol, vinegar and sugar, all made from the sap while the trunk yields large quantities of starch. The edible kernels of the fruit are used to make sweetmeats. The immature unopened frond is utilized in many parts of the archipelago to manufacture mats, sails, bags, while the buri's petiole yields the so-called Buntal fiber from which the famous hats of Baliuag and Lucban are woven.[55] Barriofolk in Caticugan do not make sugar from the buri's sap, although flour was extracted from the

[54] Brown, op. cit., I, p. 284.

[55] Brown, op. cit., I, pp. 286-95.

palm's trunk during the war when acute food shortages existed. Most of the bags and mats made in Caticugan are woven from the buri while the hats worn by the people come from Bohol. 245

The sale of guhang furnishes many barriofolk with their largest source of cash income. The Siaton poblacion map (Plate XVII)[1] shows the number of stalls selling guhang. The widespread use of the buri to make guhang is shown by the number of dead palms (576) cut in six weeks by the provincial agriculture office in just Siaton poblacion. Many dead buris were left standing at the end of this project. If Siaton's municipal ordinance that requires each owner of a guhang buri to pay a tax of $2.50 was effectively enforced, this local industry would bring a sizeable income to the municipality. 273 434 443 245 [65]

Older informants said when they were young little guhang was made in Siaton since only a few buris grew in the municipality. Some informants stated that the barriofolk of Siaton first learned how to make guhang from the people of Tolong. Once they learned the process they began to plant the palm. Other informants, however, said that Siaton men who worked in Dumaguete's Chinese bodegas (warehouses) learned to make guhang while in the city. When they returned to Siaton they introduced the process, teaching the people of Siaton how to make the mildly alcoholic drink. All available evidence, the possible derivation of Dumaguete's name (from manangueta, a specialist who makes guhang), the older settlement of Dumaguete, 273 [178] 245 177 174 177 245 273

[1] [this plate (p. 178) is missing]

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its better roads to Siaton, would seem to indicate that guhang-making diffusion came from the east not the west. Yet many of the older people insisted that Siatonites first learned to make guhang from residents of Tolong.

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There is little folklore concerning the buri. Some barriofolk tell a story that explains how they first learned to make guhang. One day a tall buri was felled by a typhoon. While cutting the tree to remove it from the field the men noticed sap running from the fresh cuts. They drank some of the sap, discovered its pleasant taste, and reasoned how much more sap they could collect from a living buri. So they started to make guhang.

In selecting a buri, the manangguete prefers a palm which is 25 to 30 feet tall. Buri palms that are either too short, young or old do not give as much sap as those that are "just right." When the stems of the fronds of a buri radiate counter-clockwise around the bole and the fronds droop downward, the palm is thought to be especially well-suited for producing large quantities of fine-flavored sap.

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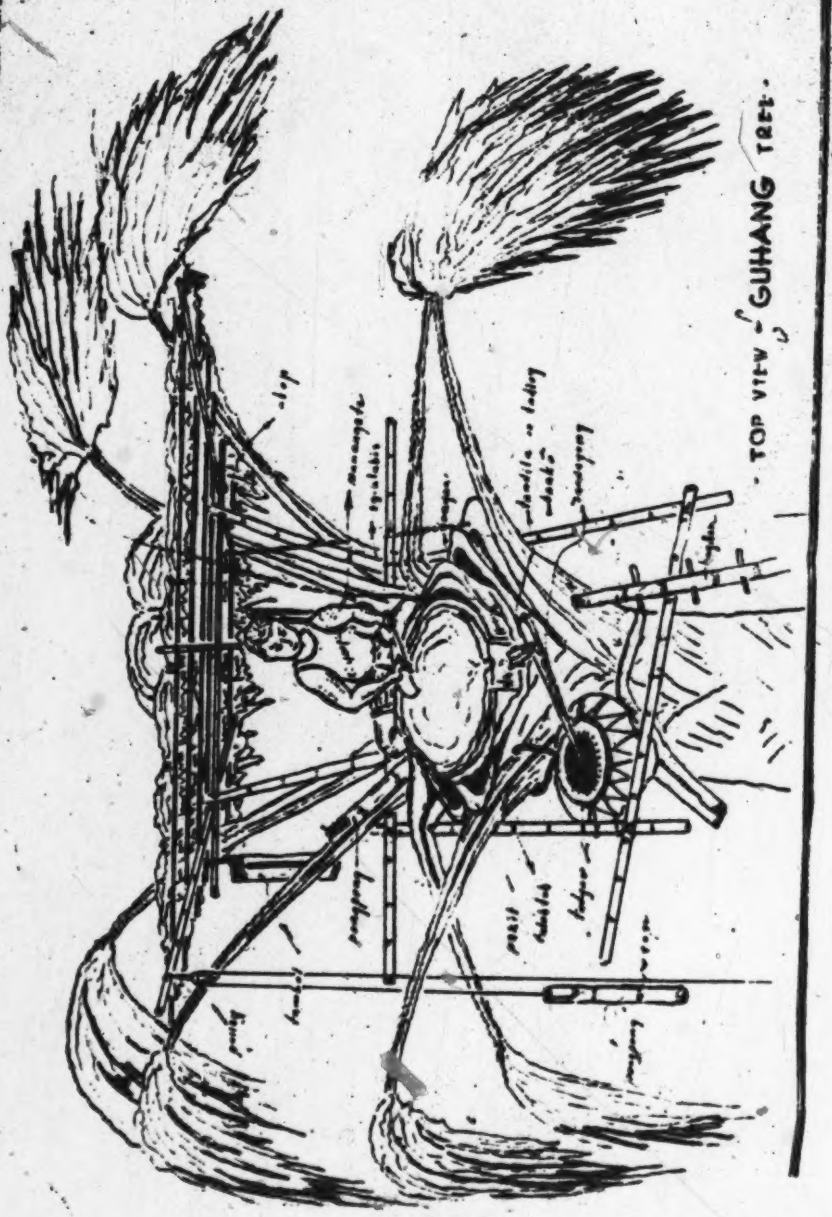
Once the tree has been chosen the manangguete climbs to the top on a bamboo ladder. This ladder is a long bamboo with the branches trimmed so short stubs remain as steps. Often the upper third of the ladder has removable pegs; when the owner is not obtaining guhang he removes the pegs as he descends. This makes it difficult for others to take any guhang during his absence.

PLATE XVIII

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p. 378

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After the prescribed period has lapsed, the mansanguete or the owner of the buri holds the lihi. One important reason for the lihi is to protect the palm from "envious persons" (tawo moguat) who, according to the people, are able to damage the buri if they wish. "Envious people" are those who hold a grudge against the owner of the tree, often because they are refused free drinks, or feel the owner is greedy with his guhang. They become angry at the owner because they arrived too late to buy guhang or their ire stems from past misunderstandings. Such individuals may "whip" the buri with paniawan (Tinospora rumphii Boerl.), a warty vine with a very acrid sap, that is said to make the guhang bitter or even stop the sap's flow.[57] One story was told of a man who "whipped" his own buri with a piece of paniawan "just for fun"; he did not believe folklore about the vine. The sap of his buri soon stopped flowing. Later he "treated" the tree with honey and the sap resumed its flow.

[824]

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"Envious persons" may also spoil the sap's flavor or kill the buri by driving a fish bone into the trunk, striking the trunk with the barbed tail of the pag-i (ray fish), or smashing a seaworm (bahagbahag) against the palm. Others say a guhang-producing buri can be damaged by flashing a light across the tree and a rotten egg thrown against the palm makes the sap malodorous.

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[57] Brown, op. cit., I, pp. 533-5. Paniawan is also known as makabuhai (Tagalog).

Many items are used in the buri lihi in Caticugan. 245
Each mananguete, however, seems to improvise. Certain 273
items are basic to all the lihis such as pag-i, sharpened 824
bits of thorny bamboo, pauli roots (Cleidion spiciflorum 825
Merr.), and guhang vinegar. Other items depend upon the 751
individual making the lihi and perhaps their availability.
I always asked for the specific purpose for each lihi
item but the explanation given in some cases was only
"it protects the buri," how or why was unknown. Table XX
summarizes the information gathered concerning the buri
lihi.

TABLE XX

Guhang Lihi Chart for Caticugan and Environs

| Items Used in Lihi | Purposes | |
|---|---|---|
| 1. Guhang vinegar | 1. To give the guhang a strong taste | |
| 2. Roots of pangasan vine that have a bitter taste | 2. To give the guhang a strong taste | |
| 3. Bark and roots of badbad tree | 3. Protection against "envious persons" | 754 |
| 4. Tagilaway (an insect that is said always to be secreting saliva; tagilaway means "saliva"). | 4. To keep the buri sap flowing | |
| 5. Bahagbahag (a seaworm) | 5. Protection against "envious persons" | 754 |
| 6. Roots of uli-an vine(uli-an means "bring back"). | 6. Ensure constant flow of sap. If sap stops this may be added to "bring back" sap. | |
| 7. Roots of the pauli tree (Pauli means "to come back" or "to go home"). | 7. Same reason as uli-an. Also protection against "envious persons." | 754 |

TABLE XX (Continued)

| | |
|---|---|
| 8. Barb of ray fish (pag-i) | 8. Protection against "envious persons" |
| 9. Pieces of sharpened thorny bamboo | 9. Protection against "envious persons" |
| 10. Discarded flashlight bulb or battery | 10. Protection against "envious persons." The idea seems to be that "neither will work without the other," i.e., the flashlight will not work without a bulb or a battery. |
| 11. Red peppers | 11. To improve the taste of the guhang |
| 12. Gunpowder | 12. Protection against "envious persons" who might shoot buri. Used in Bonbonon but not in Caticugan. |
| 13. Mallorca (a commerically produced alcoholic drink made from sugar cane alcohol) | 13. To improve the taste of the guhang |
| 14. Scrapings from a wild pig's tusk | 14. Protection against "envious persons" |
| 15. Salt | 15. So "eye" will not leak, be soft and give plenty of sap |
| 16. Scrapings from the spur of a wild chicken | 16. Protection against "envious persons" |
| 17. Chicken feathers of any color | 17. Reason or purpose unknown |
| 18. Bark of the kalingay tree | 18. So when a person drinks guhang he will not get diarrhea. |
| 19. Kolino roots | 19. Protection against "envious persons" |
| 20. Tengo sa lite ("teeth of the thunder.") The barrio-folk report when lightning strikes a tree little stones are sometimes found sticking to the bark. | 20. Protection against "envious persons" |

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245 273 824 751

[824]

TABLE XX (Continued)

| | |
|---|---|
| 21. Kalamongay stems ("kalamongay sometimes looks like a dead stick but it keeps sending out new growth all the time") | 21. To keep the sap flowing |
| 22. Lead from a bullet | 22. Protection against "envious persons" |
| 23. Paniawan vine | 23. Protection against "envious persons" |

245 273 824 751

The purposes of the various items used in the guhang lihi can be classified into three categories: (1) to protect the buri from "envious persons"; (2) to improve the guhang's flavor; (3) to ensure an abundant and constant flow of sap. The flow and the taste of sap are two uncertainties in making guhang; this may account for their more complete coverage by magic.

There is good reason for this obvious concern over "envious persons" who may desire to harm the buri producing guhang. It is difficult to refuse friends, and especially relatives, a free glass or two of guhang. Yet if one does not refuse there would be little to sell. Both sexes are fond of guhang and gather regularly around the buris when the owners are collecting guhang. If a palm is noted for a particularly fine-flavored guhang, it attracts more barriofolk. While many will not ask for a free drink the purpose of their presence is painfully clear to the tree's owner. Their thirst normally is limited only by the donor's generosity.

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I often frequented guhang trees because they were excellent places to gather information; "mellowed" by the drink the people often enjoyed discussing and arguing over answers to questions. I never saw a group refused free drinks. If an owner were "greedy" with his guhang nothing would have been said at the time which the guhang owners know. This disgruntled individual might later return to the tree as "envious person"; generosity in Caticugan was usually sired of a warm heart and a practical mind.

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One of my most pleasant memories is sitting with the men at the top of the buri, under the little thatch covering, drinking, smoking and talking. Thirty feet above the ground the air was cooler and fresher and a breeze usually rustled the dead fronds. Below the community stretched out under its quilt-like fields. At the palm's base might be a small group of men and married women drinking guhang as it was lowered from the top in a bamboo container tied to a rope. If a few young dalagas passed, salacious wisecracks would usually be made by the young men with malicious cheerfulness and the girls might be so bold as to stop for a drink. In the distance one could hear the dull echo of a mananguete's "bamboo gong" (tambol), signaling the vendors who wished to purchase guhang that he was in his tree.

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When the groups gather at the guhang trees it is a time of relaxation, of gossiping, joking and discussing plans for tomorrow. A game of dama (similar to checkers) might be started.

[524]

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might be started. Noon is a popular time for these gatherings or just after the day's work is done. A buri-producing guhang is rarely without flies, bees and thirsty drinkers looking for a few "drinks on the cuff." At night the men may gather at the buri by the light of the lamp. Guhang trees are a sort of "rural poolhall" in Caticugan.

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Guhang lihis are always made by men. This is unusual since most of the other lihis in Caticugan, particularly in regard to agriculture, are held by women. However, there is a fairly general feeling among many of the barriofolk that it is not wise to permit a woman to ascend a guhang buri since she might contaminate it--especially if she is menstruating. Some believe a menstruating woman might cause the guhang to become malodorous or the sap to stop flowing. Other reasons why few women climb a buri are well summed up by this comment of one woman.

> There is nothing wrong if women climb guhang trees, only it is too dangerous for women to climb. Our skirt might be tangled in the thorns [of the tree] and there is danger of falling. We have a new guhang and just the other day I climbed our guhang because somebody came to buy some guhang and my son and my husband were out working in the field. Our guhang is quite short and nothing happened to the guhang [because she climbed the tree].

Another woman said:

> I have climbed our guhang many times. Others said that it is not good for women to climb the guhang for the guhang might become malodorous. But I do not believe in this because the tuba [guhang] of the guhang [buri] that I have climbed many times did not become malodorous.

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However, I never once saw a woman climb or sit at the top of a buri.

When the lihi is to be held the owner or a manangguete ascends the ladder to the top of the buri. The "eye" is retrimmed with a special bolo called ig-alabis and a small hole bored into its center. Many of the ingredients listed for the lihi (Table XX)[1] are put in a small bottle and mixed with vinegar and/or Mallorca. Most of this liquid is poured into the hole made in the "eye" and the bottle may be left in the palm. The pag-i tail and three small sharpened pieces of bagakay bamboo are put in the hole in the "eye"; sometimes a piece of paniawan vine is hung on one of the upper frond stems.

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Three days after this lihi the buri's "eye" is again retrimmed. A small groove now is cut in the "eye" to direct the flowing sap down a trough and into a large jar (tadyao). (See Plate XXVIII.)[2] Normally the "eye" is trimmed once if not several times each day.

> Fresh cuts [of the "eye"] should be made at frequent intervals, as the rate of the flow [of the sap] may be thus temporarily increased as much as 50 per cent. The rate also varies according to the thickness of the slice removed; at least, if the exudation is from the top of the trunk...As it flows from the tree and for a short time after, the sap is colorless, odorless, and neutral or slightly alkaline. After standing a viscous, followed by a putrid, fermentation develops when no precaution is taken to prevent it. The sucrose begins to invert in a few hours and the process is complete in about thirty hours. A comparatively small yield of alcohol results from the spontaneous fermentation of the sap; a greater portion of the reducing sugars being changed by the viscous, putrid, and other fermentations than by the alcoholic...[58]

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[58] Brown, op. cit., I, p. 298.

1 [See p. 350ff, cat. 273 + 245--Analyst]

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Powdered tan-bark (tongog), purchased in the poblacion and pounded in the mortar, is added to the sap that has been collected in the jar. During the war when the tan-bark from Mindanao was unobtainable, the bark of the antipolo tree was used as a somewhat unsatisfactory substitute. Tan-bark is not grown locally, most of it comes from Mindanao, and costs about ten cents a pound in Siaton poblacion. The addition of the powdered tan-bark gives the guhang a golden color, improves its flavor, and is said to prevent diarrhea.

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Guhang vendors are always young girls or women, reflecting the general barrio pattern that vending is a woman's job. The vendor's profits are small. A dama (17 to 18 quarts) of guhang wholesales from the buri's owner for about seventy-five cents. The standard price for a quart of guhang in Siaton poblacion is five cents; therefore, a vendor's profit on a dama is about ten to fifteen cents.

Profits of the vendors are limited not only by the price but by the supply of guhang. Often the stalls in Siaton poblacion would close early in the evening for lack of guhang. Every evening men, and a few women, usually residents of the poblacion, collect at the guhang stalls to drink and talk; I rarely saw intoxicated drinkers at these evening gatherings. A pleasant custom of the poblacion stall owners permits prospective customers to sample guhang to determine its taste, without cost, before buying.

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The sale of guhang is the most important source of the cash income of many families in Caticugan. I estimate that about 25 per cent of the families living in Caticugan owned buri palms. Some of these families, however, owned trees that were too young to produce guhang. It is difficult to estimate the average income made by selling guhang from typical buri. Profits depend on many variable factors such as the length of time the sap flows, the quantity obtained, the amount of tan-bark used, the taste of the guhang (said to depend on the age of the tree and the soil), and the amount given to friends.

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Nearly all manangueteg agreed that the normal guhang buri produced for two to three months. One manangueta said he remembered a buri that gave sap for nine months but this was extraordinary. The process of obtaining sap "bleeds" the palm to death; after several months the buri is nearly dead and becomes somewhat dangerous to climb.

Profits from a buri producing sap for two to three months were estimated by some to be between $50 to $100. These estimates seem somewhat high. One guhang buri in Naga produced sap for five weeks; the gross profit from this palm was $24, of which $4 was spent for tan-bark. One buri in Barrio Caticugan flowed for one month netting the owner only $8 "because so many of my relatives wanted free drinks that I had little to sell."

Through the cooperation of the owner, I was able to keep an account of one guhang-producing buri. This

palm's sap started to flow April 14 and stopped June 22. The gross income of the owner was $54 of which $12 was spent for tan-bark, leaving a net profit of $42. The money from guhang sales, deposited in a "bamboo bank" (a pole of the house wall), was not counted until the buri died so the figures are probably accurate.

The price of a mature buri in Siaton ranges from $10 to $25. In the municipal tax records buri owners are assessed one dollar for each palm. If the mananguete is not the tree's owner, profits are divided in several ways. Sometimes the profits are split 50-50 after the owner has deducted what he considers the buri's value. In another case the mananguete received one-fourth of the profits plus all the free guhang his family could consume. The money from the sale of guhang from this buri was deposited in a bamboo bank kept in the palm. The owner said he did not want to keep the cash in his near-by dwelling "because I might be tempted to gamble with it."

The buri's value is also reflected in the number of disputes that often result concerning its ownership and use. Three court cases occurred during my residence concerning the illegal use of another person's buri. In one case the defendant was accused by the plaintiff of illegally using two of his buris to make guhang and asked $100 damage. There are many quarrels over buri palms that do not reach the local court. An example of such a quarrel that happened in Naga is given on the next page.

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One time Ingoy [informant's first cousin] came to my place and started to make guhang from my buri. I was gathering coconuts for a Chinese in the poblacion. My wife and children were left alone in the house. My children were playing in the space under the house. Suddenly Lucia [informant's wife] heard buri palm leaves falling and she shouted to the children not to go near the tree. But Ingoy was in the tree and he answered: 'I'm the one here cutting leaves. What do you want? Where is your husband? I want to fight him because I want to go to San Ramon [penal colony in Mindanao].' So my wife immediately got me and I came home but he was gone. For three or four days I stayed in the house but Ingoy did not return to the buri.

One day he passed near my house carrying a sack of corn to be ground. I called him: 'You come here.' Ingoy said: 'Why?' I said: 'I want to talk with you.' He said: 'You come here if you want to talk to me.' So I went to him and asked him: 'Are you the one who cut my buri?' Ingoy said: 'Yes. I did it.' I said: 'Is it true you said you wanted to fight with me and go to San Ramon?' Ingoy said: 'Yes. It is true.' So I hit him three times. But he did not try to fight back. Nicara was weaving in a house near-by and she laughed. Ingoy's sister who saw us fighting cried: 'Please do not kill Ingoy.' [Informant imitated female voice of Ingoy's sister.] So Ingoy went on his way and his wife was crying but he left my buri alone.

Ingoy complained to the barrio lieutenant. He told him that I and my children ganged up on him. But I said I have witnesses and if he wanted to bring the matter to the court I was willing. But he never did. It was Ingoy's wife who brought Ingoy back to his house because after this quarrel he did not go home directly. I told Ingoy: 'It is not like before when I was small and whatever you and my relatives said I had to follow blindly. Now I have to take care of what is my own. Our parents usually quarreled and now that our parents are dead, their children will be the ones to quarrel.

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If the flow of the sap decreases or stops there are various remedies for the situation. A gash may be cut in the side of the palm's trunk at its base and a small fire built near the incision. The sap may resume its flow but the fire gives it a smoky taste. Others repeat the lihi previously described each day adding the fluid from the bottle until

the sap begins to flow or the task abandoned as hopeless. A deep hole may be bored into the "eye" to increase the diminishing flow of sap.

As one travels up the Siaton River valley the buri palms decrease; at Dolog they disappear. The sap of the ediok palm (Cabo Negros: Arenga pinnata Wurmb (Miller)) is used to make a mildly alcoholic drink called habyob. The ediok produces large bunches of dates that hang on slender stalks from the top of the palm. A stalk is selected and then violently shaken and hit with a stick each morning until it flowers. Then the stalk's tip is cut and a bamboo container is attached at the end to collect the sap. The ediok's sap flows about the same length of time as the buri; tan-bark is also added to habyob for the same reason it is put in guhang.

MINOR SINGLE CROPS OF CATICUGAN

Spencer lists twenty-one different cropping combinations for the Philippines. Of these combinations six are chiefly lowland, eight chiefly upland, and seven are combined upland-lowland crop combinations.[59] The intercropping type typical of Caticugan is the "corn and minor crop" combination listed by Spencer under the combined upland-lowland category. The various cropping combinations in Caticugan are: (1) corn-peanuts; (2) corn-camotes; (3) corn-balatong (Cow peas: Vigna sinensis Linn.); (4) corn-balatong-cassava;

[59]Spencer, op. cit., pp. 11-12.

used to make charcoal for the woman's irons. Coconut "milk" is obtained by squeezing grated meat in water and dippers and cups are carved from the hard shells. Sap from the coconut palm produces mildly alcoholic drink, tuba, that is popular throughout the Philippines. Only one man made tuba in Barrio Caticugan so the account that follows is based mainly on this informant's explanation. Tuba is considered superior to zuhang by the barriofolk and costs more when purchased in the poblacion. So little tuba is made, however, that it is difficult to buy the drink at stores. The alcoholic content of tuba and zuhang appears to be about the same for a given period of fermentation.

Tuba is the drink produced from the sap collected from the bud (bulok) of the coconut tree. Since the bud produces the coconuts, ~~making tuba~~ reduces the yield of the tree; this is one reason why some owners did not make tuba. A coconut tree selected for tuba-making should have at least three buds. The brown mat-like material (ginit) is cleaned away from the top of the tree where the fronds radiate outward--a process called la-as. Stones are placed on the broad stems of the fronds where they grow from the trunk to push them downward to make it easier to get at the bud.

The selected bud is wrapped with rattan and the end is tied to a branch, pulling the bud downward to facilitate the flow of the sap. The tip of the bud is cut every day so the sap will continue to flow liberally. At the bud's

end a bamboo container (sankob) is attached that collects the sap. Ginit is put in the top of the container to keep out insects that are attracted by the sweet scent of the sap. 273

An average coconut bud will produce sap for about one month, although not all buds give sap. Tan-bark is powdered and added to the tuba for the same reasons as in making guhang. There are no lihis connected with making tuba. Tuba is collected once a day; the house of this tuba maker was a favorite barrio meeting place.

Cacao

In 1951 only 50-60 cacao bushes grew in Caticugan. Cacao beans sold in the poblacion for about four dollars a pound--so expensive that few barriofolk drank or served chocolate except at wedding feasts or during the local fiestas. Owners of the cacao bushes ground the seeds and made small patties of chocolate which were dried in the sun. 245 435 251

One farmer in Barrio Caticugan had an ingenious method of watering his four cacao bushes and one coffee tree. A bamboo filled with water was propped against a tree so that the lower end was at the base of a cacao plant, and the water slowly dripped through a small hole. When the ground around the plants became too damp this hole in the bamboo was plugged for a few days. 245

Faded rags, originally red, were tied to branches of many of the cacao bushes. Some people believe that, 841

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Snails are gathered all year except when the river is flooded and too swift to collect them. Even during the rainy season, the snails are collected between floods. Another factor that discourages people from gathering snails during the rainy season is the appearance in the river of the poisonous golden-colored fish, lupo. When stepped on, this fish inflicts a painful wound.

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Both sexes gather snails in the river, although it is done mostly by women and young children. As one female informant explained: "Women are easier to group together than men and in the evening the men like to drink guhang." Snails are collected in the day or at night by moonlight or a flashlight.

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Kapia, Ungka and Bong-Bong are usually found on top of stones at night or under them during the day. The people explain that at night the snails come from under the stones to feed. Soso and Tibo-Tibo normally occur on the sandy river bottom. When snails are gathered during the day stones are turned over along the river edge where the water is shallow. The people wear a small bamboo container or carry a can in which to put the snails.

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Snails are boiled, sometimes with vegetables, to make soup (sabao). The meat is then extracted from the shell and eaten. Most houses have a nearby kitchen midden of discarded snail and clam shells.

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To make lime (apog) for betel nut chewing, snail shells are put in a half section of dry bamboo that is

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placed on dry palm leaves. The other half of the bamboo, the "lid," is fitted on top and covered with more leaves. Then the leaves are fired. When the fire burns out, the burnt shells are carefully picked up lest they shatter and are put in a container of water. The water is then thoroughly stirred; after the lime has settled, the water is poured off. Some wash the burnt shells after firing and crush them without soaking in water. A bamboo container for carrying lime for betel nut chewing is called sugong; a container carved from carabao horn is called luka.

Marine Snails and Clams

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Table XXVIII, Varieties of Marine Clams and Snails Gathered in Siaton, presents pertinent data regarding local names, scientific identification and frequency of catch of marine snails and clams. (See Pages 636 - 637.) These mollusks, a fairly frequent part of the diet of barriofolk, give both variety and flavor to their daily fare. Like the fresh-water snails, they may be boiled to make a weak soup, eaten as meat, or cooked with vegetables. In the northern barrios marine mollusks are rarely eaten owing to the distance from the sea. Whereas a few people gather marine mollusks all the year, the southwest monsoon's arrival makes it difficult for the sea becomes rough. Like the fres-water mollusks, the marine snails and clams are collected mainly during the dry season.

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used for fishing in shallow waters, frequently around the mouths of the Siaton and Canaway Rivers; the catch is usually small Hinok, Subad-subad, Tigue (Tigi), Dalangan Balawis, Aso-os, and Giseo. 228

Kayakag Net

The kayakag is a twine gill net used to catch Bangsi and Balo (flying fish and garfish). Umali states kayakag-pamalo is a "gill net for taking balo (garfish) in Negros Oriental Province."[65] The top of the net has floats made from the dried fruit of the bito-on tree to keep the net near the surface. There are two types of kayakag nets: one is about 1,000 feet long and 12 feet wide and used on moonlit nights. During moonless nights a shorter net is employed, about 600 feet long and only 6 feet wide. Some very short kayakags, 4 feet wide and 25 feet long, were seen in Barrio Cabangahan. 228 227

Tapsay Net

The tapsay, an abaca net (sometimes twine), is used only in shallow water. Two men each hold the top corners while two helpers step on the lower corners to submerge this part. Several assistants with pieces of coconut husk tied to strings pull (scarelines) these devices rapidly through the water, simulating a large fish's wake. This frightens smaller fish into the partially submerged net, that is jerked to the surface when the fish are in the center. This net is infrequently seen in Siaton; no 228 [227]

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[65] Umali, op. cit., p. 111.

The task of taking the
animals to the river to drink and bathe, or of moving 231 [462]
them to another area to graze (if pegged) is often the
duty of young boys.

Rinderpest was introduced to the Philippines in 232
1888 and ten years later the disease appeared in Siaton,
killing many carabaos. In 1920 and again in 1940 rinder-
pest struck in Siaton decimating the carabao herd.
There is no specific native medicine for rinderpest, al-
though many owners treated their animals with the same
medicines used for diarrhea or dysentery in humans. A
white film sometimes grows over their eyes and, if not
cured, results in blindness. One medicine applied by
the barriofolk to eyes so afflicted is a mixture of salt,
powdered clay pot, and crushed red peppers! Native
veterinarian specialists are called mangalapon; there was
none in Caticugan but one lived in Sandolot. To my ~~knowl-~~
edge he never came to Caticugan to treat a sick animal;
this was done by the owner.

Carabaos are sometimes bitten by a poisonous 278 232 757 824
spider (lawalawa). As a result of the bite, both humans
and carabaos are reported to suffer a swollen abdomen and
to be unable to urinate; death sometimes results. Treat-
ment is the same for carabaos as for humans. The follow-
ing ingredients are used: roots of the bonn (Abrus
precatorius Linn.), tubli (Derris), ongali (Uvaria rufa
Blume) and pakobol vines; roots of the homokan, salowasowa
(Citrus hystrix, family Rutaceae) and pauli trees, and
roots from the taghoy bush, (Canthium gynochthodes Baill.)

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The roots are powdered and mixed with juice squeezed from young pineapple leaves. Some water is added and the mixture is boiled in a pot; banana leaves are stretched over the top to retain the steam. The person or carabao bitten is completely covered with a blanket. Then the boiling pot is placed under the blanket after a few holes have been punched in the top so the steam can escape. When the liquid cools the blanket is removed and the person or carabao rubbed down with the mixture.

Cattle

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Before the war (1939) there were 61,880 cattle in Negros Oriental in comparison with the 39,950 in Negros Occidental.[76] Siaton had a thriving cattle industry before the war. A Spaniard who lived in Bais had a herd of more than 3,000 cattle that he grazed on Bondo. He owned such varieties as Indian (called Injun by the barriofolk), Sindi, Swiss, Nellori, a common Indian breed that may have come to the Philippines from Australia. Most families living in Bondo owned from four to six head of cattle; they usually owned more cattle than the barriofolk in other parts of Siaton municipality. The cattle were taken by truck to Dumaguete and then shipped to Manila.

Most of the cattle of the island were killed during the war; in 1948, there were only 17,870 head in Negros

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[76] Yearbook of Philippine Statistics: 1946, p. 169.

20: Hart E-5 (195.) 1954 OAI Philippines OA.
Central Bisayan OA14



After several weeks the flow of water into these channels is stopped by blocking with stones, sand or a piece of old matting. At the channel's lower end a balantak trap is placed; the water runs out through the trap, catching most of the fish or shrimp. When all the water has run out, the people search the dry bed of the channel, to pick up stranded shrimp, fish and crabs.

One man in Talo-ot had been using the same malad-om channel for three years; any person may make a channel as long as they do not interfere with others. Sometimes an abaca net (also called balantak) is used in gamala but the balantak trap is much more common. During the rainy season it is impossible to use this method of catching fish; the sandy river flats are flooded with deep water.[17]

## LOCAL PISCICIDES

The most common method of fish poisoning is to crush plant materials (roots, leaves, fruits, seeds or bark) and dump them into the water. Plant material may be soused in a container of water and this mixture poured into the place to be poisoned--a method best suited to plants of high toxicity. Plant poison may be ground, mixed with other materials (fish, worms, etc.)

[17] Capistrano describes a similar method of fishing in Mindanao that is called pamala. In pamala small pools are emptied by using large kerosene cans or bamboo dippers in order to get the fish in the pool, usually halo-an. Ramon J. Capistrano, "The Fishing Industry in Cagayan, Manila, 1915." Manila, Bisaya Ethnology, Beyer Collection, I-V, No. 110, 1918, p. 9. Typescript.

and made into small pellets of bait. Some people use inorganic chemical poisons like lime. The toxins in the plants vary; some are stomach poisons, others affect the functioning of the respiratory system through haemolysis of the red blood corpuscles. The plants most commonly used as piscicides contain toxins of saponins, alkaloids and glucosides. Most piscicides act fairly rapidly; the full effect is achieved normally within half an hour.[18]

Five different plants are known or used by the barriofolk of Caticugan as fish poisons for both river and pelagic fishing. These piscicides are: the vines lagtang (Anamirta cocculus (Linn.) W. & A.) and tubli (Derris elliptica (Roxb.) Benth.), a bush called soro-soro (Euphorbia neriifolia L.), the kasay tree bark and the fruit and bark of the bito-on (Barringtonia asiatica (Linn.) Kurz) tree. The most popular one is lagtang.

I never saw Caticugan barriofolk use fish poisons, although they were well-informed about the techniques. The Siaton River near Caticugan does not lend itself to such a method of fishing; it lacks small riverside pools and the current is fairly swift. In the northern barrios of the Siaton River valley the people utilize piscicides more frequently. There are more creeks, the river's current is gentler with many shallow pools.

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[18] Robert F. Heizer, "Aboriginal Fish Poisons," Anthropological Papers, No. 33-42, Bulletin 151, Bureau of American Ethnology, Washington, D.C., 1953, pp. 231-2, 239.

In the fishing barrios lagtang is used for certain types of pelagic fishing.[19] 226

When the fish corrals are destroyed by the southwest monsoon, the men in fishing communities like Malabuhan fish with hook and line when weather permits. They use lagtang as a piscicide, frequently to obtain live bait. Lagtang's fruit is red when ripe, the seeds are brown. The vine flowers in March and the fruits are collected in May. In Malabuhan the people often buy lagtang seeds for five cents a pound; lagtang does not grow near Malabuhan and has to be sought in the hills. Lagtang seeds contain picrotoxin, other bitter principles and two alkaloids. One of the best known of Asian piscicides, lagtang, is "one of the commonest [plants] used as a fish poison in the Philippines."[20] 226 278

The fruit of the lagtang is dried in the sun with care not to over-dry, since this is said to make the

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[19]Piscicides are still widely used in the Philippines. An author from Camiguin Island, off the northern coast of Mindanao, recently wrote: "Aside from fishing with TNT, more than a few fishermen in Camiguin still use poison herbs, including tubli and lagtang to kill fish. This practice is almost as destructive as dynamite fishing itself." Rafael A. Bautista, "Disappearing Paradise," The Philippines Free Press, XLIV, No. 8 (February 21, 1953), pp. 20-1. Dynamite fishing became a serious problem after the last war that left large supplies of explosives in various parts of the Philippines.

[20]Brown states "The fruit is used as a fish poison and is also poisonous to other animals...In preparing the poison the fruit is heated until dry and then crushed and powdered." Brown, op. cit., I, p. 530. Encarnacion wrote that the juice obtained from the lagtang roots, mixed with water, was used as a medicine for sore eyes and the fruit was used as a piscicide. Quisumbing, op. cit., pp. 145-6.

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seeds very toxic. Once dried, the outer skin is peeled off and the seeds are roasted in a frying pan. Lagtang seeds must not be heated too long or they become so toxic that the fish sink instead of floundering stupefied on the surface. Then the seeds are pounded and mixed with finely-cut fish, cooked cornmeal or mashed land crabs and sand; sand makes the mixture heavy so it will sink. When the fish eat this mixture they "come to the surface very dizzy and act crazy and we scoop them up with the sikpas"--a butterfly-like net with a handle. Since all the fish do not come to the surface this type of fishing is wasteful, particularly if the poison is very potent.

Tubli is another common piscicide. Wray's description of the use of tubli by the Malays approximates the technique used in the Philippines--and in Caticugan.[21] The stem and roots of this vine are cut, sometimes mashed, then placed in water to soak out the toxin. Tubli is used in the river and in rocky pools along the seashore. The lack of such pools between Malabuhan and the Siaton River mouth may be one reason why tubli is used so infrequently.

Soro-soro is not as potent a piscicide as tubli. Both soro-soro leaves and its fleshy branches are utilized. Soro-soro is cultivated in Manila and some large towns; Quisumbing believes it is an introduced species.[22]

[21] Quisumbing, op. cit., p. 149 who quotes Wray; tubli is said to be cultivated in Malaya for use as a piscicide.

[22] Ibid., p. 156. Soro-soro is also used as a fish poison by the Igorots.

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Scrapings from the bark of the kasay tree are used as a fish poison. Both soro-soro and kasay are rarely used in Siaton.

The bito-on is a common tree that grows along the seashore in the Philippines. The tree's seeds contain a glucoside, barringtonin; both the bark and the seeds are used as a fish poison.[23] The flesh of bito-on fruits is eaten when ripe, in Siaton; the grated bark is also mixed with binakhao (finely-diced raw fish that many people consider a delicacy). In Caticugan the flesh of the fruit is used also as a piscicide; it is chopped or rubbed against sharp coral rocks in the pools. Sometimes the bito-on flesh is roasted, powdered and mixed with fine ashes or chopped fish. One informant reported an experience with bito-on that is probably typical of its use by many barriofolk.

> One day while my cousin and I were taking a bath in the river he became excited to discover plenty of fish in a deep part of the river. I told him that we could not do anything to catch the fish. But my cousin said we should go home and get some of the fruit and bark of a bito-on tree that grew near his house. We did this and threw it [bito-on fruit] into the water where the fish were swimming. We caught plenty of fish and shrimp and eels.

Not all Caticugan barriofolk, however, knew that bito-on could be used as a piscicide.

Povedano's manuscript (1578) states that the early inhabitants of Negros used two piscicides, tubli

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[23] Ibid., p. 165. Bito-on has been found to be most effective as a piscicide when used at dawn.

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and laktang (i.e., lagtang). Tubli roots were crushed; laktang fruits were roasted and pulverized with dried shrimp. Both Palencia and Capistrano mention Filipinos using tubli as a piscicide.[24] Povedano also wrote that tigao leaves were mixed with those of the lampuyan to make a fish poison.[25] Aguirre reports (1916) that the people of Negros Occidental used lagtang seeds; the roasted seeds were pounded and mixed with algae that stunned but did not kill the fish. Aguirre also mentions the use of tuba (Jatropha curcas Linn.) or kasla, producing a piscicide that killed not merely stupefied the fish.[26] Tuba was introduced into the Philippines from Mexico by the Spaniards; it is now pantropic in distribution. Tuba's English name is "Physic Nut" tree and the seeds contain a toxin called toxalbumin curcin.[27]

[24]Teofilo Panencia "The Life of a Bisaya Fisherman," Manila, Bisaya Ethnology, I-V, Beyer Collection, 1918, p. 4. Typescript. Vide Capistrano, op. cit., p. 10.

[25]Probably Povedano's lampuyan is lampuyang (Curcuma longa Linn.) that is a source of tumeric. However, the lampuyang that grows in Caticugan, identified by a specimen, is Curcuma zedoaria (Berg.) Rosc.; Brown makes no mention of it being used as a fish poison. Povedano's tigao is probably tigau (Callicarpa cana Linn.), a shrub whose leaves are used as a piscicide, according to Brown. Neither of these two plants, lampuyang or tigau, were used as fish poisons in Caticugan. Brown, op. cit., I, pp. 425-8 and Brown, op. cit., III, p. 277.

[26]Eulogio Aguirre "How the Early People in Occidental Negros Obtained Their Food." Manila, Bisaya Ethnology, Beyer Collection, I-V, 1918, pp. 3-4. Typescript. Magahats use tuba as a fish poison, soaking the pounded fruits in a container of water and then pouring the mixture into the river or creek. It is reported the toxin takes about 20 minutes to stupefy the fish. Magahats also use tubli and lagtang. Oracion, op. cit., pp. 77-8.

[27]Eduardo Quisumbing "Philippine Plants Used for Arrow Poisons," The Philippine Journal of Science, LXXVII, No. 2 (June 1947), pp. 137-8. In Caticugan there is also a plant called tuba-tuba (Jatropha gossypifolia Linn.)

Nearly all cooking

pottery is purchased; most of it is made in Dumaguete for none of the local womenfolk make their own pottery. In the near vicinity of Caticugan only one woman regularly made pottery that she bartered for food. Weaving of fine fabrics from banana fibers has ceased completely in the barrrio; the weaving of abaca cloth is rapidly declining, though a few women still weave abaca for skirts, men's shirts, and a few other purposes. Abaca clothing, however, is quite unpopular with the younger generation and the barriofolk's style of dress is being changed by the post-war traffic in used American clothing.

Few baskets are made today in Caticugan. The winnowing basket that is used daily is normally purchased in the poblacion or in Dumaguete. I never saw a woman making such a basket, though several Naga women were said to weave them. Tin basins have taken the place of wooden basins and metal spoons and forks are rapidly replacing those made of coconut shell. The most widespread handicraft in Caticugan is the weaving of sleeping mats and bags from buri fronds; this handicraft appears to be threatened by a decrease in palms.

The decline of barrio handicrafts has been recognized by the Philippine government. School programs attempt to perpetuate and revive certain handicrafts; however, the school programs I observed do not promise to be very successful. Advice on the development or modernization of cottage industries has been given by American experts as one means of reducing the chronic

high, with a capacity of about 2-1¼ pounds of clean rice; 437
the largest was 9 inches high with a capacity of 4-1/2 415
pounds. It took her about two days to make the large pot; 323
four or five of the smaller ones could be made in the same time--of course, after the clay had been gathered and prepared for working.

BURI WEAVING

Weaving of buri (Cebuano: buli) palm bags and sleeping mats is the most widespread of all handicrafts in the Siaton River valley. Large buri bags (baluyut), four or five feet high, serve to store rice or shelled corn. Smaller bags (bolugasan) are used to carry shelled corn to the poblacion mills for grinding for storage. Sleeping mats (banig) are about three to five feet in width and four to six feet in length. Plate LXX,[1] A and B, shows the type of weave used for making both the bags and sleeping mats. Drawing B (Plate LXX) shows how the edges of the sleeping mats are finished. Weaving buri bags and mats is strictly a woman's job, although men cut the fronds.

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415
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285
[462]

Preparing the Buri for Weaving

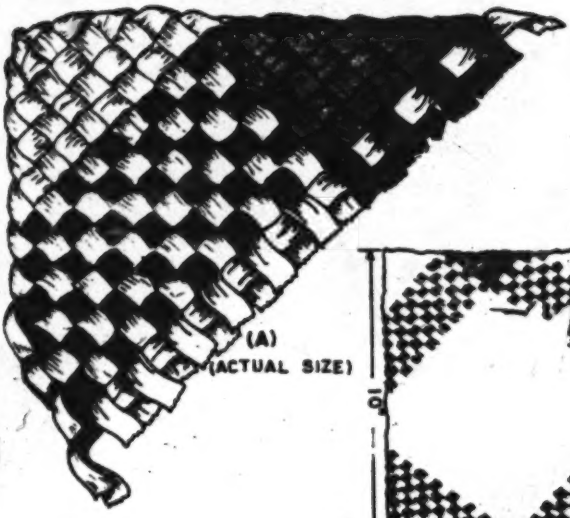
Unopened immature buri fronds are cut from the tree's crown. The best time to cut the fronds was said to be the period of the new moon; if gathered at any other time the fronds are very brittle and difficult to weave. After the unopened fronds are cut, they are pulled apart and placed, fan-like, on the ground to dry for two or three days.

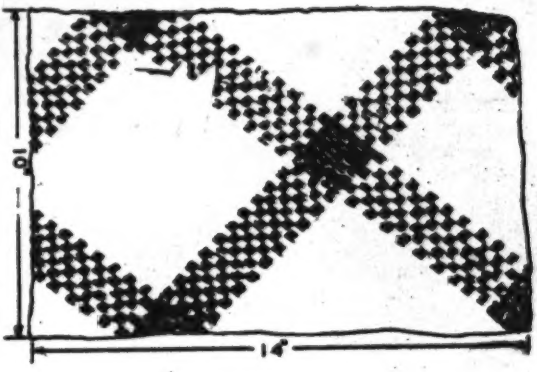
285
314

1 [See p. 703, cat. 285, or 116 -- Analyst]

PLATE LXX
Page 703

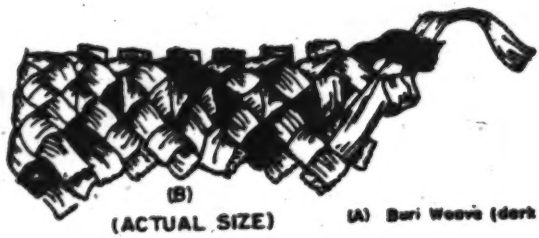
285




(C)

BURI PLAITING STYLE




(A) Buri Weave (dark strips are red)

(B) Edge finishing

(C) Mat design (cross-hatching red)

285 ●

When the fronds are dry the stiff mid-rib is stripped from each individual leaf. The leaves then are smoothed by running them over the back of a knife or seashell. Buri leaves are cut into fairly regular widths by use of a rattan guide (batacan). (See Plate LXXI.)[1] The batacan is hooked around a leaf and a small knife inserted just above the notch facing the worker; it penetrates the leaf to a second notch on the back of the batacan. By moving the batacan and the knife down the leaf together an even strip is cut. Buri strips, ready for weaving, are called lila.

After a sufficient supply of lilas is prepared, the plaiting of the bag or mat is begun. The only type of plaiting used is illustrated in Plate LXX. Strands used to plait mats and baskets are fairly broad and flat, producing a checkerboard type of design; actually little can be done in plaiting such strands except to pass them alternately over and under. Sleeping mats, unlike bags, are usually plaited with a double thickness. Only one woman in Caticugan made any attempt to decorate her buri bags. The sibokao tree's heartwood makes a brown dye; sometimes, though rarely, she used tanbark as a dye "because I do not have to buy the sibokao to make a dye." She dyed a few buri strips, plaiting them into the bag, making a simple geometric design. Plate LXX, C, illustrates the design made in some placemats she plaited for me.

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531
[389]

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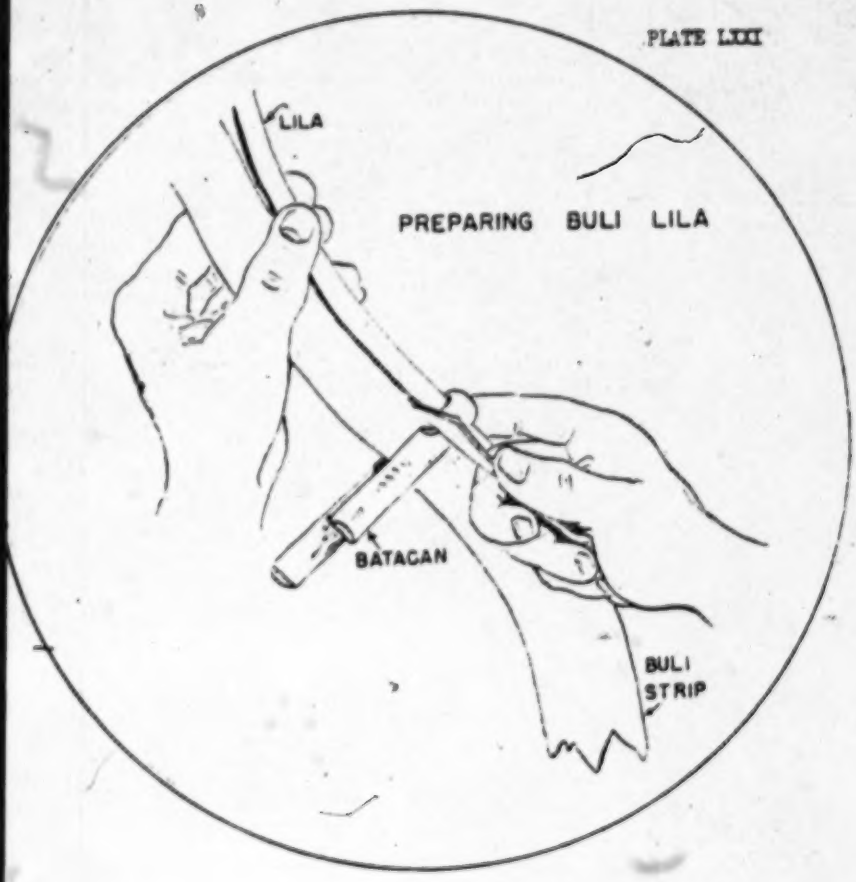
178

The decreasing number of buri palms in the vicinity of Caticugan may pose a problem for the barriofolk in the

1 [See p.705, cat. 285 -- Analyst]

PLATE LXXI

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not-too-distant future. Since the palm is usually killed to make suhang before it flowers, the reproductive cycle of the tree is disturbed. Most people agree that there were more buri palms a decade ago than today. If the palms become scarce the people will have a difficult time finding an adequate substitute for buri. However, this potential problem (I may exaggerate it) does not seem to worry the

314
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178

barriofolk. Possibly the developing jute industry of the Philippines will replace buri plaiting in the future.

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BARRIO BASKETS

415

Three major types of baskets used by the barriofolk of Caticugan are: (1) the harvest basket, bukag; (2) the winnowing basket, niggo or ayagang; (3) and the shallow kalalaw used in abaca weaving. Several other types of baskets were made by schoolchildren in the poblacion but never used in the barrio; they are taught to make small bags and baskets that can be sold as curios. Basket-making is said to be predominately a woman's job, although some men make bukags. Baskets were made so rarely in Caticugan that I never saw any of these three types being plaited.

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462

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438

The bukag, previously mentioned in connection with the corn harvests, is a loosely plaited basket of thin strips of bamboo and rattan about 2 feet in height with an 18-inch opening. The bukag is roughly made and does not take much time to plait. This type of basket, to my knowledge, is always made by the barriofolk; I never saw any for sale in either the poblacion or Dumaguete. They are used, almost entirely, to carry unhusked corn from the fields to the house or storehouse.

The wide shallow basket used for winnowing the chaff from pounded rice or ground corn is called the niggo or ayagang. This basket also is plaited from rattan and thin pieces of bamboo. An increasing number of them are

CB 285 438

purchased by the barriofolk in the poblacion or Dumaguete; I often saw women, sometimes from Caticugan, returning home on the bus with winnowing baskets purchased in Dumaguete. Dumaguete's public marketplace had many stores that sold this type of basket. Two women who lived in Naga were said to plait and barter niggo baskets during harvest-time but I never observed them doing so. Unlike the bukag, the niggo is made sturdily and lasts for years with proper care.

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Kalalaw are small baskets used to coil abaca thread during the weaving process. Since so few women plait in Caticugan, I never saw kalalaw being plaited. They are made, like the niggo, from thin strips of bamboo and rattan. They usually come in sets of three or four since each size is used for a specific type of abaca thread. I measured one set of kalalaw baskets; the figures are in Table XLII.

TABLE XLII

KALALAW BASKET MEASUREMENTS (Inches)

| Height | Width |
|---|---|
| 16-1/2 | 11 |
| 14-1/2 | 10-1/2 |
| 12-1/2 | 8-1/2 |
| 10-1/2 | 7 |

P-CB 286 101

ABACA WEAVING

The three major areas of hand-weaving in the Philippines are: (1) northern Luzon (Ilocos region and the Mountain Province); (2) southern Luzon (Rizal and Bicol

20: Hart E-5 (1951) 1954 OA1 Philippines
Central Bisayan OA 14

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PLATE LXXVI



(A)
PABOTO FISH NET



(B)
CLOTHING FABRIC

ABACA FABRIC TYPES




SAHID FISH NET (C) PLATE LXXVI

P. 721

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pull the net. When the fish are emptied from the net those who helped receive small shares of the catch. Vendors come with gubang and other foods to sell to the crowd or barter for fish; the people often eat their fish at the beach. The whole affair becomes an impromptu picnic with eating, drinking and swimming.

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A few women in Siaton poblacion weave abaca for fish netting. However, most abaca material used to make nets is woven in Dauin and Bacong municipalities; more abaca is grown here and the women have a reputation for weaving. I saw far more looms in Dauin and Bacong poblaciones than in Siaton. The material is sold in rolls forty to fifty feet long and thirty-five to forty inches wide; one roll is often sold to Siaton fishermen for two or three dollars.[63]

Lava Net

[227] 228

The lava is a circular twine net with many small lead sinkers attached to the outer edge.[64] Only one man in Barrio Caticugan owned a lava with a diameter of 11 feet. The lava, however, is rarely used in Siaton; only two were seen in the fishing sitio of Malabuhan. It is

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[435]

[63] One woman in Siaton poblacion sold three rolls of abaca (30 inches in width) for $9 to a Chinese store. The fiber cost $3. She estimated that it took her 60 hours to weave the three rolls so she made about 10 cents an hour. Another woman said she could weave 48 feet of abaca daily if the loom were loaded.

[64] De la Victoria, op. cit., p. 46, describes the identical net used in Cebu and also called lava. Lava is a general term for cast net: dala (Tag.), tabukol (Ilk.); sabukol (Pang.). Umali, Guide to the Classification of Fishing Gear in the Philippines, p. 119.

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286

Twine nets are repaired with a bamboo shuttle-like device called sikhohan; sikhohan are made in several different sizes. (See Plate L.)[1] In repairing twine nets all loose or "false" threads are cut; "false" threads are those that if unravelled sufficiently are not fixed to an untorn part of the net. New twine is woven into the holes with the sikhohan. Net mending is a man's job, "especially [426] if we cannot go to the sea"; women rarely mend nets.

Bobo Fish Traps

226
[171]
322

The bobo, a bamboo fish trap, is widely used in Siaton for obtaining pelagic fish; the trap is distributed throughout the Philippines. Victoria has written of the bobo of Cebu. He states that its fishermen bait the bobo;[68] however, Siaton bobos are not baited. Kangleon reported that Leyte fishermen put bobos in water as deep as 180 feet where they may stay for 3 months.

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[68] De la Victoria, op. cit., p. 46. Umali calls the bobo "a fish pot" and writes that recently they have been made of chicken wire. Umali, op. cit., p. 106.

1 [this plate is missing -- Analyst]

694

Nearly all cooking pottery is purchased; most of it is made in Dumaguete for none of the local womenfolk make their own pottery. In the near vicinity of Caticugan only one woman regularly made pottery that she bartered for food. Weaving of fine fabrics from banana fibers has ceased completely in the barrio; the weaving of abaca cloth is rapidly declining, though a few women still weave abaca for skirts, men's shirts, and a few other purposes. Abaca clothing, however, is quite unpopular with the younger generation and the barriofolk's style of dress is being changed by the post-war traffic in used American clothing.

Few baskets are made today in Caticugan. The winnowing basket that is used daily is normally purchased in the poblacion or in Dumaguete. I never saw a woman making such a basket, though several Naga women were said to weave them. Tin basins have taken the place of wooden basins and metal spoons and forks are rapidly replacing those made of coconut shell. The most widespread handicraft in Caticugan is the weaving of sleeping mats and bags from buri fronds; this handicraft appears to be threatened by a decrease in palms.

The decline of barrio handicrafts has been recognized by the Philippine government. School programs attempt to perpetuate and revive certain handicrafts; however, the school programs I observed do not promise to be very successful. Advice on the development or modernization of cottage industries has been given by American experts as one means of reducing the chronic

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purchased by the barriofolk in the poblacion or Dumaguete; I often saw women, sometimes from Caticugan, returning home on the bus with winnowing baskets purchased in Dumaguete. Dumaguete's public marketplace had many stores that sold this type of basket. Two women who lived in Naga were said to plait and barter niggo baskets during harvest-time but I never observed them doing so. Unlike the bukag, the niggo is made sturdily and lasts for years with proper care.

CB 285 415

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ABACA WEAVING

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20: Hart E-5 (1951) 1954 OA1 Philippines OA1
Central Bisayan OA14



P-CE 286 101

regions); and (3) the Visayas, i.e., Panay, Bohol and Cebu islands. While weaving is done in other parts of the archipelago, these three areas contain the majority of weavers and produce most of the woven fabrics of the Philippines. After the last war the weaving industry in the Philippines was rapidly declining due to the destruction of looms during the occupation, high costs of materials, influx of inexpensive cotton material from abroad, and obsolete designs, and inconsistencies in size and quality of locally produced fabrics.[9]

P 178 288

CB 286 [101]

Caticugan (and Negros Island) is not representative of any one of these three major Philippine weaving areas. Only a few older women weave abaca cloth in Caticugan.[10] There were ten looms in Caticugan (two were broken)--or about one loom to every twelve families. Not all of these looms were used in 1951. I estimate that of the eight workable looms only four or five were used, at one time or another, during my residence; no loom was in constant use by its owner during this year. The probable disappearance of weaving in Caticugan in the future encouraged me to spend more time in studying the technique than would have been merited by its importance in the community's economy.

CB [178 121]

The barrio loom (halablan) is made of bamboo except for the wooden beam and cloth rollers (likisan) and base

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[9] Lysbeth Wallace, Hand-Weaving in the Philippines. United Nations Publication, Sales Number: 1954.II.H.3., ST/TAA/K/Philippines/3, December 21, 1953, p. 2.

[10] Abaca is better known as Manila hemp (Musa textilis). Bark cloth is not made by the barriofolk of Caticugan, although cloth from the bark of the talobang tree is made by the Magahats. Oracion, op. cit., pp. 31-2.

supports. (See Plate LXXII, 4 and 22.)[1] Unlike the looms in Ilocos that are built underneath the house, using the upright beams supporting the dwelling for part of the loom structure, Caticugan looms are kept inside the dwelling. The loom is a Malayan horizontal type with two foot treadles that manipulate two cord heddles for speedy intercalation of the spool shuttle.[11] The weaving product is a coarsely-woven stiff fabric called abaca (Cebuano: hinabol).

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Nearly all women who wove abaca said they learned the technique from their mothers; one informant said she was taught by her father who had learned from his mother. A few men were said to weave, although no men living in Caticugan did so.

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[H/62]

Stripping the fibers from the abaca plant and building the loom are a man's work, whereas the processing of the fiber, weaving and the final preparation of the cloth are a woman's work. Several older women in Caticugan were able to weave when they were in their early teens. There was one abandoned loom in Caticugan that the owner said was smaller than the normal loom; it had been used by a mother to teach the girl to weave. Normally, however a girl learns to weave on the regular-size loom.

No abaca is grown in Caticugan so the fibers must be purchased from abaca-growing communities. This may be a minor factor in the decline of weaving in Caticugan.

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[178]

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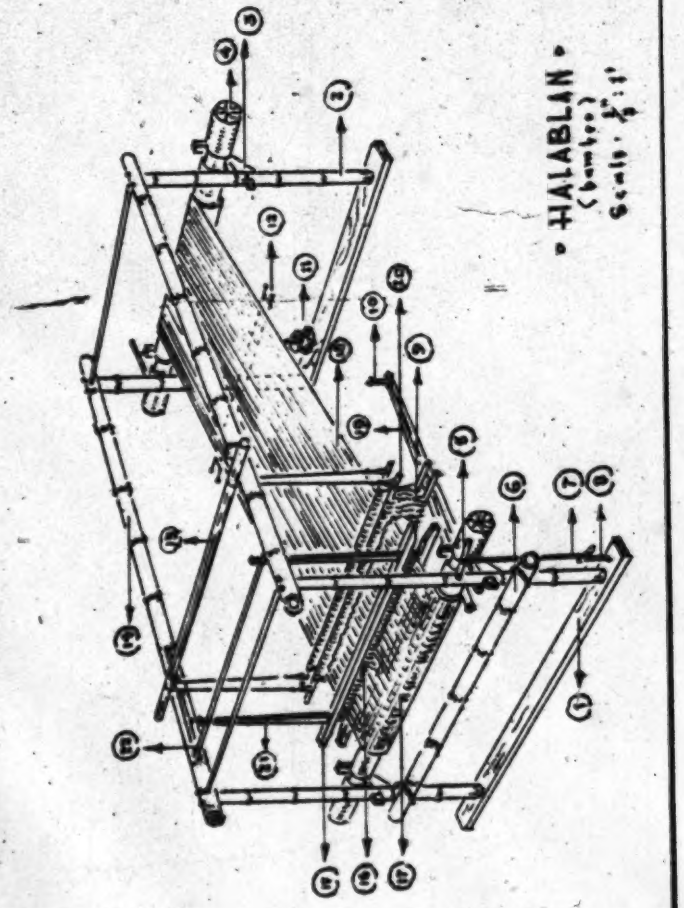
[11] On this matter see the articles by H. Ling Roth, "Studies in Primitive Looms, Part III: 6. Indonesian Looms," The Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland, XLVII, 1917, pp. 323-66.

1 [See p.710, cat. 286--Analyst]

20: Hart E-5 (1951) 1954 OA1 Philippines
Central Bisayan OA14

LEGEND
1. Sapaw
2. Patindok
3. Kayo
4. Hiligan (yarn or beam roller)
5. Batangan (seat
6. Lubid
7. Pasir
8. Lagbon (cord he
9. Pasak
10. Bato (stone weight)
11. Lagyologo (shed stick)
12. Liked
13. Pitpiton
14. Inabon (reeds
15. Solod (warp s reed spacer, batten)
16. Oned
17. Gabbay (warp)
18. Timbasan (tread
19. Tabog sa kagbon (heddle framework)
20. Kangaan
21. Hiligan (cloth breast beam)

Plate LXXII

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P. 710

Most abaca used for weaving is bought in the northern barrios of Bantolinao and Nasig-id. Several women were furnished abaca by the owner who later received one-half of the cloth.

Fiber to be woven must be stripped from the abaca plant with special care; for example, no pulp should remain on the fiber. Often growers who sell abaca to the Chinese in Siaton poblacion purposely leave pulp on the fibers so the bundles will weigh more.

Dyes

Three vegetable dyes, tagun, taloto, and antipolo, were once used to dye colored weft thread for abaca cloth. Tagun (Indigofera suffruticosa Mill) grows wild in the nearby hills; once in the past it was cultivated as a source of black dye. Domesticated tagun, according to the barriofolk, made a better dye than the wild variety. Water was heated and tagun leaves were added; a little lime was then sprinkled into this mixture and care taken lest the water boil. "If the water boiled," one woman explained, "the dye was not any good because the leaves became tender right away." Bark of the taloto and antipolo trees was powdered to make a red dye. Red fibers were sometimes re-dyed with tagun "so they would be reddish and very shiny." Today these vegetable dyes are rarely, if ever, used. Weavers buy chemical dyes in the poblacion; a package of four different dyes costs ten cents.

286 178

Before the last war, less frequently at present, colored cotton thread was purchased in the poblacion to weave the weft stripes into the fabric. Today, however, cotton thread is so expensive that most weavers dye abaca fibers to give the finished fabric a colored stripe. Red and blue are the favorite colors used in abaca weaving with black a poor third. Designs are alternate weft stripes of color with the natural abaca thread of the warp.

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There are four basic processes in preparing the warp for weaving. First, tog-ot, the sorting of various sizes of thread from the hanks of abaca. Second, bonos, tieing together the same size threads into one continuous thread. Third, han-ay, hand warping in preparation for loading the loom. Fourth, samod, the installation of the warp on the beam and cloth rollers. The following paragraphs describe these four processes in some detail.[12]

Tog-ot: Sizing The Abaca

After the fiber is obtained by the weaver it is put in a rice mortar and pounded "just like rice"; this process makes the thread (lanot) softer and more pliable.

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[12] Paglala is the infinitive "to weave" buri bags and mats--for all types of weaving except abaca. The infinitive for weaving abaca is paghabol. Abaca cloth is called hinabol whereas a weaver is called maghahabol. I was not able to observe all of these four processes while in Caticugan. Several times, much to my disappointment, I would arrive at a dwelling a few hours after the woman had finished han-ay or sambod. In preparing my notes on weaving, I found considerable gaps in my information that I was able to fill, in part, through correspondence with my assistant in Siaton, requesting answers to a list of written questions.

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[868]

Then the pounded thread is sorted for size, a process called tog-ot.[13] One of the first tasks taught a young girl learning to weave is to sort thread. Five different sizes of thread based on its thickness as determined by the weaver's sight and touch are sorted. These five classes of thread are, from the thickest to the thinnest, respectively: dagku; halan-ayon; okyot; katung-an; and magamaya. Halan-ayon is the most plentiful in the abaca hanks (gatang) purchased by weavers.

Bonos: Tieing

The second step, bonos, is tying the various thread sizes into one continuous thread, e.g., all dagku threads are tied together.[14] A weaver's knot (dogkong) is used to joint the individual threads. (See Plate LXXIII below.)

PLATE LXXIII

DOGKONG KNOT

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[13] In Bacong, Negros Oriental, tog-ot is begun at high tide, the belief being that this will increase the number of the fibers. Timoteo S. Oracion and Avelino T. Torres, "Some Notes on the Weaving of Abaca Cloth in Bacong, Negros Oriental, Philippines." Dumaguete, Silliman University, Negros Oriental, Philippines, 1953, p. 4. Typescript. 789

[14] In Bacong bonos is done at high tide. Kapinan shells and homemade wooden combs are placed in kalalay baskets to increase the length of abaca fibers. It may be that the purpose of the combs is to prevent the fibers from tangling. Ibid., p. 5.

Loose ends of the dogkong (A and B in Plate LXXIII) are cut after the knot is pulled together. As threads of one size are tied in long strands (linakgak) they are loosely coiled in kalalaw baskets. If the joined strands of threads are not used immediately for weaving, they are made into individual skeins, bito-ol, composed of one class of thread. The skeins are carefully wrapped and often hung in the rafters to protect them from damage by rats.

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Han-ay: Hand Warping

The third step in preparing the loom is reeling the warp to be placed between the beam and cloth roller, a process called han-ay. The next to thickest size thread, halgn-avon, is used to weave most abaca cloth made in Caticugan; this size is the most plentiful in the hanks. If halgn-avon thread is used for the warp, the weft thread is dagku, since the two threads are about the same thickness. When okyot thread is used for the warp, the same class of thread is used for the weft--which is also the case for the other sizes of threads. The reason for these choices is that the approximately same size threads for warp and weft makes a better-appearing fabric, according to the weavers, than would mixing of a large size thread (dagku) with a much smaller size (magamays).

Coiled piles of thread are taken from their kalalaw baskets and placed in individual piles on a mat on the floor of the house. A pinch of earth from the mound of the anay (termite), a busikad flower, or a kapinan

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789

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789

seashell, is put under one coiled pile of thread. The purpose of these items is "to increase the thread"--a reflection of the increase magic of agricultural practices, previously discussed.[15] For example, the literal translation of kapinan is "more than." Small stones or sand are placed on top of each coiled pile of thread to prevent them from tangling as they are hand warped between two opposite poles inside the house.

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Coils of thread (linakgak) are placed on the mat in two rows. There are usually four, eight, or ten coils of thread, each coil being paired with another. If ten coils of thread are used, they are arranged in two rows, e.g.:

6 7 8 9 10

1 2 3 4 5

Spreads from coils 1-6 are drawn through a small bamboo hoop suspended above the piles of thread; threads from coils 2-7, 3-8, 4-9, 5-10, are pulled through their respective hoops, tied together, and reeled between two posts (usually house posts) at opposite ends of the room. Each post has five or six pegs arranged from top to bottom around which the threads are reeled.

The first pair of threads (i.e., 1-6) is held between the small finger and ring finger of the left hand, the second pair (2-7) between the ring finger and middle

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[15] In Bacong coconut shell charcoal, kapinan shell, and busikad grass are used. "The charcoal and grass are believed to prevent rats from gnawing the fibers." Ibid., p. 6. It might be added that busikad grass has a pungent odor.

finger, the third pair (3-8) between the middle finger and index finger, the fourth pair (4-9) between the index finger and the thumb, whereas the fifth pair (5-10) is held with the right hand. If odd numbers of coiled thread piles are used--such as 3, 5, 7, or 9 piles--then one coil does not have a mate though the others do. One woman reels the threads half-way between the two posts, passes them on to another woman, who loops them around the top peg of the opposite post, returns them half-way between the posts where her assistant takes the threads from her, and loops them around the second from top peg on her post, etc.

When the hand warping is finished, the threads are cut from the coils on the floor. Warp threads are then detached from the upper peg of the first post and rolled loosely toward the upper peg on the second post, then back toward the second peg on the first post, etc. When the reeling reaches the last peg of the second post, a stick (pablon) is inserted through small loops at the ends of the threads. Sometimes, instead of rolling warp threads off the pegs, threads are "chained"; they are usually rolled, however, for it takes less time. (See Plate LXXIV.)

PLATE LXXIV

HAN-AY CHAIN

Sambod: Loading the Loom

The fourth and final step is loading the loom; a process called sambod. The large bundle or roll of warp thread is placed on the floor; the pablon is embedded in a groove in the rear or beam roller. (See Plate LXXII, 4.) A banana stalk with a row of pegs (about 6-7 inches high), separated about the width of one finger, is tied between the two rear uprights, patindog, of the loom. (See Plate LXXII, 2.) Threads that have been attached to the beam roller with the pablon are drawn between each peg in the banana stalk, ten threads between each peg. When all threads attached to the yarn or beam roller are distributed between the banana stalk pegs, a thin bamboo stick or string is woven between their tops, closing them.

Then the loyoloyo, or shed stick, is inserted alternately every ten threads, just below the banana stalk. (See Plate LXXII, 12.) The shed stick untangles any threads that might have snarled during the rolling of the warp threads after hand warping or as they are now rolled on the beam roller. After the threads are placed between the pegs in the banana stalk and the shed stick, the beam roller is turned one complete revolution.

Then another small banana stalk is placed on top of the threads on the beam roller; the cloth roller is taken from its usual loom position and placed upon the banana stalk. Two ropes, one each over the opposite ends of the two rollers and banana stalk, are installed, and tied to the floor. A piece of bamboo is placed between

the double strands of each rope and twisted, to increase the ropes' tension on the rollers and banana stalk. This technique puts sufficient pressure on the beam roller so that when it is rolled, the threads are evenly and tightly distributed.

The loom is now ready so the beam roller can be turned, pulling the threads from the bundle on the floor, through the shed stick and the pegs in the banana stalk around the beam roller. One woman usually turns the beam roller while an assistant gently shakes the shed stick to untangle snarled threads as they are wound. If the beam roller becomes difficult to turn, the tension of the ropes is released slightly. All warp threads are rolled on the beam roller except for the length needed to reach the cloth roller. When this is done the banana stalks and cloth roller are removed, the latter being installed in its proper place. The beam roller is secured so it cannot roll backward and the shed stick is re-inserted in front of this roller.

The round stick(pablon) of the cloth roller is tied to the loom's seat (linkoran). (See Plate LXXII, 6 and 22). Warp threads are now individually passed through the cord heddles (koghons) that are tied to the two foot treadles (tumbanan) with strong twine. (See Plate LXII, 9 and 19.) Once the threads are passed through the heddles, they are inserted in pairs between the batten's (reed spacer) dents (spaces) made by the bamboo splints (saosao or "teeth"). (See Plate LXXII, 16 and 20.) The solod is

the framework of the reed spacer. Once through the batten, threads are tied in pairs to the pablon. When all warp threads are fixed to the pablon, the stick is inserted in a groove of the cloth roller. A dried strip of banana stalk or bandan plant (Donax cannaiformis (Forest. f.) K. Schum.) is woven through the warp threads; the purpose is to make the threads nearest the cloth roller's pablon strong and firm. Now the warp, that varies from 34 to 41 inches in width, is ready for weaving.

A number of beliefs are associated with weaving abaca in Caticugan. When the warp thread is first installed on the beam roller, some weavers rub the roller with lime or ginger so "insects will not damage the threads." A piece of cotton dampened with coconut oil or a strand of hair from the weaver's head may also be placed on this roller "so the warp threads will not break easily." Some weavers put a piece of coconut-oil dampened cotton and a spider's web in the shed the first time the shuttle is pushed across the warp. The purpose of coconut oil is the same as above whereas the spider's web is inserted "because the spider starts its web one day and the next morning is finished"; others state the web is used so the woven abaca will be as smooth as the web's texture and not tear easily. Another practice is to weave into the right hand corner of the beginning of the fabric a piece of cotton and a small chicken feather soaked in

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coconut oil. The oil is said to make the abaca fabric appear shiny and the cotton and feather prevent threads from breaking frequently.[16]

The Shuttle

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The spool shuttle (lansarida) is carved from a solid piece of boat-shaped wood twelve to fourteen inches in length, about two inches in width and one inch in height. (See Plate LXXV.) A slot is carved in the shuttle's interior where the bobbin (kalanyasan) is placed. (See Plate LXXV.) The weft (kinalinyas) thread is wound around the bobbin, the latter being a piece of bamboo that revolves on small pegs in the shuttle slot. Weft thread is wound around the bobbin by a type of spinning wheel (galingan) and emerges from a small hole in the shuttle's side. Bobbins wound with weft thread may be soaked in a coconut shell of water before used; this makes the weft thread more elastic and less apt to break. The shuttle's movement across the shed is facilitated by two pairs of small bamboo rollers on its bottom.

To wind the weft thread on the hollow bobbin the latter is placed on the sambolan and the cloth-covered spinning wheel turned by hand, rotating the sambolan. (See Plate LXXV.) The size of galangans measured in Caticugan varied but usually they are about 20-28 inches long and 16-20 inches high.

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16"During the weaving a few human hairs, wet in oil, are interlaced in the first weave. Their belief is that this makes the fibers strong and smooth like human hair." Ibid., p. 7.

20: Hart E-5 (1951) 1954 OA1 Philippines
Central Bisayan OA14

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PLATE LXXVI




ABACA FABRIC TYPES




PLATE LXXVI

P. 721

PLATE LXXVI




GALINGAN FOR WEAVING

Weaving Process

Abaca cloth is woven by throwing the shuttle across the shed with the right hand and returning it with the left hand. Treadles are worked by the feet and the batten manipulated by hand. Stepping on one treadle raises a heddle (pulling up all odd or even warp threads), creating a shed for the shuttle. The warp is never made of colored threads; the fabric's design is made by alternating colored weft threads. The result is an unimaginative striped simple taffeta. Plate LXXVI, B,[1] illustrates abaca material woven for clothing purposes. The dark weft threads were dyed red. Charles Amsden has written:

> Its effect [the invention of the shuttle and its use] upon design is deadening, encouraging as it does a monotonous passing back and forth of the weft which gives at best an unimaginative pattern of plain stripes. The shuttle tends toward rapid progress in weaving but not, certainly, toward elaborate design.[17]

It is difficult to determine accurately the time it takes to weave abaca cloth in Caticugan since weavers work at irregular intervals through the day--when other household duties permit. Several informants, however, said if they worked steadily they could daily weave about five or six feet of fabric using halan-ayon thread; with smaller abaca threads twice the time was needed to weave the same amount. As the fabric is woven, the material is rolled on the cloth roller; no associated beliefs were reported when the fabric is removed from this roller.

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[17] Charles Amsden, "The Loom and Its Prototypes," American Anthropologist, XXXIV, No. 2 (April-June, 1932), pp. 216-35.

1 [See p. 721, cat. 286 -- Analyst]

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Abaca fabric for fish nets is woven on the loom already described. Fish net material is woven by a wider spacing of warp threads when put through the cord heddles and batten. When weft thread is woven, the batten is manipulated to produce the spacing of weft illustrated. (See Plate LXXVI , A and C.) Finer meshed abaca is woven by installing the warp in the same way described for weaving clothing material but the weft is not packed together as compactly. Plate LXXVI , C, shows the typical fish net, sahid, (the upper part illustrates the selvedge) whereas Plate LXXVI , A, sketches the finer mesh used for the pocket (paboto) of many fish nets. One can tell, by listening to the sound of the batten, what type of abaca material a woman is weaving.

Processing the Fabric

Abaca cloth is processed for two purposes: first, to soften the fabric and second, to increase its gloss. The cloth is sometimes soaked in lime water; the lime is made from snail or seashells. Sometimes abaca cloth is weighted down with stones in a small creek, a process called abohan. When the cloth is still damp it is folded and pounded to soften it and, particularly, increase its sheen. Then the fabric is placed on the palaknan, a small log that has been sawn and the top flattened. The cloth is then pounded vigorously with a wooden mallet (pakang). These two processes reduce the stiffness and scratchiness of the abaca fabric and also increases its

sheen; the latter is considered quite desirable. Abaca woven for fish nets is not soaked or pounded as is clothing fabric. 286

Abaca fabric woven in Caticugan was used to make shirts and short pants for boys and men, blouses and skirts for women, or blankets, mosquito netting, pillow case covers, strainers, window curtains and veils. Material used for pillow case covers and veils is woven from the finest abaca thread, magamays. The most widespread use of abaca cloth in Caticugan, however, is for clothing, especially for older women. To my knowledge no abaca was [437] woven for sale in Caticugan, although sometimes half of the fabric woven was given to the individual who furnished the abaca.

Other fibers besides abaca once were woven by some women of Caticugan. Fibers of the sab-a and San Pablo banana, maguey and lawisid (a banana-like plant) were stripped and woven into fabrics. Filipino use of banana fibers was reported by Loarca in the latter part of the 16th century.

> ...for the cloth which the natives use for their garments is made from a kind of [wild] banana. From this they make a sort of cloth resembling colored calico, which the natives call medrinaque.[18]

Maguey leaves were cut, squeezed and soaked in water until the pulp softened. The barriofolk said the retted leaves were then placed on a flat board and, holding one end of

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[18] Loarca, Blair and Robertson, op. cit., V, pp. 43-4.

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the leaves, a bowl was rolled over the pulp to free the fibers. Sab-a and San Pablo banana stalks were cut and permitted to dry for four days before decortication; the stalks had to dry or the fibers were too brittle to weave.

Sab-a, San Pablo and lawisid made a fine, silk-like fabric that was said to be "very shiny." Three sizes of threads were obtained from these plants; okyot, the largest size thread, magamays and palid, the smallest type. The loom used to weave these fibers had three heddles and treadles "so the cloth woven would be like cotton made by a machine"; otherwise, the loom was the same type used today. Weaving of the banana or lawisid fibers on a three-treadle loom was called hiringue.

The few women in Caticugan who remembered (or did) hiringue said little weaving was done during the hot season because the fine threads became dry and brittle; the best time to weave was during the rainy season. Fabric woven from the fibers of the sab-a, San Pablo and lawisid was not soaked in lime water but dampened and wound around a banana stalk. When the dry fabric was ironed it had a high gloss. No one weaves hiringue today in Caticugan; one of the most expert weavers of the barrio explained that "it takes too much time."

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This fifty-five year old woman, a resident of Naga and a noted weaver when young, said she once wove saba-a fabric with a flower design.

> There were many people who came to see me work because a man from the poblacion saw my weaving and told them that I was weaving wonderful things. So the poblacion people came. Some said: 'Oh, this is

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very nice.' But I said, 'buyag' as a precaution against an osikan. Some of the people wanted to buy the cloth. There were only two of us who wove very well in those days.[19]

From this weaver's account, it is evident that weaving fine fabrics from various banana fibers was nearly extinct twenty or thirty years ago. In "the old days," this weaver said, fabric woven by the hiringue technique sold for about thirty cents a yard. [435

The gradual disappearance of hiringue-woven fabrics was partly due to low prices; families stopped growing lawisid when the fiber's price fell. One woman's family planted lawisid several decades ago.

Sometimes I could not weave all the lawisid into cloth so we stripped and sold the fibers to the Chinese in the poblacion. From fifteen stalks of lawisid we once made $12. Six months later we stripped new plants that grew from the old ones and made $7. We finally stopped growing lawisid, however, because the price fell very low.

Woven fabrics were once bartered for food or labor. "When we had plenty of abaca cloth and my father had much work to be done," one informant explained, "we paid the workers with cloth." [437

Future of Weaving in Caticugan

A number of factors explain why little weaving is done today in Caticugan. One may predict the complete disappearance of abaca weaving for clothing fabric if these factors continue. First, the high prices of fibers [435]

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[19] An osikan is a person with an "evil eye," a Spanish importation from Europe to the Philippines. By complimenting a person an osikan is believed able to cause the victim to become ill; a protection against such a spell is to reverse the compliment by saying "buyag."

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discouraged most women who knew how to weave. Since no abaca is grown near Caticugan, it is necessary to make a long, tiring trip to the mountain saingins of the north. Weavers of Caticugan probably would have woven more if abaca had been cheaper and easier to obtain.

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Second, abaca fabric is stiff and scratchy; soaking and pounding the material helps but it remains uncomfortable to wear. Third, the younger generation, for the most part, is prejudiced against abaca clothing that they regard as a symbol of rusticity. This attitude, with improved educational facilities and increased contacts with Dumaguete, may not be expected to decline. Most young people said they were ashamed to wear abaca clothing to church or to festive events such as the fiesta. As one informant explained:

> Some people will tease you if you wear abaca clothing. 'Why are you wearing abaca? You look like the old people in the ancient times'--this is what they may say.

Only the children of the poor wore abaca clothing to school in Siaton poblacion.

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With the decline in the number of Caticugan weavers, young girls are not being taught to weave. I never saw a young woman weaving in the barrio; the weavers were always older women. Some young people said they did not wear abaca clothing because no one in their family could weave. Mothers explained their daughters were not interested in learning to weave for they preferred to wear clothing purchased in the poblacion stores. In the past a mature woman

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who could weave skillfully was a more desirable mate than one who could not. Difficulties of obtaining abaca fiber, the cost, and the tedious and time-consuming processes of preparing thread, weaving, and processing the woven fabric--plus the growing satorial sophistication of the young generation--militate against weaving in Caticugan.

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The most recent event that probably has dealt the coup de grace to any increase of abaca weaving for clothing in the future is the sale of used American clothing; the barriofolk speak of this as "relief clothing." After the last war tons of used American clothing were sent to the islands for rehabilitation purposes. Some of the clothing was sold illegally to the people and a new post-war Philippine business was born. Today used American clothing is imported regularly to the Philippines with Cebu City as a distribution center for the Visayas. Agents go to the city to buy the clothing that they later sell in rural areas through Negros.

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Every Sunday in Siaton poblacion Dumaguete vendors came to sell used American cotton and silk dresses, blouses, and children's clothing. At every fiesta I attended there were vendors who had big piles of used American clothing through which the barriofolk hunted for correct sizes. My impression was that most of the clothing was for women or children. As a result a new source of inexpensive clothing competes with abaca garments--and is modifying the barriofolks' mode of dress. T-shirts are replacing the abaca shirt of the past as cotton trousers have already done.

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In Caticugan, those who weave abaca wear it the most. Many older women still wear old style abaca wrap-around skirts (patadyong) and blouses. Older men usually wear cotton trousers but often abaca shirts. The technical assistance of cottage specialists from the United States is mainly directed toward teaching Philippine weavers to produce materials that can be used for homefurnishings, industrial purposes, or export. One American weaving expert, sent to the Philippines to offer advice in modernizing cottage industries, writes:

> I am doubtful that abaca for clothing will ever be revived again. It is slow and cumbersome to weave, and with the present minimum wage law a must, it is almost prohibitive in cost. This minimum wage law, though wonderful in principle, is still making the introduction of new fabrics somewhat difficult, as it imposes a high outlay of money during the time of education, prior to production.[20]

The use of abaca for fish nets will decrease rapidly once cheaper twine nets become easier to obtain. There may be significant increase in weaving products from the major weaving areas of the Philippines but the production will be aimed largely toward such uses as fabrics for upholstery in automobiles, place mats, drapery, bedspreads, etc. Weaving in Caticugan as a handicraft probably is beyond resuscitation.

WOODEN SADDLES

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Horses in Siaton are more numerous than is typical of most Philippine municipalities. Some ride bareback but 000

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[20] A personal letter to the writer from Mrs. Hammarstrom, November 17, 1952.

CB 175* 563

Spaniard might slap or kick him. An old informant who carried mail during the last part of the 19th century said he always avoided the Spaniards. If he saw one coming he would ride his horse in the opposite direction to avoid giving a sign of respect.

CB 175* 563 291 P 563 291

It was the custom of Spaniards not to permit Filipinos to wear their shirt-tails inside their pants. The Barong Tagalog, the national male costume of Filipinos, a finely-woven and embroidered shirt, is, Guerrero writes, "nothing but a shirt worn with its tails out." He continues by stating: "This seems to have been decried by the Spaniards to make it possible to tell at first glance who was a Spaniard, with the right to wear his shirt-tails properly tucked in, and who was an inferior 'indio.'"[88]

CB 563 175* 681.

One informant said when he was an altar boy for the priest he broke wind during mass. After the service the priest gave him a lashing for this unintentional act. Another informant told how the priest during mass would cry to the people who failed to kneel: "Oy, mga, carabao, lohod kamo!" (Oh, my carabaos, kneel!). If one was discovered possessing a Bible the book was confiscated and burned. Many of the people still believe today, as more did in the past, that to own a Bible may cause insanity.

[828]

CB 563 175*

On the whole, the Spaniards regarded the Filipinos as children, to be civilized, according to Spanish concepts, and Christianized.

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[88] Leon Ma. Guerrero, "What Are Filipinos Like?", The Philippine Quarterly, I, No. 3 (December, 1951), pp. 5-6.

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Nearly all cooking pottery is purchased; most of it is made in Dumaguete for none of the local womenfolk make their own pottery. In the near vicinity of Caticugan only one woman regularly made pottery that she bartered for food. Weaving of fine fabrics from banana fibers has ceased completely in the barrrio; the weaving of abaca cloth is rapidly declining, though a few women still weave abaca for skirts, men's shirts, and a few other purposes. Abaca clothing, however, is quite unpopular with the younger generation and the barriofolk's style of dress is being changed by the post-war traffic in used American clothing.

Few baskets are made today in Caticugan. The winnowing basket that is used daily is normally purchased in the poblacion or in Dumaguete. I never saw a woman making such a basket, though several Naga women were said to weave them. Tin basins have taken the place of wooden basins and metal spoons and forks are rapidly replacing those made of coconut shell. The most widespread handicraft in Caticugan is the weaving of sleeping mats and bags from buri fronds; this handicraft appears to be threatened by a decrease in palms.

The decline of barrio handicrafts has been recognized by the Philippine government. School programs attempt to perpetuate and revive certain handicrafts; however, the school programs I observed do not promise to be very successful. Advice on the development or modernization of cottage industries has been given by American experts as one means of reducing the chronic

underemployment of the barriofolk.[2] Most of these cottage industries aim at producing export handicrafts or luxury items. Perhaps most important is the changing attitudes of the barriofolk toward their own handicrafts. Abaca clothing is felt, by many young folk, to be a symbol of a rustic. The barriofolk claim that they can buy better and cheaper pottery than they can make. With the expanding role of money in the general economy, fewer people make handicrafts for bartering. As a result, in Caticugan, the younger generation, particularly women, grows up without training in basic handicrafts of their forefathers, and with an attitude that such training is neither desirable nor important.

This chapter deals with the following handicrafts that still exist in Caticugan and vicinity: (1) pottery; (2) buri weaving and basketry; (3) abaca weaving; and (4) woodwork, i.e., making wooden saddles and carved wooden bolo handles.

## POTTERY

There are an estimated 20,000 potters in the Philippines. "Much of the work is done by women who sit beneath

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[2]Recently a crafts team was sent to the Philippines under the auspices of the Economic Cooperation Administration and the United Nations. It consisted of a furniture designer, a wood products designer, and a textile expert, Marianne Hammarstrom. The unpublished Hammarstrom report has been briefly, and somewhat inaccurately, summarized by Will Savoy, "Philippine Weavers Learn New Techniques," Department of State Field Reporter, I, No. 2 (September-October, 1952), pp. 13-4. I was able to secure a typescript copy of the original report.

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Second, abaca fabric is stiff and scratchy; soaking and pounding the material helps but it remains uncomfortable to wear. Third, the younger generation, for the most part, is prejudiced against abaca clothing that they regard as a symbol of rusticity. This attitude, with improved educational facilities and increased contacts with Dumaguete, may not be expected to decline. Most young people said they were ashamed to wear abaca clothing to church or to festive events such as the fiesta. As one informant explained:

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INTERIOR FURNISHING OF THE BARRIO HOUSE

The typical Caticugan dwelling has two rooms--the sala or the living, dining bed-room, and kitchen. Sometimes the kitchen is completely separated from the sala but there may be only a partial partition. Some dwellings have a third room, a combined bedroom and storage space. Normally this room lacks beds and is used mainly to store boxes of clothing, sleeping mats, grain or other household equipment. Rarely do the "bedrooms" have windows; most barriofolk believe that night air is not healthy. In the poblacion many principalia shutter their bedroom windows when they retire; another reason is to discourage thieves. However, fresh air circulates through the loose walls and the slat floors.

In Caticugan the sala usually has a table and one or more wooden benches; sometimes benches of bamboo are fixed to the wall. Very few chairs occur in barrio dwellings although they are quite common in better houses in the poblacion. In two houses, one in Barrio Caticugan and the other in Naga, Singer sewing machines were seen. Most houses have a few pictures on the walls. The walls of the sala may be covered with colored illustrations from newspapers and magazines, mostly of American origin, and pictures of Filipino movie stars from the Cebuano-dialect magazine, Bisaya.[4]

[4] Bisaya is the most widely read dialect magazine in Siaton; it is a weekly, published in Manila, with a 1954 circulation of 2,973 in Negros Oriental. The magazine, first started in 1946, contains short stories, comics,

Malays AN5 Javanese OE5
Igorot OA20 Sumatra OD1
Leti OF11 Makassar OG6
Timor OF20 Tagalog OA36
Batak OD5 Central Bisayan OA14

J [238 cont.]

Id 304 302 Today the peoples of the Malay Archipelago blacken the teeth only because they find black teeth beautiful. "The dandy," says Mr. Van Hasselt, "who drew back his lips in a studied smile in order to show his snowy white teeth would miss his mark entirely among the Malayan beauties and probably would elicit from them the exclamation: Săroman andjiing, just like dog!" The same is true of the Javanese and other peoples of the archipelago.

Id 304 302 174 In my opinion blackening the teeth is to be explained in the same way as the breaking out and knocking out of the teeth. It is obvious that where the latter custom existed as a social or religious obligation, when it was not observed an attempt would be made to hide from view the teeth that should have been removed so as to make them unrecognizable. And there certainly was no better way than by covering them with some dark color and thus putting an end to their sparkle, and thereby giving more or less the impression that there were no longer any teeth there.

CB Tg J 9 302 Finally, we want to speak about the ornamentation of teeth with gold. We even find this custom mentioned in old accounts. For instance, we read in the "Journal" kept by the naval cadet Frans van der Does aboard the ship Hollandia (2 April 1595 -- 15 June 1597) that the inhabitants of Sumatra, and the Javanese, too, decorated their teeth with gold, which has also been reported for the Makassarese by Valentijn and for the Tagalog and Bisayans by (Thévenot). Of all the peoples mentioned, the custom of ornamenting the teeth with gold [239] is found today only among the Sumatrans. The Batak should be mentioned first of all.

Bt 302

According to Dr. van der Tuuk, odang-odang is what they call the strip of brass or gold that is attached to the upper teeth in such a way that the lowermost and uppermost part of the teeth is visible. The same practice has been described in detail by Dr. Hagen.

Ig Tm L

Ml 302 304 The Malays of central Sumatra should also be mentioned. About a year after the teeth have been filed, they are ornamented with gold. To do this, the goldsmith drills holes in them and

Borneo OC1
Batak OD5
Gorontalo OG4
Central Bisayan OA14
Malays AN5

[234 cont.]

Bt 304 It is apparently unknown among the other Dajak tribes; only the Dajak of Katingan use a similar instrument in the form of a copper ring. Outside Borneo, the perforatio penis or a simi-
G Bt 304 lar operation is found among the Alfoer of northern Celebes and among the Batak. The former, besides the above-mentioned peg, called kambi or kambiong, also formerly used the eyelids of a goat, the stiff upright hairs serving the same purpose. Among others, it was the custom to make incisions in the skin of the glans and to put little pebbles in them, which gave the organ a lumpy surface. This last is also found among the Dairi tribe of the Batak, where the little stones, triangular in shape and cut from kima = Tridacna gigas, or from precious metal, are called bungkal or persimberaen.

CB 304 Finally, we should add that this custom was formerly common among the Bisayans of the Philippines.

e. Mutilation of the Teeth (1)

1. Wilken, "De Mutilatie der tanden [Mutilation of the Teeth]," Bijdr. T. L. en Vk. v. Ned. Ind., 5th series, Vol. III, pp. 472 ff.

I 304 Almost as common as circumcision is the artificial deformation of teeth, which has various forms. Concerning the lower edges of the teeth, especially of the incisors, they are usually filed off to an equal length, sometimes half off. In exceptional cases they are ground down to the gum. Among most of the peoples, [235] the teeth of the lower jaw are also filed even. If the teeth are not ground down to the gum, they
Ml 304 are sometimes treated on the front surface as well, and, particularly among the Malays of central Sumatra, it is sometimes customary to make a groove diagonally across the front surface of the teeth.

51:Hart E-3 (1950-1952)1954 OA1 Philippines
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796 sentation implies. First, the novenas (either individual or group prayers) which usually precede the fiesta, the last prayer occurring on *vesperas* eve-
[851] ning. Second, the masses held in honor of the patron saint on *vesperas* (the day before *kahologan*) and *kahologan* mornings. Third, the baptism of babies, particularly those born since the last fiesta in *barrios* isolated from the *poblacion* church. In some *barrios* distant from the *poblacion* church of Siaton, as many as 30 babies were baptized by the priest when he visited the community for their annual fiesta. Fourth, the religious procession held on the afternoon of *kahologan* (sometimes on *vesperas*) when the patron saint is taken from the chapel or church and paraded around the fiesta area.

The religious, economic, and social activities of the rural fiesta complex are not solely concentrated in the "fiesta core" which, for most purposes, can be described as *vesperas* and *kahologan* days although variations do exist in some *poblacion* (but rarely *barrio*) fiestas. A series of weekly pre-fiesta dances are held, sometimes beginning two or three months before the "fiesta core." Barrio Caticugan's pre-fiesta Saturday night dances began (in 1951) a month before *vesperas* while those in Siaton *poblacion* started nearly three months before *vesperas* in 1950. As the fiesta approaches these dances increase in frequency, attendance, and admission fee for the individual. Many of the people begin to repair, or even enlarge, their dwellings for the coming fiesta. Efforts are made to earn additional money in order to entertain properly visitors during the fiesta, buy new clothing, etc. One of the busiest periods of tailors and dressmakers in the rural areas is several months before the fiesta. No Filipino likes to wear the
[838] same dress at two different fiestas. Beauticians (often *bayu'es*)[6] invade
[305] the *poblacions* and *barrios* along the road to set up their permanent wave shops. Local stores begin to stock their shelves with foods associated with the fiesta but not normally sold to their patrons. More and more committee meetings are held regarding the fiesta organization as the period approaches.

796 An innovation introduced to the original Spanish fiesta complex is
941 the beauty or popularity contest. The beauty candidates are local *barrio* or *poblacion* girls who are supported by various factions in their communities. In the *poblacion* for example, the municipal employees, merchants, and school-teachers will sponsor a candidate for "Queen" or "Muse" of the fiesta. These contests are not as typical of *barrio* fiestas as in larger communities, nor nearly as elaborate. Tickets are sold by the candidates

[6] Hermaphrodites.

## CHAPTER II

## THE CULTURAL LANDSCAPE OF NEGROS

This chapter will present, in bold outline, the cultural landscape of Negros Island with particular emphasis on the local area in which Siaton municipality and Barrio Caticugan are located. The material will place Caticugan in its larger setting, providing background for the succeeding chapters on agriculture, fishing and other aspects of material economy. The barriofolk, with their meager technology and crude implements, are in intimate association with the seasonal rhythms of their land. The southwest monsoon brings moisture-laden air masses beginning in April and climaxing in August. The consequent rains begin the major agricultural cycle and end the fish corral period. The end of the southwest monsoon initiates a dry season with diminishing food supplies and consequently increases the food gathering activities of the barriofolk. The backward technology and cultural perspectives of the people hinder their exploitation of the latent potentialities of their land. Life in Caticugan is better understood in the light of a summary of landform regions, climatic conditions, edaphic factors, population distribution and transportation facilities of Negros Island.

original Visayan tongue from which stem all other Visayan dialects. He states that prior to the arrival of Cebuano-speaking Filipinos, the dialect of eastern Leyte and Samar was basically Bicol and that of Panay was mainly Tagalog, the present national language of the Philippines. The Cebuano intrusion resulted in a blended Tagalog-Cebuano dialect in Panay and a Bicol-Cebuano blend in Leyte and Samar. The original dialects of Cebu, Bohol and Negros were displaced by the flood of emigrant Cebuanos.[17]

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174

Major Landform Regions of Negros

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The West Negros plain of Negros Occidental province is ranked among the larger plains of the Philippines and dominates an important part of the island's economy. (See Plate V.)[1] This moderately level plain is almost 100 miles in length and has a width of almost 30 miles in the locality of Bacolod. The plain has been subdivided into northern, west-central and southern sections.

The northern subdivision of this plain, with swampy coastal areas often covered with mangroves, is narrower than the southern or west-central subdivisions. Along the interior borders of the northern subdivision, the plain rises to join the central mountain system. The major crop, covering most of the land, is sugar cane. The west-central subdivision, one of the most important

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[17] Ibid., pp.174-8.

1 [See p.38, cat. 133 -- ANALYST]

20: Hart E-5 (195.) 1954 OA1 Philippines
Central Bisayan OA14

PLATE V

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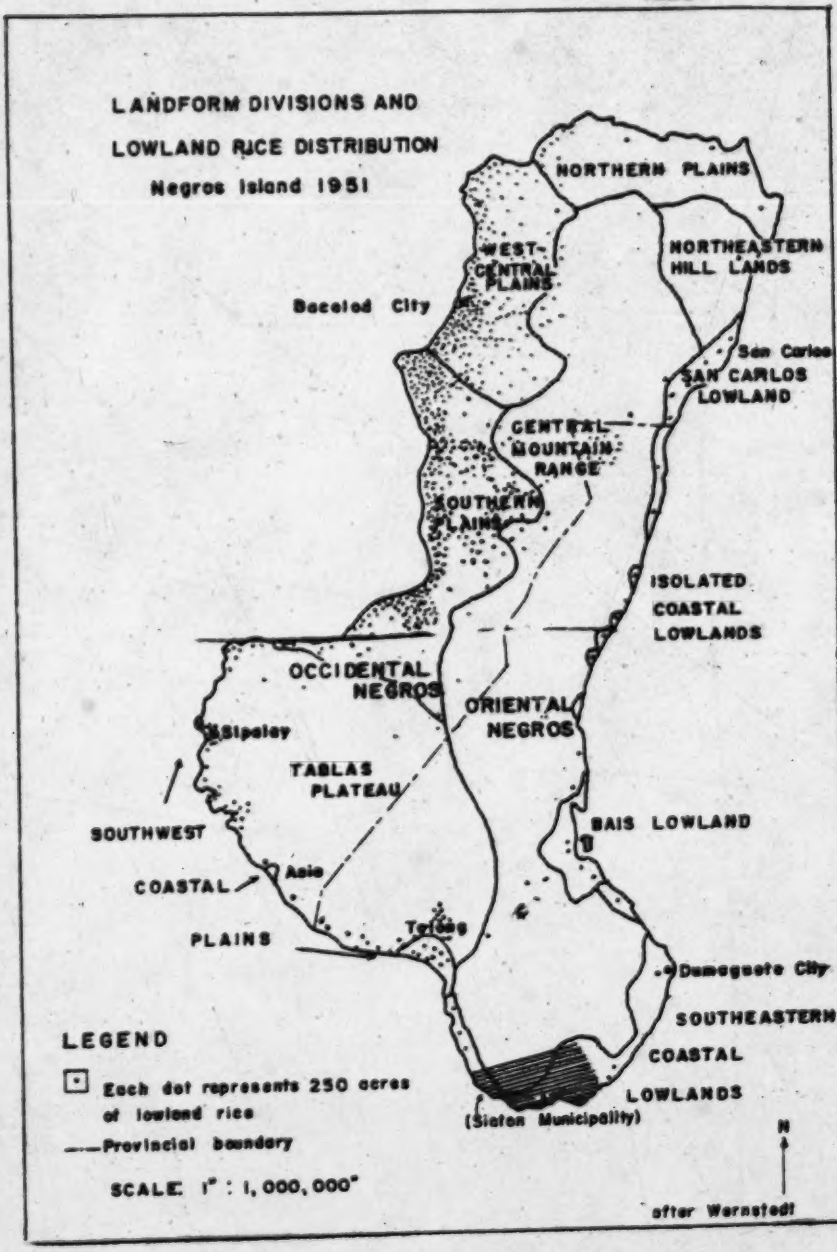


P. 38

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economic regions of Negros, is devoted almost entirely to sugar cane except for a fringe of lowland rice along the southwestern coast. The land is relatively level along the coast but undulation occurs as the plain approaches the mountains. Only the northern and southern subdivisions of the plain have drainage problems.

The southern division of the west Negros plain has the greatest amount of acreage devoted to lowland rice, although it is also a sugar cane area. Here flows the Ilog, the longest river in Negros, navigable for five miles by lightdraft ships. The west Negros plain is the most important area in the island from an agricultural point of view. Associated are large towns, adequate roads, narrow-gauge railways (for transporting cane to the mills), and a dense population.

The Tablas plateau in southwestern Negros, a thinly inhabited and little known area, is relatively isolated from the rest of the island. Here occurs the only break in the national road system encircling Negros. While once a plateau surface, the Tablas area is now a hilly upland, deeply dissected. Perhaps with the exception of [161] the central mountains, the Tablas plateau is the most undeveloped area in Negros. The few settlements are located along the coast.

The Southwest Coastal lowlands, extending westward from Tolong to the southern part of the plain of west Negros are a series of disconnected flood plains created where the rivers deposit their sediments on reaching the

sea. There are no roads in the region, which is isolated from the rest of Negros by the Tablas plateau. The majority of settlements, such as Asia and Sipalay, are found along the coast. 133 311

Siaton municipality is located in the Southeastern Coastal lowland which stretches from the westward boundary of Tolong to the Bais lowland in the north. Over 80 miles in length, its width varies from less than a mile to not more than five miles. In some localities between Siaton and Tolong, the hills almost reach the sea with scant space for the road. Small flood plains have been built by the rivers in this region.

> Steep slopes, coupled with meager rainfall and porous soils, have precluded the growing of either sugar cane or rice, except in small local areas, so that the substitute crop of corn assumes a greater importance.[18]

Siaton municipality begins with the Bondo ("Mound") plateau, just south of Zamboanguita poblacion where the National Road turns west and climbs to an elevation of about 400 feet. Bondo is a relatively level platform, moderately dissected by small streams dry except during the rainy season. From the bluffs along the sea, the plateau rises, first gently, and then with increasing undulation as it blends into the southeastern volcanic lands. Bondo is dotted with isolated dwellings, scattered fields of corn, camotes and upland rice. A spur from the National Road runs south to Barrio Bonbonon.

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[18] Wernstedt, op. cit., p.20.

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Descending from the plateau, the National Road passes through the small riverine plain of the Canaway River. The plain is about three miles long and nearly a mile wide. The valley is surrounded by hills on the west and north, Bondo on the east and the sea on the south. The largest acreage of lowland rice is grown here on the best rice land in Siaton municipality. A low finger-ridge to the west separates the Canaway and Siaton rivers north of Siaton poblacion.

East of the Siaton River the lowland tapers along the coast. South of Sitio Balaso dead coconut trees stand in the surf and the people speak of how "the land is sinking." The shoreline near Barrio Giliga-on, however, gives evidence of recent uplifting. From Siaton poblacion to the western boundaries of the municipality, the larger barrios like Bonawon and Giliga-on are located in small alluvial deltas.

The Siaton River valley extends north about six miles. Above Sitio Dolog, the river rushes noisily through a boulder-strewn bed, encased by mountains that rise abruptly on both sides. (See Plate VI.)[1] The largest area of level cultivated land is on the west side of the river where Barrio Sandolot is located. East and west of the valley are rolling hills covered with secondary growth and large areas of cogon grass. There are no roads into this area. During the rainy season travel is quite difficult, since fording the river in flood often is impossible.

1 [See p 42, cat. 133 or 311 - Analyst]

20: Hart E-5 (1951) 1954 OA1 Philippines
Central Bisayan OA 14 PLATE VI P. 42

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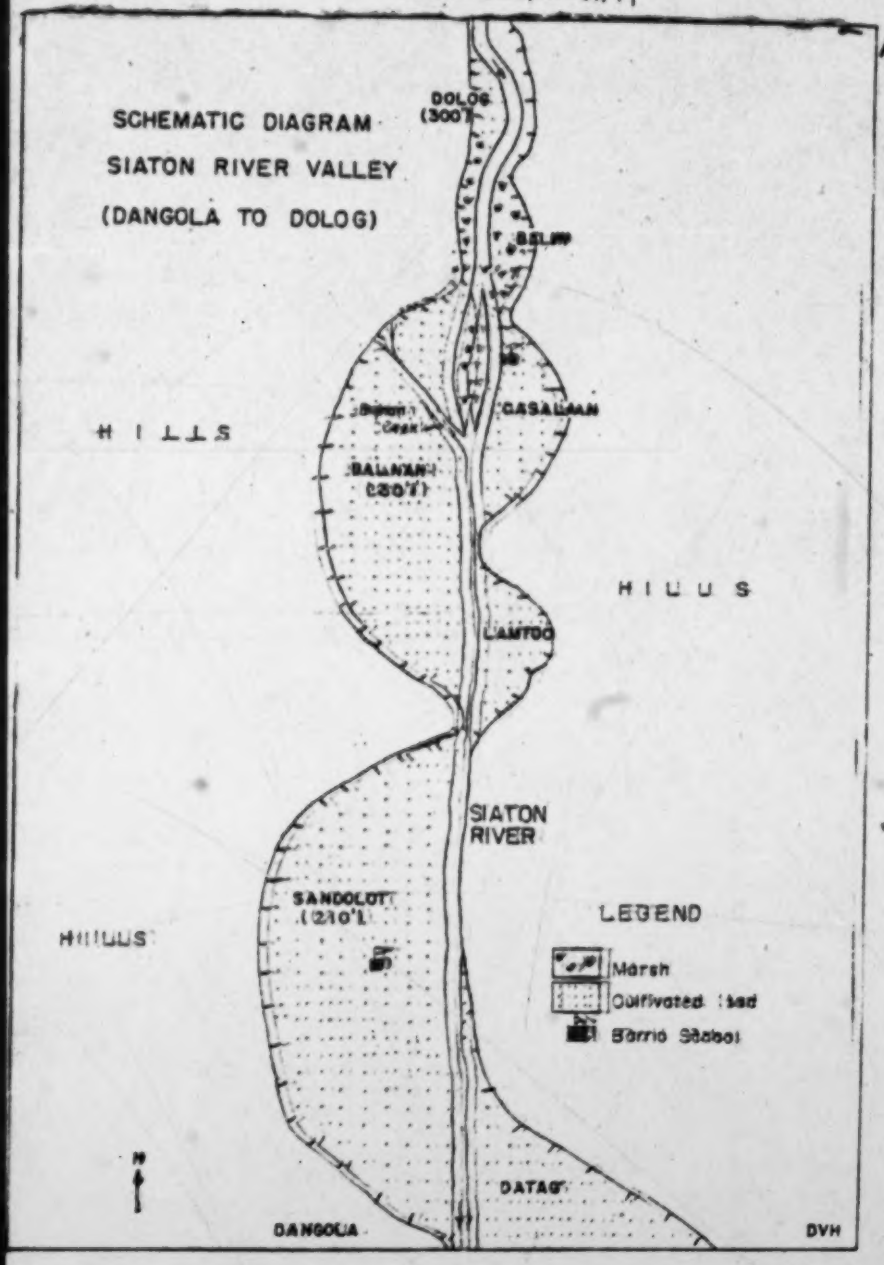

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The Bais lowland, a sugar cane region, was created by the confluence of several large rivers, e.g., Panambalan, Lotan, Montenegro, and Tanjay. Small valley floors extend back into the mountains, up each river, making a many-fingered interior boundary for this lowland. This lowland was probably one of the areas first settled, and in 1845 had the densest population in Negros, according to Buzeta.[19]

[167]

The Eastern Coastal plains are like a broken chain, linking the San Carlos and the Bais lowlands.

> Wherever a river breaches the mountain wall and debouches onto the coast, a small alluvial plain or delta is formed. On the larger of these plains are located the municipalities, such as Guihulngan, La Libertad, Tayasan, and Ayungon. Where there is limited level land, small barrios or sitios of only a few houses are found. Since many of these plains are relatively isolated from one another, the agriculture has tended to be mainly a subsistence economy.[20]

Guihulngan is a small interisland port with daily shipping connections with Cebu.

The San Carlos lowland extends about 30 miles along the eastern coast of Negros. To the lowland's west the mountains rise abruptly to elevations of four to six thousand feet. This alluvial lowland is almost entirely

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[19] Manuel Buzeta and Felipe Bravo, Diccionario Geográfico, Estadístico, Histórico, de las Islas Filipinas. Madrid, 1851, pp.555-9. Wernstedt, op. cit., p.91, Plate I, has an 1845 population map of Negros.

[20] Wernstedt, op. cit., p.19.

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planted with sugar cane. San Carlos is a regular stop for many of the inter-island ships from Mindanao and Manila while the port facilities at San Carlos sugar mill service overseas shipping..

The Northeastern Hill Lands of Negros Occidental, located north of the San Carlos lowland, is a region of low rolling hills with steep slopes yet not sufficiently steep to prevent caingin agriculture. Small basin-like plains nestled among the hills and equally small flood plains constitute the major portion of level land.

Negros' backbone is the Central Mountain range running from north to south and covered with dense vegetation, except where caingin agriculture has produced cogon grass areas. This mountainous region of Negros, the home of primitive groups, remains an unbroken barrier to east-west travel except for one road that winds through a two-thousand-foot pass south of Canlaon Volcano. Because of landslides this road is often closed during the southwest monsoon season.

The crestline of the Central Mountain range lies east to the center of Negros and slopes toward the eastern coast in many localities. In the north-central and southeastern parts of the range are a number of volcanic cones, the highest being Canlaon. The Central Mountain range is a source of timber and of many forest products such as resins and rattan.

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> Skirting the flanks of almost all of the central mountain mass is a band or transition zone between the steeper mountain slopes and the low-lying coastal plains. This is a belt that is generally made up of low hills. In almost every case the slopes of these foothills have been burned by cultivators and are now either devoted to crops or have been left in the tall cogonal grasses which quickly take over cleared areas that are not permanently cultivated...The river valleys are often over five hundred feet in depth, and present a tremendous obstacle to travel 'across the grain' of the land.[21]

In summary, the most economically important and developed agricultural regions of Negros today are its plains, particularly the fertile West Negros plain. Negros Oriental is less fortunate in having more mountains and fewer plains; the latter are often small, mainly disconnected lowlands, separated by eastern spurs of the Central Mountain range or rugged foothills. The southwestern portion of Negros is a hilly upland, between one and two thousand feet in elevation, relatively isolated and undeveloped. The source of the major rivers of Negros, severely eroded and covered with dense forests, is the Central Mountain range serving as a stout backbone for the island. This range terminates in a southeastern mountain knot near Siaton municipality. As Negros' landforms are not absolute determinants, they have exerted a powerful influence on land use. The landforms give meaning to the agricultural patterns and cultural diversities of the people of Negros.

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[21] Wernstedt, op. cit., p.22.

shower. As Plate VII[1] indicates, the mountainous area northwest of Siaton poblacion has over one hundred inches of rain. Several times during 1951, the Siaton River became a raging torrent overnight, although no rain had fallen in the vicinity of the poblacion. People coming from Balanan and Casala-an would report that it had rained abundantly during the night. 132

Wernstedt established three precipitation regimes in Negros. The first region is located in western and southwestern Negros with a pronounced dry season from December to April and a wet season during the remainder of the year.[27] While the Central Mountain range prevents the northeast monsoon and trade winds from effectively reaching this region, it is open to the southwest monsoon which brings heavy rain. The precipitation of the first regime is most favorable to the growth of sugar cane and rice. Siaton municipality falls into this regime with more than four months of less than 2.4 inches of rain.[28] 132 311.

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[27] The average monthly precipitation (in inches), over an 18-year period, for Binalbagan estate, Negros Occidental, located in this region, is: January (2.3); February (1.6); March (1.8); April (2.1); May (8.3); June (8.0); July (15.5); August (12.2); September (12.7); October (11.2); November (7.8); December (3.9). Total annual precipitation: 87.3 inches. Wernstedt, op. cit., p.35.

[28] Wernstedt's original classification placed Siaton in the second precipitation regime. However, since the 1951 and 1952 precipitation records have become available, they show a 6-year period with four months of less than 2.4 inches of rain.

1 [See p.50, cat.132 -- Analyst]

The soils and lack of water supplies are perhaps the two most important reasons why more corn than rice is grown in Siaton; the droughty period, limited level land and inadequate transportation facilities do not encourage the cultivation of sugar cane. 132 311

The second precipitation regime is the eastern littoral of Negros Oriental, between Zamboanguita and Calatrava municipalities. Here there is no definite maximum precipitation period but a one- to three-month drought period. The drought normally occurs between December and the beginning of May and discourages both sugar cane and rice but favors corn. This precipitation regime is the corn center of Negros.[29]

Northern Negros, from Calatrava to Victorias municipalities, with an enclave in the Bais lowland, is the third precipitation regime. This area has no dry season but often a pronounced rainfall maximum period. The distinction in land utilization between the first and third precipitation regimes is the length of the harvest and milling seasons. For example, Victorias central (the mill where the cane is processed), located in the third precipitation regime, mills cane for the

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[29] The average monthly precipitation (in inches) for Dumaguete City, located in the second precipitation regime, for a 29-year period, is: January (4.4); February (3.3); March (2.0); April (1.9); May (4.5); June (5.5); July (5.5); August (4.3); September (5.4); October (7.9); November (6.1); and December (5.2). Total annual precipitation: 55.9 inches. Wernstedt, op. cit., p.35.

entire year while most of the centrals in the first regime are limited to a 6-month processing period.[30]

Vegetation

Most of Negros originally was covered with forests. Today about 66 per cent of the land surface of the Philippines is still forested.[31] Older residents of Barrio Bonbonon (Siaton) remember when the forests, which then abounded with deer, covered large areas of Bondo. Today the typical tree of this grassy plateau is the stubby talongon (Ginelina philippensis Cham.) The forests were once nearer to Caticugan where rattan could be gathered without long walks to the mountains. The western and eastern plains of Negros also were once forested. As the population of the island increased the most desirable land for cultivation was cleared of trees and planted with rice, corn, sugar cane and other crops.

Approximately 50 per cent of Negros' primary forests have been alienated by the people in their centuries of

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[30] The average monthly precipitation (in inches) for Hacienda Bilbao, Manapla, located in the third precipitation regime, for a 19-year period, is: January (7.9); February (4.8); March (4.8); April (3.); May (7.1); June (6.3); July (7.3); August (6.1); September (6.9); October (11.9); November (14.6); and December (9.2). Total annual precipitation: 90.0 inches. Wernstedt, op. cit., p.36.

[31] Reginald G. Hainsworth and Maymont T. Moyer, Agricultural Geography of the Philippine Islands: A Graphic Survey. Washington, D.C., United States Department of Agriculture, Office of Foreign Agricultural Relations, December, 1945, p.12.

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assault on the land. Of the land alienated in Negros, which represents either open or agricultural land, only 80 per cent is now cultivated. The remainder of this land is idle, in pasture, or covered with various grasses, principally the coarse cogons (Imperata exaltata) or the wild cane (Saccharum spontaneum), the latter called tigbao in the Visayas and talahib in Tagalog.

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313

The commercial forests of Negros represent some of the best timber lands in the Philippines (See Plate IX.)[2] Covering about 38 per cent of the island, nearly 70 per cent of the commercial forests are of the Dipterocarpaceae family, large trees usually more than 100 feet in height.[32]

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The Insular Lumber Company located at Fabrica (Negros Occidental) with a daily output of 125,000 board-feet is the world's largest hardwood lumber mill. Other lumber mills are located at Victorias, Himamaylan, Cauayan, San Carlos, Tanjay and Tolong.[33] These mills

[32] Florencio Tamesis and Luis Aguilar, Important Commercial Timbers of the Philippines: Their Properties and Uses. Popular Bulletin No. 32. Manila, Department of Agriculture and Natural Resources, Bureau of Printing, 1951, p.15. While there are more than 3,000 arborescent species in the Philippines, 75 per cent of the standing timber belongs to the lauan family (Dipterocarpaceae).

[33] M. M. Alicante and others, Soil Survey of Negros Occidental Province, Philippines. Soil Report No. 14. Manila, Department of Agriculture and Natural Resources, Bureau of Printing, 1951, p.13.

2 [See p.59, cat. 137 --ANALYST]

planted mainly with sugar cane or rice. The most extensive and productive of these lowland soils, the Silay series, is not found in Siaton municipality, although the Zamboanguita, Isabela, and San Manuel soil series are represented. (See Plate X.)[1] 134

About 12 per cent of Negros is covered with rolling upland soils of a sedimentary parentage, usually found in the piedmont areas away from the coast. Because of the steep slopes on which they are located, drainage is often excessive and erosion is severe. Igneous-derived upland soils cover almost 25 per cent of Negros. The soils in this latter group have strong lateritic characteristics and due to the pronounced external drainage, gullying and sheet erosion are widespread.

The least important, economically, but the most extensive of all the soil groups of Negros, are the hill and mountain soils which occupy about 30 per cent of the island. This soil group is found mainly in the central mountains. Most of these soils are covered by tropical rain forests which are the watersheds for Negros' major rivers and very little of them have been cultivated. Where scattered cainginș exist on these soils severe erosion has resulted.

Lack of contour planting on slopes, the clearing of steep slopes and hillsides, and faulty soil and crop management are a few reasons for soil erosion in Negros. In some areas the erosion is quite serious. In [311]

1 [See p. 64, Cat. 134--Analyst]

491
[3?]

these highways are completed, new areas of land now almost inaccessible will be available for agriculture.[50]

In 1951 there were almost 264 miles (553.7 kilometers) of all classes of national and provincial roads in Negros Oriental. Siquijor subprovince had 80 miles (129.7 kilometers) of roads. About 66 per cent of Negros Oriental's roads (excluding Siquijor) are first class highways.[51] The roads are maintained by the caminero system.

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[50] Whether this land will be available to the small farmer when it becomes accessible is questionable. Already large blocks of undeveloped land in these areas have been purchased by wealthy individuals in both Negros and Cebu. Another difficulty in the construction of new roads is reflected in the following excerpt of a situation which is not unique to Negros Oriental. "In Dumaguete City several months ago, we were also informed of a glaring case of abuse of public works funds. Our informant stated: 'We have a congressman in this province who had a road constructed out of public works money. There is absolutely nothing wrong with building a highway. But what shocks us in this case is that the road leads to his hacienda!'" Leon O. Ty, "The Liberals Lost a Weapon," Philippines Free Press, XLIII, No. 30, (July 26, 1952), p.5.

[51] "Semi-Annual Report of Road Diagram and Bridge List Revised as of December 31, 1951," District Engineer's Office, Dumaguete, Negros Oriental, Philippines, n.d. Ozalid report. First class roads, normally surfaced with concrete, asphalt, macadam, or gravel, are well-graded, drained, and constantly maintained. These roads are passable at all times except during typhoon periods. Second class roads are fairly graded, partially or naturally surfaced, and intermittently maintained. While bridges and culverts are usually complete, there are temporary structures. These roads are continually passable during the dry season but more or less impassable during the rainy season. Third class roads are usually narrow, poorly graded, and generally impassable during the rainy season. Domingo Guanio, Bureau of Public Works Manual. Manila, Bureau of Printing, 1935, p.153. While this is the official classification, road maps are often inaccurate for some second class roads in Negros Oriental are as adequate as first class roads.

barrio district population for the province is close to that of Siaton, although the latter's poblacion is about one-third smaller than the average provincial poblacion. Siaton's poblacion is more a large barrio than a poblacion.

TABLE I

| | Barrio District Population (1948) | | Poblacion Size (1948) | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Location | Population | Location | Population |
| NEGROS ORIENTAL | | | | |
| Average | - | 1010 | - | 3378 |
| Largest | Calamba (Guihulngan) | 19097 | Tanjay | 12503 |
| Smallest | Kaidiocan (Valencia) | 112 | Valencia | 806 |
| SIATON | | | | |
| Average | | 943 | - | 2364 |
| Largest | Bonawon | 2393 | - | - |
| Smallest | Mantiquil | 239 | - | - |

Agricultural Regions of Negros

The preceding material has presented some of the major aspects of Negros' cultural landscape. This section will be devoted to the agricultural regions. Greater emphasis will be given to corn and rice areas since this information will better place Siaton in proper perspective.

Southern and eastern Negros, mainly Negros Oriental, is a region of corn and coconuts; western Negros' major crops are sugar cane and rice. While the

physical environment does not dictate use of the land, limitations due to soils, precipitation, and topography encourage particular utilization patterns. The relative freedom man has in his relation to the land depends upon cultural factors. Steep slopes, otherwise non-cultivable, may be terraced and planted, given the necessary skills. Plant breeding may produce quick-maturing or drought-resistant varieties, and may open new localities for food production. These corrective techniques require capital and advanced technical knowledge that the average farmer of Negros lacks.

The soils and precipitation regimes of most of eastern Negros favor corn cultivation, whereas in western Negros these factors encourage sugar cane and rice production. The topography of eastern Negros with its narrow littoral and tiny riverine floodplains does not encourage mechanized agriculture. In Negros Occidental mechanized equipment is widely used because of the broad plains, larger fields and a crop which lends itself to mechanization.

Most of the inhabitants of eastern Negros originally came from the corn-growing island of Cebu while those of Negros Occidental are largely from Panay where rice outweighs corn. The Panayanos came to Negros' plains as rice farmers or workers in sugar cane fields. The Cebuanos found a well-drained limestone littoral suited to the grain they knew best. While these factors

311.

influenced the present land use patterns of Negros, the areal distribution of crops today appears to have been influenced more forcefully by physical rather than cultural factors.

Corn-Coconut Regions of Eastern Negros

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The major maize-producing areas in the Philippines are the Visayan Islands of Negros, Cebu, Siquijor, Bohol, Leyte, Masbate and the Cagayan valley (Luzon), and Mindanao.[79] The Philippines is self-sufficient in this grain and it is called the "poor man's rice."[80] For the crop year 1951-52 rice accounted for 42 per cent of all Philippine crops; 18 per cent of the cultivated land was devoted to corn.[81] Corn is the "principal foodstuff of about 30 per cent of the population" of the Philippines.[82]

[177]

The Spaniards first introduced corn in the 16th century; it appeared to have spread rapidly in the Visayas. The two corn-coconut regions of Negros are agricultural phenomena unique in Asia, for here a non-indigenous food crop dominates the agricultural landscape. The adaptability of corn to the physical

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[79] Hainsworth and Moyer, op. cit., p.52.

[80] Hugo H. Miller, Principles of Economics Applied to the Philippines. New York, Ginn and Company, 1932, p.212.

[81] Central Bank of Philippines Statistical Bulletin IV, No. 1 (March 1952). Manila, Bureau of Printing, p.99.

[82] "Philippine Corn Production High," Foreign Crops and Markets, LXV, No. 20 (November 17, 1952), p. 455.

environment made possible the expansion of agricultural frontiers into localities once considered non-agricultural. 311 243

> Cebu, Bohol, Siquijor, Negros Oriental and other smaller neighboring Visayan islands constitute an outlier from the Western Hemisphere in what is predominately thought of as a rice-producing region. Without maize many of the lands now supporting fairly dense populations...could support only a small fraction of their present-day population at the same standard of living.[83]

Siaton municipality is within one of the two corn-coconut regions of eastern Negros. 311 The Southern Corn-Coconut region, that includes Siaton, is separated from the northern region by the Bais lowland enclave. The total area of this southern region is about 558 square miles of which only 68 square miles (or 12 per cent) are under active cultivation. Of the land cultivated, nearly 46 per cent is devoted to corn or crops raised in association with this grain. Corn and coconuts account for 73 per cent of the total cultivated land. (See Plate XVI.)[1]

The predominance of corn over rice in these two regions probably is not due to the Filipinos' preference for the former but to geographic factors such as coralline limestone soils and a precipitation regime that favor corn production over rice. The Southern Corn-Coconut region is an "area of poorer lands, poorer soils, poorer crops and a lower standard of living for the farmers."[84]

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[83] Wernstedt, op. cit., p. 130.

[84] Wernstedt, op. cit., p. 104.

1 [See p. 105, cat. 311 - Analyst]

20: Hart E-5 (1951) 1954 OA1 Philippines
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PLATE XVI p. 109

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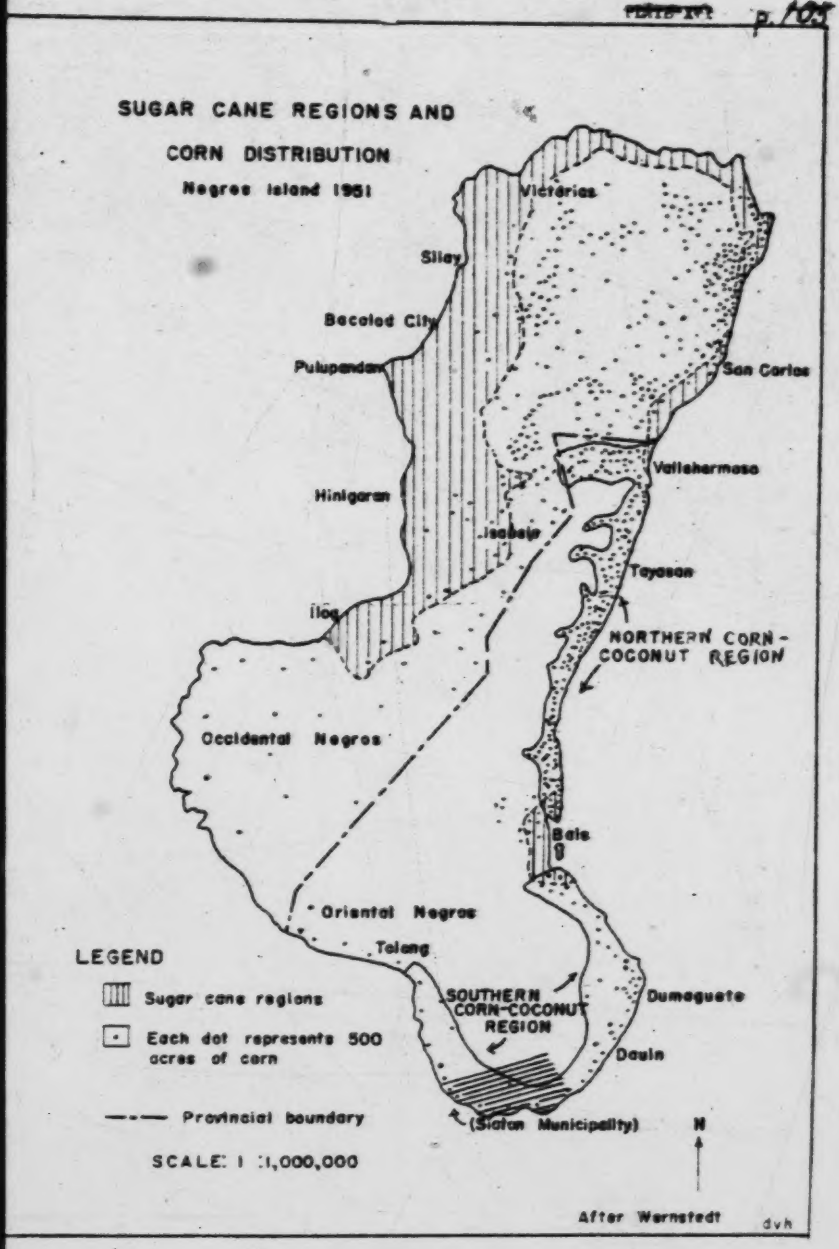

The visible aspects of prosperity are much greater in western than in eastern Negros.

The distribution of cultivated land among the eight major crops of the southern region is shown in Table XI.[85]

TABLE XI

Percentage of Land of Each Municipality Devoted to the Major Crops, 1950-51 Southern Corn-Coconut Region

| Municipality | Corn | Coconuts | Sugar | Rice | Roots (a) | Vegetables | Beans | Fruits |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Pamplona | 29 | 32 | 19 | 11 | 5 | * | 1 | 2 |
| Amlan | 30 | 59 | * | 1 | 5 | * | 1 | 2 |
| Sibulan | 56 | 20 | 1 | * | 12 | 2 | 3 | 6 |
| Dumaguete | 57 | 20 | 1 | * | 12 | 2 | 3 | 1 |
| Valencia (b) | 31 | 15 | 0 | 4 | 5 | 4 | 1 | 1 |
| Bacong | 53 | 27 | * | 5 | 7 | 4 | 2 | 1 |
| Dauin | 71 | 15 | 0 | 4 | 4 | 1 | 2 | 2 |
| Zamboanguita | 42 | 24 | * | 23 | 5 | 2 | 3 | 1 |
| SIATON | 46 | 17 | 0 | 23 | 6 | 1 | 2 | 3 |
| Sta. Catalina | 39 | 22 | 4 | 17 | 4 | 2 | 2 | 9 |
| Tanjay (c) | 12 | 33 | 41 | 11 | 1 | * | * | 1 |

* Indicates less than 1 per cent.
(a) Roots include camotes, gabi, cassava, and peanuts.
(b) In Valencia 38 per cent of the cultivated land is devoted to abaca.
(c) Tanjay included to illustrate transition from corn-coconut region to sugar cane region.

Dauin is the most extreme example of a municipality within the southern region with 71 per cent of its cultivated land devoted to corn and 86 per cent occupied by either corn or coconuts.

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[85] Wernstedt, op. cit., p. 106.

when copra prices fall school enrollments decrease. For the most part, the Chinese control the buying and selling of copra. Their trucks come from Dumaguete to pick up copra from stores where Filipinos sell their small crops.

The Northern Corn-Coconut region begins in the south with Manjuyod municipality and continues to the north to Canlaon and Vallehermoso municipalities. A northern extension of this region includes Negros Occidental's eastern littoral. Both the southern and northern municipalities of this region are transitional to sugar cane agriculture. This northern region is larger than the Southern Corn-Coconut area; the former has about 743 square miles of which 239 square miles (32 per cent) are actively cultivated.

Many geographic factors typical of the southern region also characterize the Northern Corn-Coconut region. There is less level land in the northern region; the small riverine floodplains and narrow littoral account for most of it. While annual precipitation is greater than in the southern region, the northern area also is subject to droughts. Transportation facilities are not as adequate as in the south, and the northern region lacks an adequate port. The only sizeable port is at Guihulngan where shallow-draft inter-island ships stop. The rest of the coast is lined with shallow inshore waters or offshore coral reefs.

Population densities are greater in the northern region with an average density of 289 persons per

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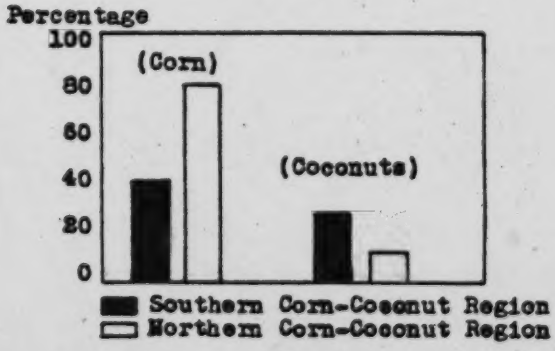
square mile, (in the south, 196 persons). The heavy pressure on the land has resulted in a constant westward push of the people, who cleared the steep slopes of their natural vegetation and planted the cleared land. This has resulted in a larger proportion of submarginal agricultural land than in the southern region. A greater proportion of the cultivated land is devoted to corn and a much smaller area is occupied by the principal cash crop, coconuts. Lacking an easy access to outside food sources and adequate transportation facilities for selling copra, the barriofolk of this region rely upon subsistence agriculture.

The difference between the Southern and Northern Corn-Coconut regions in regard to land occupied by both corn and coconuts is illustrated in Graph II.

GRAPH II

Percentage of Cultivated Land
Devoted to Corn and Coconuts
1950 — 51




Percentage of cultivated land in the northern region devoted to various crops is shown in Table XIII.[1]

1 [See p. 113, cat. 311 -- Analyst]

20: Hart E-5 (195.) 1954 OA1 Philippines
Central Bisayan OA.4



TABLE XII

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Percentage of the Land of Each Municipality Devoted to the Major Crops, 1950-1951 Northern Corn-Coconut Region[89]

| Municipality | Corn | Coco-nuts | Sugar | Rice (a) | Roots | Vege-tables | Beans | Fruits |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Canlaon (b) | 80 | * | * | 15 | 2 | * | 1 | * |
| Vallehermoso | 81 | 8 | 6 | 1 | 1 | 1 | * | * |
| Guihulngan | 89 | 8 | 1 | * | 1 | * | * | * |
| La Libertad | 90 | 6 | 0 | * | 1 | 1 | * | * |
| Jimalalud | 80 | 8 | 4 | 3 | 2 | * | * | * |
| Tayasan | 79 | 8 | 4 | 4 | 2 | * | * | * |
| Ayungon | 77 | 9 | * | 9 | 2 | * | 1 | * |
| Payabon | 79 | 4 | 1 | 11 | 3 | * | * | * |
| Manjuyod (b) | 71 | 7 | 6 | 12 | 2 | * | * | * |

* Indicates less than 1 per cent
(a) Mostly upland rice
(b) Transitional municipalities

The percentages of land occupied by corn illustrate the dominance of this crop; in fact, nowhere else in the Philippines had corn captured the agricultural landscape so thoroughly as here. Less land devoted to cash crops, such as coconuts, reflects a greater need for food. More than 81 per cent of the cultivated land in this region is occupied by corn, and in some municipalities like La Libertad corn occupies 90 per cent of the farmed area.

Rice Regions of Negros

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Rice is not the dominant crop of Negros as in many parts of the Philippines. Of the total cultivated land in the archipelago 42 per cent is occupied by rice. Only 29 per cent of the total cultivated land of Negros is

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[89] Wernstedt, op. cit., p.128.

devoted to rice. About 12 per cent of the total cultivated land in Negros Oriental is devoted to rice while in Negros Occidental three times this amount (36 per cent) is occupied by rice. 311 243

Today Negros imports rice from Panay and Mindanao to feed its people. Spencer states: "The main sugar-producing area of Negros Island [Occidental province] and the whole island of Cebu are the chief deficit regions, with marked food shortages."[90] In the past, however, Negros was a rice surplus area. Miguel de Loarca wrote in the latter part of the 16th century that northern Negros was "rich in foods, such as rice." Legaspi's account of Negros states: "Rice which is the bread, grows in abundance."[91] Negros' shift from a rice surplus to a deficit was largely the result of the great expansion of sugar cane acreage and to the associated increase in population.[92] Negros is capable of raising sufficient rice for its population with improved agricultural practices and increased irrigation. 433 438 311 243

More than a thousand varieties of rice are grown in the Philippines. Many varieties are old established rices while others have been introduced from the United 243 177

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[90] Spencer, op. cit., p.72.

[91] Miguel de Loarca, Blair and Robertson, op. cit., V, p.47.

[92] Wernstedt, op. cit., p.190.

States, Italy, Spain, Iran, and southeast Asia. "About one hundred of the older varieties and four or more of the recent introductions are grown commercially [in the Philippines]."[93] There are four major categories of rice in the Philippines: irrigated lowland; non-irrigated lowland; palagad ("dry season rice"); and upland rice.[94] In Negros 59 per cent of the rice land is occupied by either irrigated or non-irrigated lowland rice.

Most of Negros' irrigated rice land, about 7,000 acres, is located near the coast, normally on river deltas where the waters are easily diverted. Exceptions include the Canlaon plateau where, at an elevation of nearly 1,000 feet, about 2,500 acres of rice land are irrigated by streams which originate on nearby volcanic peaks. Most of the lowland non-irrigated rice land is found along the flood plains. These are areas which cannot be irrigated due to lack of capital or technical difficulties.

Lowland rice usually is planted in Negros between June and August, although the dates vary slightly due to early or late start of the rainy season.[95] Non-irrigated

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[93] Uichanco and Sacay, op. cit., p.2.

[94] Palagad is the second rice crop a farmer tries to raise in one year from a usually, but not necessarily always, irrigated paddy. Cultivation practices have created two subtypes of upland rice agriculture: one where the fields are plowed for planting and the other where the rice is planted with a dibble stick.

[95] Hainsworth and Moyer, op. cit., p.53. These months appear to be the general planting and harvesting dates for rice in the Visayan Islands.

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lowland rice is more dependent on the southwest monsoon than is irrigated rice. There are several good size Negros rice haciendas located at Sipalay, Kabankalan, and Himamaylan, where some mechanized equipment is used. The majority of the paddies, however, are planted by farmers who use wooden plows, carabaos, and the labor of their families. Since the planting of rice in Siaton appears to be quite similar to practices for Negros as a whole, the detailed discussion of this subject will be deferred until Chapter IV.

Macan-Pina and Apostol, early maturing rice varieties, are most common in northern Negros in order to secure a palagad crop after the first rice harvest. Calawa, Raminad #3, and Aposta, medium-maturing rices, are most popular in the central plains of Negros Occidental while in southwestern Negros late-maturing varieties like Seraup-Besar and Klon-Klon are favored. The growing season of the rice planted in Negros varies; the early-maturing rice variety takes about 135 to 165 days to mature, the medium-maturing, from 170 to 190 days, while the late-maturing from 190 to 200 or more days after transplanting. Harvest of the first rice in Negros begins in October or November. The palagad crop is usually planted between December and January and harvested in March and April.[96]

[96]Only a few hundred acres of palagad are grown in Negros, mainly in the municipalities of Bago and Canayan. Cotsian and Klon-Klon are the two most common rices planted; they yield about 17 bushels per acre.

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Upland rice occupies 27 per cent of the total land devoted to rice in Negros. Several fairly large upland rice haciendas are located in Silay, Talisay, Bago and Bacolod municipalities. The most frequently planted rice varieties in plowed upland localities are Magsanaya, Lubang, Guinatus, and Cotsian. However, most rice is grown on the small holdings of individual farmers. Nearly all of the rice planted in caingins is grown in the Central Mountain range or its piedmont areas. In Siaton, as elsewhere, many of the lowland barriofolk have small caingins in the nearby hills.

About 89 per cent of the total rice land in the island is located in Negros Occidental; of this 80 per cent occurs in the western coastal lowland rice region. This region includes the municipalities which border the western coast of Negros, from Saravia to Cauayan, with the five nearby municipalities of Murcia, La Carlota, La Castellana, Magallon, and Isabela. Wernstedt estimates that about 67 per cent of Negros' total upland rice is grown in this dominant rice region.

The six most common lowland rice varieties in this western coastal rice region are Raminad #3, Calawa, Aposta, Seraup-Besar, Elon-Elon, and Khao Bai Sri. The average yields vary from 29 bushels per acre in the northern half of the region (from Saravia southward to Pulupandan) to 33 bushels per acre in the southern portion. The yield of upland rice is about five bushels

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less per acre than lowland rice. Most of the rice in this western region is grown by tenant farmers on small holdings.

While most of the rice of Negros is grown in the western province, there are many small rice-producing areas in the island located on small riverine plains. These areas are relatively isolated and have become self-sufficient farming centers with most of the rice grown consumed in the area. Sipalay and Asia are examples of such rice-producing riverine plains; they have approximately 11,000 acres of lowland rice.

Tolong is known as the "Rice Bowl of Southern Negros." In 1952 this municipality planted about 11,000 acres in rice.[97] The Tolong lowland extends from the Sicopon to the Bayawan rivers; the local agriculture agent reports that it contains more than one-half of the municipality's rice acreage. Extensions of this lowland to the northeast, known locally as Taboan and Lopay, were opened for farming six or seven years ago and are said to be promising new agricultural regions. The two most common rice varieties planted in Tolong are Macan and Lubang (or Lubang Puti). Lubang Puti (Puti means "red") is widely grown in southern Negros and parts of Siquijor, being a versatile rice which can be planted in lowland as well as upland and also for palagad.

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97"Production Data by Municipalities. Crop Year from July 1, 1951 to June 30, 1952." Dumaguete, Negros Oriental, Provincial Agriculture Office. Typescript.

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The yield ranges from 24 to 30 cavans of palay per hectare.[98]

Small rice-producing regions of Negros Oriental are such localities as Canaway (Siaton), Mayabon (southwestern Zamboanguita municipality), the Tanjay River area in Bais and Tanjay. These regions have from several hundred to two or three thousand acres of rice land. For most of the people of Negros Oriental, rice is a luxury food. Only the better-to-do eat rice daily; the average barriofolk eat rice only for a month or two during the year and on festive occasions. Very little rice grown in these areas enters the commercial trade of Negros.

Sugar Regions of Negros

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Before World War II sugar was the most important export crop of the Philippines. Approximately three-fourths of the crop was sold to the United States. In 1951-52 the Philippines supplied almost 3 per cent of the total sugar cane crop of the world. Since the war copra has outranked sugar as the principal cash crop due to the widespread wartime destruction of sugar extracting and refining facilities. Sugar cane cultivation was a pre-Spanish activity in the Philippines, when Chinese merchants exported sugar to China. By the end of the

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[98] One cavan of palay (unhusked rice) equals 44 kilos or 97 pounds while a cavan of clean rice equals 57.5 kilos or 127 pounds. A hectare is 2.47 acres.

part, the planters receive 60 per cent of the sugar obtained from the cane while the mills retain the remainder. In 1952 there were twelve sugar cane mills operating in Negros with only one in Negros Oriental (Bais). 249 257

At Victorias the workers are provided with squat cement houses with running water and electricity. Victorias is a small city with a church (one of the most dramatically modern structures in the Philippines), stores, hospital, recreational facilities, and schools. The general standard of living of the mill workers is much higher than that of the average farmer of Caticugan. Mr. Frederico Ossorio, General Manager of the Victorias Milling Company, has initiated a cooperative vocational school, and other programs to encourage community development and leadership among the workers. 257 361 [511] [874]

Negros' major sugar region begins in the south with Ilog and continues northward and eastward along the littoral. (See Plate XVI.) This region has been divided into the northern and western subregions. On Negros' eastern coast there are two small sugar cane districts, San Carlos and Bais. The sugar cane regions and the plains of Negros coincide closely. (See Plates V and XVI.)[1] 311 249

Wernstedt reports: "The western sugar subregion is the most important sugar-producing region on Negros Island, and the most important single sugar-producing

1 [See pp. 38+105, cat. 311+249 -- Analyst]

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region in the Philippines. Here more than 160,000 acres of land are devoted entirely to sugar cane."[101] Table XIII gives the percentage of land devoted to different crops in the western sugar cane subregion of Negros Occidental.

TABLE XIII

Percentage of Land of Each Municipality[102] Devoted to the Major Crops, 1950-51 Western Sugar Subregion

| Municipality | Sugar Cane | Corn | Coconut | Rice (a) | Vegetables |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Saravia | 73 | 8 | * | 18 | * |
| Silay | 48 | 12 | 1 | 38 | 1 |
| Talisay | 55 | 14 | 3 | 27 | 1 |
| Bacolod City | 42 | 6 | 9 | 41 | 2 |
| Murcia | 47 | 11 | * | 39 | 3 |
| Bago | 28 | 3 | 1 | 67 | 3 |
| Pulupandan | 56 | 1 | 5 | 33 | 5 |
| Valladolid | 8 | 1 | 2 | 88 | 1 |
| San Enrique | 21 | 2 | 4 | 72 | 1 |
| La Carlota | 67 | 8 | 0 | 22 | 3 |
| Pontevedra | 44 | 2 | 1 | 51 | 2 |
| La Castellana | 46 | 9 | 1 | 41 | 3 |
| Isabela | 41 | 8 | 1 | 48 | 2 |
| Hin.garan | 28 | 8 | 2 | 59 | 3 |
| Binalbagan | 41 | 9 | 1 | 45 | 4 |
| Himamaylan | 23 | 5 | 7 | 62 | 3 |
| Kabankalan | 31 | 6 | 1 | 59 | 3 |
| Ilog | 37 | 8 | 5 | 48 | 2 |

(a) Indicates both upland and lowland rice
(*) Indicates less than 1 percent

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The western subregion with its seven sugar districts produced 43 per cent of the entire Philippine sugar cane

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[101] Wernstedt, op. cit., p. 183.

[102] Wernstedt, op. cit., p. 183. Separate figures for the newly-created Magallon municipality (June 6, 1951) are not given for when these were compiled Magallon was not separated from Isabela.

20: Hart E-5 (195.) 1954 OA1 Philippines
Central Bisayan OA14



in 1950-51 or nearly 64 per cent of the total Negros crop.

Wernstedt aptly describes the general landscape of western Negros:

> The sugar lands of Negros present much the same landscape picture wherever they are encountered. In many respects they are more reminiscent of the wheat lands of Midwestern United States, than those characteristic of the Orient. Extensive rolling fields are covered with waving cane, looking not unlike waving wheat from a distance. Modern farm machinery can be seen at work in the fields, small cross-road villages house the agricultural workers, and large gleaming factories dot the landscape like Midwestern grain elevators. All look somewhat incongruous amidst the intensively cultivated rice paddies dotted with lumbering carabaos pulling wooden plows through the fields.[103]

This chapter has aimed to survey the general features of Negros' cultural landscape with emphasis on those factors that highlight the position of Siaton municipality and Caticugan. Caticugan is one of more than 300 barrios of Negros Oriental, located in a relatively sparsely settled part of the Southeastern Coastal lowlands. The barriofolk are subsistence farmers whose major crop is corn, although some rice is raised. The western province of Negros is primarily a sugar cane and rice area, with more people, urban settlements, transportation facilities, and modern agricultural methods. The people of Caticugan live outside the cash economy of Negros' sugar haciendas and centrals. Besides

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[103] Wernstedt, op. cit., p.186.

20: Hart E-5 (1951) 1954 OA1 Philippines
Central Bisayan OA14

## CHAPTER IV

## THE PRACTICE OF AGRICULTURE

The barriofolk of Caticugan are subsistence farmers.[1] Most of their fields are so small that they might be better called gardeners. Yet their relationship with the land is not as intensely intimate as that of the Chinese or Japanese farmer. If the man-land relationship in China, for example, may be roughly characterized as a grim battle with an ever-constant threat of famine, the relationship in Caticugan is a persistent yet more amiable struggle. The careful hand-tillage and the planting of every tiny plot of land, as in most parts of China or Japan, does not occur in Caticugan. The pressure of the people on the land in Caticugan is less severe than in other parts of Asia or the Philippines.

This chapter describes and analyzes the agricultural practices and associated practices of Caticugan barriofolk. If any one chapter in this report highlights the general contours of living in Caticugan it is this. For, in many ways, the agricultural practices of the barriofolk embody the general ethos of their culture.

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[1] Caticugan includes Sitios Naga, Dangola and Talo-ot; when reference is made to Barrio Caticugan it does not include these three sitios, only the barrio proper as the people call it.

20: Hart E-5 (1951) 1954 OA1 Philippines OA1
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Their fields are plots once cultivated by their ancestors; it is their meager inheritance of security that they will transfer to their children. The staple--corn--that keeps them alive comes mainly from their land. Their agricultural practices are interwoven with rituals that reflect their concept of the supernatural. For the barriofolk of Caticugan their fields are their life; and most of their lives are spent plowing, harrowing, planting and harvesting their crops.

## HISTORICAL SUMMARY OF PHILIPPINE AGRICULTURAL LAND USE

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The history of agricultural land use in the Philippines is that of five major agricultural systems.[2] These systems are: (1) intensive highland irrigated terraces; (2) lowland intensive agriculture; (3) saingin; (4) plantations; and (5) commercial mechanized agriculture. The evolution of the last two types of agricultural systems in the Philippines is easier to trace that that of the first three types, which developed during prehistoric eras. Preceding these five systems of land use were pre-Neolithic hunting and foodgathering but "their impact upon the environment was minor and temporary."[3]

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[2]The material on the development of agricultural land use patterns in the Philippines is summarized from Spencer, op. cit., pp. 4-12.

[3]Spencer, op. cit., p. 3.

20: Hart E-5 (1951) 1954 OA1 Philippines OA1
Central Bisayan OA14 ●



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The rice terraces of northern Luzon, around Sagada or Banaue, are widely known. The importance of these terraces as a system of land use has been over-emphasized; the unique characteristics and almost awe-inspiring engineering techniques of the builders have led many writers to overstress them in relation to the total agricultural situation in the Philippines. These irrigated highland terraces cover only 2 per cent of the landscape of northern Luzon and the standard of living of their cultivators is relatively low for the Philippines. Moreover, rising labor costs almost prohibit extension of these terraces.

The highland terraces were developed more than 2,000 years ago by people from northern Indo-China and south China. Besides the technique of terracing and rice cultivation, these immigrants brought with them knowledge of bronze and gold working, the pig, and millet and other minor crops.

In the central and southern regions of the Philippines two types of land use developed during the late Neolithic period. The moist margins of the lowlands, especially in and above alluvial estuaries, were used to grow rice, taro, nipa palm and other related plants. In association with this truly aquatic lowland agriculture were moist lowlands where in addition to the foregoing crops there were "jungle-like garden plantings" of coconut, banana, breadfruit and other tropical plants. Coupled with this type of agriculture was "extractive

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range stripping" in which the people gathered wild forest products from the jungle land and swamp fringes. These farmers also utilized sea products. Their agricultural techniques utilized a greater range of opportunities than was possible under either caingin or irrigated highland terrace agriculture.

This intensive lowland agriculture was accompanied by the cultivation of land away from the aquatic littoral and its moist margins.

> In earlier periods perhaps no clearly defined boundary between the two types could be distinguished. The lack of direct sea contact and the absence of swamp-margin aquatic culture are obvious. When elevations increase, lowland crops and auxiliary plants drop out one by one, leaving no clear boundaries.[4]

It is probable that "shifting" or caingin agriculture developed side by side with lowland cultivation. Caingin agriculture utilized uplands and mountain slopes; it spread inland from the coasts and upward in the interior highlands with increase of population. More recently in the Visayas the constant raids of the Moros influenced this spread of peoples into the interior. Caingin agriculture still is practiced by a considerable number of both pagan and Christian Filipinos, although it is an illegal method of land use.

The introduction of new domesticated plants, population increases, market-bartering, and international trade all modified both lowland and caingin agriculture;

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[4]Spencer, op. cit., p. 7.

20: Hart E-5 (1951) 1954 OA1 Philippines OA1
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[4]Spencer, op. cit., p. 7.

20: Hart E-5 (1951) 1954 OA1 Philippines OA1
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they initiated changes in farming methods and augmented the importance of cash, trade and export crops.

The plantation system introduced by the Spaniards in the latter part of the 19th century stressed coconut, tobacco and sugar cultivation. Under the Americans the plantation system was intensified and abaca and pineapple were added to the crops.

Commercial mechanized agriculture, the fifth system, is basically an American innovation applied to plantations and smaller private holdings both in newly-developed areas and in older cultivated regions. This system, however, is not widely distributed or intensively used due to problems that involve terrain, lack of capital and trained operators. Additional hindrances to mechanization of farms are lack of adequate fuels and the fact that little farm machinery is manufactured in the Philippines. Some Filipinos, however, have speculated on the possible use of local fuels such as coconut oil or alcohol.[5]

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Since the barriofolk of Caticugan are subsistence farmers, they sell very little of their corn and rice. Rice is less important than corn since many of the farmers have no paddies. The dominance of subsistence agriculture characterizes the people living in barrios in the Siaton

[5]Ortigas, op. cit., pp. 44-51.

20: Hart E-5 (1951) 1954 OAI Philippines Central Bisayan OA14

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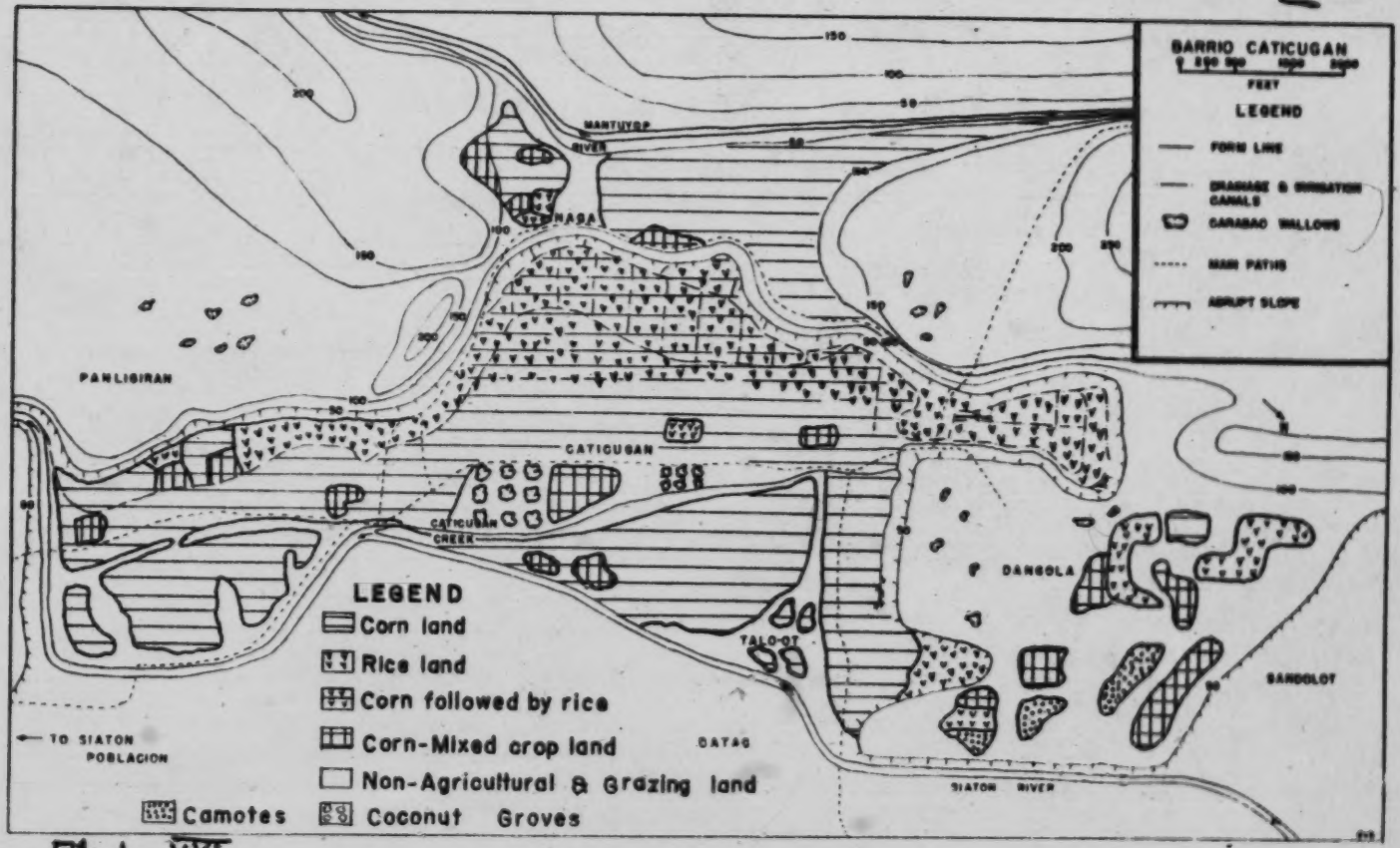


Plate XXI

LAND USE (1951)

little each year due to seasonal climatic fluctuations but the general pattern remains basically unchanged. 221 241

## CAINGIN AGRICULTURE: INTRODUCTION

Four of the five Philippine methods of agricultural land use are practiced in Negros. There are no extensive areas of terraced land, although some terraces are found in Siquijor Island. The three most common agricultural systems in Negros are lowland intensive, plantation and mechanized agriculture--the latter in conjunction with sugar and rice plantations. Caingin agriculture is practiced by both pagan and Christian Filipinos in the piedmont regions of the Central Mountains, the Central Mountain Range, and the Tablas plateau. 241 311

Caingin shifting agriculture has been defined tersely as:

> "...the most primitive type of agriculture...an economy of which the main characteristics are rotation of fields rather than crops; clearing by means of fire; absence of draft animals and of manuring; use of human labor only; employment of the dibble stick or hoe; short periods of soil occupancy alternating with long fallow periods."[7]

Caingin is not always limited to hills and uplands as typical in Formosa, Indochina, Thailand and the Philippines. Frequently, as in Indonesia, this land use technique occurs on level areas. Pelzer states:

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[7]Pelzer, op. cit., p. 17. Pelzer has written an excellent account on Caingin agriculture in the Philippines: Chapter 2: "The Shifting Cultivator."

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> Shifting cultivators have no concept of private land ownership. The land belongs to the community, the tribe, or the village, and each member has the right to use as much land as he needs and can cultivate.[8]

The barriofolk of Caticugan are not true shifting cultivators since one must distinguish between shifting cultivation as a "land use" technique and shifting cultivation as a lebensform. Agriculture with long fallow periods for the fields does not make farmers into caingin cultivators in the strictest sense of the word if they do not practice the associated customs. There are tobacco plantations on the east coast of Sumatra which use a long fallow period (seven to eight years) but the cultivators do not practice caingin agriculture. The barriofolk of Caticugan and probably most of the people living in the settlements in the Siaton River valley are not true shifting cultivators. They find that their lowland fields are not sufficient and supplement crops from their "permanent fields" by cultivating upland caingins.

The cultivators of caingins in Caticugan claim ownership of the land they till. True shifting cultivators, as already mentioned, have no concept of private land ownership. The caingins of Caticugan are taxable property and many are listed in the land ownership record books of the municipio. Suitable land for caingins is distant from Caticugan; this makes it difficult for one

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[8] Ibid., p. 18.

household to manage both barrio lowland fields and upland caingins. Several families solved this problem by having their caingins worked by tenants who lived near the fields. Though caingins are considered as private property by most of their cultivators, many customs connected with shifting agriculture appear here.[9]

Whether caingin agriculture preceded lowland cultivation in Siaton is not definitely known. It seems most likely, however, that the first settlers would utilize the riverine plains of Siaton, travelling to the region along the island's rim or by boat. Siaton's early history and the population distribution patterns supports this belief. The first settlements on eastern Negros mentioned in Spanish sources were located on the lowlands of Bais and Tanjay. (See Chapter III.) Certainly the Moro raids later influenced the settling of the interior mountainous regions of Siaton and the spread of caingin agriculture.

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[9]Since there were no caingins near Caticugan I was not able to observe closely this type of agriculture. A number of visits were made to areas where caingins were located and their cultivators were interviewed. Most of the information was obtained, however, from people who once worked in caingins, from a few Caticugan farmers who had caingins in the hills, and by questioning several caingin farmers in the northern part of the Siaton River valley. The amount of information obtained by actual observation was smaller than in the study of lowland agricultural activities.

same methods used in the lowlands. The harvesters normally get one-fourth, sometimes, but rarely, one-third of the rice harvested. 243

A very limited survey, so restricted in nature as to be merely suggestive, was made of seven caingins. The average corn yield per acre of these caingins was five bushels.[15] This figure is for the first corn harvest that usually yields more than the second crop. Three of the seven caingins were damaged by wild pigs and monkeys, suggesting the problem these pests present to the farmers. Dong-go was planted in all the caingins except two which grew Bagsiao. The caingins were located in sitios Kangotot and Nawakat (Casala-an), Casala-an, Dolog, and Bantolinao and Sitio Banat-e (Maloh). 241 311 433

[804]

[15]The conversion was: one cavan of shelled corn equals 58 kilos and 1 kilo equals 2.2 pounds. One bushel of ear corn (not shelled corn) equals 52 pounds. To determine the size of caingin or lowland corn fields the following method, recommended by the provincial agricultural office, was used: "With reference to your letter...regarding rate of planting corn, please be informed that the rate varies according to the number of grains dropped per hill and the distance of planting corn. We noted that if the distance of planting is 80 x 80 cm. dropping 4-5 grains per hill the rate of planting is around 6 gantas per hectare, especially if the grains of corn used are small. By dropping only three grains per hill at a distance of 1 M. x 80 cm., especially if the grains are big, the rate of planting per hectare of corn is only around four gantas. But by dropping three grains per hill at a distance of 1 meter by 1 meter, if the grains are medium size, the rate of planting is only five gantas per hectare. So on the average we use five gantas per hectare as the rate of seeding corn regardless of the size of the grains and the distance of planting and the rate of planting per hill..." Personal communication to writer from Provincial Agricultural Supervisor, February, 1951, Dumaguete, Negros Oriental.

LOWLAND RICE

Introduction

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When the Spaniards first visited Negros in the middle of the 16th century Filipinos were cultivating rice. Probably rice had been brought to the Philippines by nameless wanderers from Indo-China or south China in the late Neolithic period. The distribution of lowland rice in Negros and Siaton municipality has been described. As one travels up the Siaton River valley, the cultivation of lowland rice disappears north of Barrio Sandolot where there are only a few pilapils (rice paddies).

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The Agricultural Calendar (pages 273, 274, 275, and 276)[1] does not present a sharp picture of farming activities. Table XV presents a more detailed account of the planting and harvesting of rice and corn, the two major crops of Caticugan

TABLE XV

AGRICULTURAL CALENDAR FOR RICE AND CORN
CATICUGAN, 1951

| CROP | PLANTING BEGAN | PLANTING FINISHED | TRANSPLANTING BEGAN | TRANSPLANTING FINISHED |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Rice Seed Beds | | | |
| Lowland rice | June 19 | July 14 | August 22 | September 26 |

1 [Category 116 -- Analyst]

TABLE XV (cont.)



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| CORN | PLANTING BEGAN | PLANTING FINISHED | HARVEST BEGAN | HARVEST FINISHED |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| First irrigated corn | March 7 | April 23 | May 28 | July 9 |
| Second irrigated corn | June 19 | June 25 | August 27 | September 2 |
| First dry corn | April 27 | May 12 | August 4 | August 29 |
| Second dry corn | October 5 | November 23 | See Footnote 23 | See Footnote 23 |

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The most popular rice variety planted in Siaton is Macan Sta. Rosa.

> The Macan Sta. Rosa is grown on a large scale in Nueva Ecija and Bulacan [provinces in Luzon]. It matures in about 180 days, giving an average production of about 60 cavans per hectare [or 24 cavans an acre]. It turns out a first-class rice of good eating quality.[24]

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Records of the provincial agricultural office in Dumaguete show that more than 75 per cent of the total acreage devoted to lowland rice in Siaton municipality is planted with Macan Sta. Rosa.

Table XVI[1] gives the varieties and acreage of lowland and upland rice planted in Siaton municipality in 1951, according to the Provincial Agriculture Office of Dumaguete.

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[23] The exact dates for the rice and the second non-irrigated corn harvests are not given since I arrived after the former was nearly finished and I left before the latter began.

[24] Uichanco, op. cit., I, p. 4.

1 [See p. 302, cat 245 or 311 -- Analyst]

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TABLE XVI

VARIETIES AND ACREAGE OF LOWLAND AND UPLAND RICE PLANTED IN SIATON MUNICIPALITY, 1950

| RICE VARIETIES | ACRES |
|---|---|
| Lowland | |
| Macan Sta. Rosa | 650 |
| Kinamayon | 5 |
| Apostol | 42 |
| Careret (local variety) | 148 |
| | 845 total |
| Upland | |
| Tinogbong | 289 |
| Magsanaya | 7 |
| | 296 total |

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The section on caingin agriculture indicates that a number of rice varieties planted in Siaton municipality are unknown to the provincial agriculture office, at least in 1950. However, the variety of rice most commonly planted in the caingins, according to my informants, is Tinogbong.

None of the Caticugan farmers planted Kinamayon, Apostol or Careret rice; nearly all of them planted Macan Sta. Rosa. A few farmers planted glutinous rice varieties (pilit is the common name) called Bodbodron and Kilikot. An early maturing variety, Pinili-an, was planted only in Sitio Dangola; some Mimis, an aromatic variety that matures in 185 days, was planted in Dolog.[25] The land

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[25] Uichanco and Sacay, op. cit., I, p. 12.

devoted to upland and lowland rice in Siaton increased The land from 1,141 acres in 1950 to 1,260 acres in 1952. 243 [311]

Preparing and Planting the (Saboda) Rice Seed Beds 243

There are certain soil requirements for the rice seed beds. A sandy loam is preferred by the farmers. Soils with large amounts of clay are undesirable since they make it difficult to pull seedlings without damage. The seed bed should not be rocky and is best located where there is no danger of flooding in case of heavy rains. If excessive water collects in seed bed the rice rots.

Once the seed bed is selected the ground is plowed and harrowed until the soil is quite fine. Several informants said the bed is plowed and harrowed four times but this is not always done. Large clods and stones are removed by hand and the seed is sown broadcast. Some farmers, however, make small furrows with a small pointed stick and plant the seeds in furrows, a method called tudlis. The bed is fenced to keep out farmyard animals. Soil preparation and fence construction are done by men and young boys; usually the women plant the seed.

One seed bed was made in a corner of an irrigated field of growing corn in Barrio Caticugan. The lower leaves had been stripped from the corn so the seedlings could get more sunlight. These seedlings had been planted thus because the farmer had a paddy in Sitio Balsa where rice is transplanted earlier than in Caticugan.

stump in the center. Bunches of rice stalks, about two handfuls, were slightly leaned against the base of the stump. The stump was encircled in this manner with "rings" of rice. One "ring" or layer was placed over another and stacks six or seven feet high were made. No rice stacks were seen in Caticugan in 1951. The barrio-folk said tumpils were only memories of the past when the rice harvests were more abundant. I did see rice stacks built around a center bamboo upright in other parts of southern Negros.

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Paddy Sizes and Yields in Caticugan and Environs

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While municipal land records were studied, a personal survey was made in Caticugan to check the figures obtained from these records as to size of paddies, also to get additional data on yield, residence of owners and tenancy rates.[33] Few farmers know the acreage of their fields. The method of determining field sizes has already been described. I had mimeographed forms made of the land records and

[33] Rural land records in the Philippines are not noted for reliability; this is true for other Asian countries such as Japan. Vide Richard K. Beardsley's review of The Japanese Village in Transition, in Pacific Affairs, XXIV, No. 4 (December, 1951), pp. 428-30. There have been no cadastral surveys in Siaton municipality. Recently the land records of Negros Oriental were rechecked to improve their accuracy. However, the "inspectors" are said to have been the local supporters of provincial politicos and the program occurred suspiciously close to an election.

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transferred the data from these records to my forms. All land records for the barrios in the Siaton River valley were copied.

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I interviewed about fifty families--about 40 per cent of the families resident in Caticugan. Of course, not all of the people living in Caticugan own or till paddies. Of the families interviewed, figures were obtained for twenty-six individual paddies from twenty families; other families did not cultivate any paddies. Six of these paddies were located outside Caticugan so they were eliminated. Of the twenty paddies, totaling nearly 25 acres, all were planted with Macan Sta. Rosa except one farmer who had interplanted a glutinous variety.

Another survey was made of lowland rice paddy sizes and yields in Sandolot and Datag to obtain comparative data. Seventeen families living in Datag and fourteen in Sandolot were interviewed. Their paddies, totaling 61 acres, were all planted with Macan Sta. Rosa, except one paddy planted with Lubang. According to the municipal land records the average size of the rice fields in Caticugan is .99 of an acre while my survey arrived at the figure of 1.1 acres. The average paddy in Sandolot-Datag was slightly larger--1.6 acres. In 1952 Siaton's average rice yield per acre was 891 pounds; for Caticugan, according to my survey, the yield was only 553 pounds per acre. The Sandolot-Datag average rice yield was lower than in Caticugan; 337 pounds per acre. These figures support the opinion that of all the rice fields seen in the Siaton

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River valley, Caticugan's paddies looked the best. There is little doubt in my mind that the rice yield per acre for Siaton municipality in 1952, as estimated by the local agricultural agent, was too liberal. For example, the average rice yield in 1952 for the southern municipalities of Negros (Valencia to Tolong) was 774 pounds per acre.[34]

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According to Siaton's municipal land records, 122 acres of land are planted with lowland rice in Caticugan. This acreage is owned by 136 different individuals of whom 49 per cent live in Caticugan. Of the remaining owners 16 per cent live in Siaton poblacion, 10 per cent in Mantuyop, 8 per cent in Sandolot, and 6 per cent in Datag with several owners living in Inalad, Salag, and Maloh. More than half of the owners of ricefields in Caticugan do not live in the barrio, although they cannot be called absentee landlords in the strict sense. Many of these owners cultivate fields in Caticugan, bringing their plants from seed beds in their barrios.

243 311 423 427

While the records indicate that the 122 acres of paddy in Caticugan are owned by 136 different individuals, the actual number of owners is much larger. Many a paddy is owned jointly by brothers and sisters. Sometimes the land records indicate this fact by stating that

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[34] These figures were obtained from an unpublished report of the Provincial Agricultural Office, Dumaguete, Negros Oriental, 1952.

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the land is owned by the person listed and his or her "heirs" or "brothers." For example, one paddy in Caticugan, inherited on the death of a parent, is owned jointly by seven brothers and sisters. The land records often do not indicate these facts of ownership because the land continues to be registered under the name of an owner dead many years. Heirs often fail to change the land registration records at the municipio due to the small fee charged for the service.

Of the individuals interviewed during the survey in Caticugan, 50 per cent owned their ricefields, 37 per cent were tenants and 13 per cent owned some paddy and tilled others as tenants. In Sandolot-Datag area, of the thirty-one families interviewed, 74 per cent owned their ~~paddies while 26 per~~ cent were tenants. In order to obtain as wide a sample as possible, I did not request these families to give data on all of the ricefields they cultivated, but obtained figures for just one paddy. Therefore, some owners may have been also cultivating paddies as tenants. Three of the tenants in Caticugan were farming paddies owned by either a wife's brother or mother; another worked a paddy owned by a mother's brother. In Sandolot-Datag three tenants had as landlords a sister's husband, father's brother, and a third cousin, respectively.[35] [602]

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[35] A recent survey of thirteen barrios states that 31 per cent of the landlords of tenants were related by blood or marriage to their renters. Rivera and McMillan, op. cit., p. 43.

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In Caticugan, Sandolot and Datag, the average share of harvesters was 10 per cent of the total rice harvest. This is smaller than the share harvesters receive on upland rice caingins, which is usually 25 per cent of the total harvest. However, harvesting caingins is harder work and fewer laborers go to these fields than to the more conveniently located, easier-to-harvest lowland paddies. Actually, this percentage would be slightly higher if the few paddies harvested without helpers had been eliminated from this survey. In Caticugan, four paddies were harvested without outside help. As noted previously, most harvesters, as one farmer said, "take pity" on people with very small paddies or harvests that have been decreased by pests or inclimate weather.

CORN

Introduction

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Siaton is a part of the larger Southern Corn-Coconut region of Negros where corn is the dominant crop. Corn meal is usually eaten three times a day. In 1952, 3,196 acres of corn were planted in Siaton municipality producing an average yield of 11 bushels. In the same year 20,344 acres of corn were planted in the seven southern municipalities of Negros Oriental (Valencia to Tolong) with an average yield of 8 bushels. Since the

end of the last war Negros Oriental has imported about 40 per cent of the corn consumed from Mindanao.[35] 243 311

Barrio Caticugan is unique in Siaton municipality since sections of corn land and paddies can be irrigated. Some barriofolk grow one, and often two, crops of corn in their paddies before the latter are transplanted. Land devoted to irrigated corn in Barrio Caticugan and the division between the fields planted both with rice and corn and solely corn are shown in Plate XXIII.[1] This limit is imposed by the land's elevation that makes gravity flow irrigation impossible farther east.

Barrio Caticugan's canals were built originally not as an irrigation system but to drain the boggy land so it could be farmed. In fact, the land west of the main path of Barrio Caticugan was so boggy that no corn was planted here until forty or fifty years ago. Many old residents of Barrio Caticugan remember when only rice was raised in the barrio. The canals were said to have been much deeper in the past; now they are only several feet deep. In some parts of Barrio Caticugan, such as the northwestern end, the canals are silting up and the land is becoming increasingly boggy. For this 243 312

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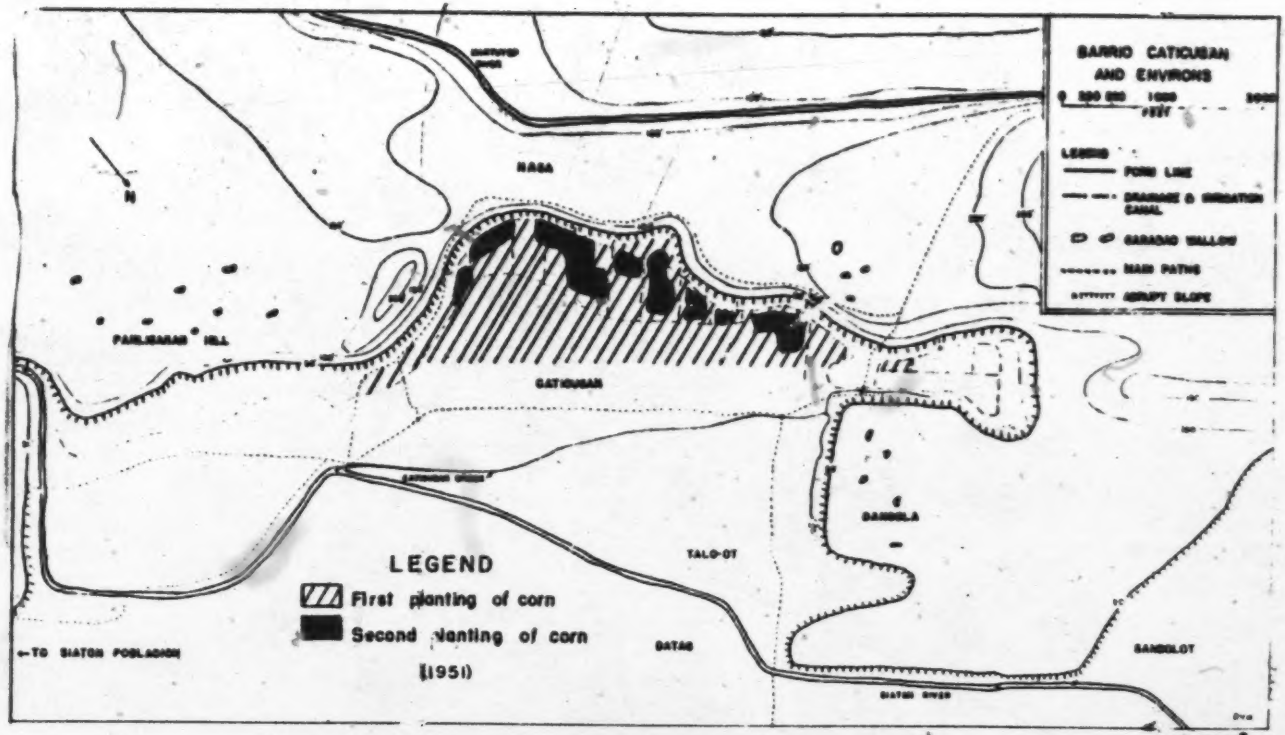
35 "Production Date by Municipalities: Crop Year from July 1, 1952 to June 30, 1953." Provincial Agricultural Office, Dumaguete, Negros Oriental, 1953. Typescript. Vide "Oriental Negros Expects Corn Increase," Philippines Free Press, XLIII, No. 30 (July 26, 1952), p. 22. This unsigned article stated that in 1952 the Department of Agriculture and Natural Resources estimated that only 17 per cent of the corn consumed in the province would be imported from Mindanao. An expected 23 per cent increase in the corn harvests because of increased use of fertilizers was anticipated.

1 [See p. 325, cat. 243 or 311 -- Analyst]




LAND USE (IRRIGATED CORN)

PLATE XXIII

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3/1
3/2

P. 325

it is said if a field abandoned because of overflow of the Siaton River were later reclaimed, it was not necessary to resume the dulot even though "the field was once accustomed to it." This is the attitude of most barriofolk living in the Siaton River valley. Some of the fields in upper Naga are especially vulnerable to floods from the Mantuyop River since the bed is only five to ten feet below the level of the fields. Large boulders and other debris are deposited on the fields when the river floods, so reclaiming the land is difficult. Presumably when the fields were reclaimed the dulot was not resumed.[47]

It is somewhat easier to explain the present spatial distribution of the dulot in Barrio Caticugan. When Lucas Ege first purchased this land, he gave the fields southwest of the present main canal to the farmers who built and maintained a fence at the base of the bluff. This fence was necessary for there were many wild pigs, monkeys, and deer in the hills above. The fence protected he fields of the people living near the hills and those f Ege on the other side of the main canal.

[47]Part of upper Naga was once planted with rice. However, the cultivation of the land was stopped in the early 930's because it was believed "haunted" by spirits. One armer's three sons and his mother-in-law died of "fever nd headaches" while cultivating the land. Their deaths ere believed to be signs that the spirits who lived there id not wish the land to be farmed. The owner told me hat he was planning to "pray to God" and resume tilling he land, however, he did not farm the land during my resisnce. While the soil of upper Naga is not the best it is o worse than the paddies of Dangola. There is very little ultivation of Pangligiran hill for the same reason.

## Cornfield Sizes and Yields

According to Siaton's municipal land records there are 580 acres classified as maizal (cornfields) in Caticugan, owned by 291 different persons. The records list 321 individual fields since some own more than one field; the average size was 1.9 acres. Of the owners of corn land 64 per cent live in Caticugan, 14 per cent in Siaton poblacion, 7 per cent in Sandolot, 5 per cent in Datag and 4 per cent in Mantuyop. The remaining owners live in Dumaguete, Zamboanguita, Maloh, Cabangahan, Omanod and Sta. Catalina poblacion. While 36 per cent of the owners of cornfields do not live in Caticugan, 51 per cent of the owners of paddies live in other communities.[51]

I made a survey in Caticugan to check the accuracy of the municipal land records and obtain additional data on tenancy. Ownership and tenancy figures obtained through this survey indicate that tenancy is higher for paddy than cornfields. Information gathered from this survey is given in Table XVIII.

TABLE XVIII

Percentages of Ownership and Tenancy of Caticugan's Paddy and Cornfields -- 1951

| | Paddies | Cornfields |
|---|---|---|
| Owner | 50 | 60 |
| Owner-Tenant | 13 | 27 |
| Tenant | 37 | 13 |

[51] These are approximate figures; field sizes may not be accurately recorded or may be in other sitios of Caticugan, a fact not always noted on the records. However, special care was taken to check as thoroughly as possible the actual residences and not to include fields in other sitios. I am grateful to the municipal treasurer, Ramon Regalado, and the chief clerk of the municipio, for assistance in this matter.

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I also made a survey of harvest yields and field sizes that included 51 acres of land--17 acres in Barrio Caticugan, 11 acres in Talo-ot and 23 acres in Naga. Caticugan's average yield for the first paddy and first non-irrigated crops was 6 bushels of corn per acre. The average size of the cornfields in Caticugan, based on this survey, was 1.2 acres while the average obtained from the land records was 1.9 acres. Several hundred husked cornears were measured from the second non-irrigated harvest of Barrio Caticugan; the average length of the ears was 2-1/2 inches. However, the second harvest from non-irrigated cornfields is usually smaller than the first harvest.

My survey included a small field in Barrio Caticugan where loose carabaos destroyed the crop and four fields in Naga, two in which the crop was damaged by wild pigs and two damaged by insects and floods. Total acreage of these fields was less than 5 acres; they were included in the averages for such incidents are fairly common. The survey's largest cornfield was 4-acre field in Talo-ot while the smallest was .3 of an acre. According to municipal land records the largest field in Caticugan was 27 acres (a field that had been divided among the heirs although the record was not changed) while the smallest field was .1 of an acre.

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In 1939 there were 47,440 farmers in Negros Oriental with 43.9 per cent owners, 12.1 per cent part owners, and 43.7 per cent tenants.[52] According to my surveys,

[52] Yearbook of Philippine Statistics: 1946, p. 138.

the sap begins to flow or the task abandoned as hopeless. A deep hole may be bored into the "eye" to increase the diminishing flow of sap.

As one travels up the Siaton River valley the buri palms decrease; at Dolog they disappear. The sap of the ediok palm (Cabo Negros: Arenga pinnata Wurmb (Miller)) is used to make a mildly alcoholic drink called habyob. The ediok produces large bunches of dates that hang on slender stalks from the top of the palm. A stalk is selected and then violently shaken and hit with a stick each morning until it flowers. Then the stalk's tip is cut and a bamboo container is attached at the end to collect the sap. The ediok's sap flows about the same length of time as the buri; tan-bark is also added to habyob for the same reason it is put in guhang.

## MINOR SINGLE CROPS OF CATICUGAN

Spencer lists twenty-one different cropping combinations for the Philippines. Of these combinations six are chiefly lowland, eight chiefly upland, and seven are combined upland-lowland crop combinations.[59] The intercropping type typical of Caticugan is the "corn and minor crop" combination listed by Spencer under the combined upland-lowland category. The various cropping combinations in Caticugan are: (1) corn-peanuts; (2) corn-camotes; (3) corn-balatong (Cow peas: Vigna sinensis Linn.); (4) corn-balatong-cassava;

[59] Spencer, op. cit., pp. 11-12.

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(5) corn-mungo beans-balatong; and (6) corn-mungos. The important minor crops grown in Siaton municipality in 1951 and their estimated acreage are listed in Table XXI. The names and figures in this table were obtained from the local agricultural inspector of Siaton and include upland and lowland fields.

TABLE XXI

Important Minor Food Crops Grown in Siaton Municipality - 1951

| CROP | ACRES |
|---|---|
| **Root Crops** | |
| Camote | 166 |
| Peanuts (Spanish White) | 37 |
| Cassava | 32 |
| Gabi (Colocasia esculentin Linn.) | 7 |
| | 242 Total acreage |
| **Beans** | |
| Mungo (Yellow) | 77 |
| Cadios (Cajanus cajan Linn.) | 12 |
| Balatong (Sitao: Phaseolus vulgaris Linn.) | 2 |
| Others | 12 |
| | 113 Total acreage |

Intercropping in Caticugan depends upon a number of factors. First, soil types are of importance since camotes and peanuts require a well-drained clay-loam or sandy-loam soil. This is the reason that peanuts are planted only in a few parts of Barrio Caticugan. Camote patches in Naga are located on slopes for proper drainage.

Soil types do not fully explain intercropping in Caticugan. If cassava is planted with corn it is

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impossible to plant a second corn crop. By the time the first corn is harvested the cassava is so tall that the fields cannot be replanted until the cassava roots are dug. This is also true of camotes. Fields cannot grow two crops of corn if intercropped with cassava or camotes.

Intercropping is also discouraged by wandering carabaos and pigs. Less care is given to keeping farm animals, particularly pigs, penned during the period after the first corn harvest and before the second planting. Since many fields near the cluster of residences in Barrio Caticugan are not fenced, farmyard animals may damage immature crops growing in harvested cornfields. One cornfield intercropped with balatong beans was destroyed by stray carabaos. The balatongs were so badly eaten by the carabaos that the farmer plowed under the unharvested plants. A few farmers said they avoid conflicts with their neighbors over such matters by not intercropping their fields.

The Land Use map (Plate XXI, Page 272)[1] shows the clustering of intercropped fields in lower Naga. Soils do not prohibit the same intercropping patterns in upper Naga. The hills southwest of the Mantuyop River are wooded and thinly inhabited. At night wild pigs often cross the shallow river and push through the fences to forage in the fields. Because of the wild pigs' fondness for root crops, they are not intercropped with the corn. The Residence map (Plate XVIII, Page 131)[2] shows that few families live in this locality which makes it difficult for them to watch

1 [See cat. 311 or 116 -- Analyst]
2 [this plate is missing -- Analyst]

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their growing crops. Intercropping in Naga is concentrated in fields that are removed from the southwestern hills and where the residences are more abundant, making it easier for the people to guard their crops. Intercropping patterns in Naga reflect both geographical and cultural factors.

Intercropping depends upon another factor which is less tangible than soils, lack of seeds, maturity schedules, residence patterns, and wild animals. Perhaps the best explanation is the persistence of routine. When farmers were asked why more of them did not intercrop their corn fields they replied: "We are not used to it." Those who never have intercropped show little desire to do so, although the food supply of many families could be increased thereby.

In Dangola the soil is a coarse granular sandy loam which does not retain water. Consequently the people plant an early maturing rice. The Dangola paddies thus differ from those of Barrio Caticugan which accommodate a rice variety that is harvested in January. The well-drained, friable soil in Dangola is suitable for the production of camotes. There are also fewer residences in Dangola and less danger of the crop being destroyed by farmyard animals, and in no other part of Caticugan are sizeable fields devoted solely to camotes.

Camotes

The farmers offer three major reasons why so few camotes (amotes) are planted in Barrio Caticugan. First, to intercrop camotes with the first corn would make it impossible to plant a second crop. Second, between the harvest of the first and the planting of the second corn crops the barriofolk permit their pigs to roam the locality. The most desirable land for camotes, from an edaphic (soil) viewpoint, is unfenced cornfields near the residences. Third, since there are only a few camote fields in the community, cuttings are sometimes difficult to secure; one must go to other barrios or even to mountain caingins to obtain plants. The barriofolk often barter one-half a ganta of salt for as many camote cuttings as they can carry home.

Fields to be planted with camote cuttings are usually plowed twice; the final furrows are made in a grid pattern. After the heavy rains begin these furrows are replowed to increase their depth. Men, women and children plant cuttings in these furrows; there does not appear to be any division of this labor by sex.

Lihis for camote planting are normally done by the person inserting the cuttings in the field; no specialist is needed. Some barriofolk take three shells of the first hatching of a hen (turtle egg shells are better but more difficult to secure), a little sugar and lime (made from snail or sea shells), pieces from the winnowing basket, stone chips from the sog-ang (the three stones used

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greyish color and are usually very fibrous. Boiled camotes stuck on small bamboo sticks are often sold in Siaton's marketplace and small stores.

Cassava

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The so-called native cassava (balanghoy) was brought to the Philippines from Mexico during the early days of the Spanish regime. Varieties of cassava with commercial possibilities were not introduced into the Philippines until the American period. In some localities, like the Sulu archipelago, cassava is the staple food; in Siaton, however it is merely a supplementary seasonal food. The plant is cultivated by Filipinos for the tubers which store from 15 to 40 per cent starch. [146]

Only 32 acres of cassava were planted in Siaton municipality in 1951; very little was grown in Caticugan. [311] While three types of cassava are known and planted in the area--Visaya, Java and Australia--most of the cassava in Caticugan is Visaya. The Visaya variety grown in Caticugan may be Mandioca Sao Pedro Preto. The barriofolk report that Visaya cassava tastes better than the Java variety and contains more starch. [262] Australia cassava is reported to be grown mainly in Nasi-id and Bantolinao, sitios of Caticugan. Visaya cassava takes from ten to twelve months to mature, although the barriofolk of Caticugan dig immature roots after six months.

Two small patches planted solely to cassava in Caticugan were both in Naga. These patches were too

Balatongs are usually planted in every other cornhill, three to five seeds per hill. Some plant the beans in furrows between the hills because they say the fast-growing vines retard the growth of corn. In some cases the balatong spread so rapidly that the corn cannot be plowed for weeds. There are no special lihis for planting or harvesting balatongs. 241

In Caticugan balatongs are usually planted in May or June, the wet season, and harvested from October to December. The mature pods are put on buri mats in the sun to dry. The pods must be covered with cloth so the beans will not be dispersed when the pods shatter upon heating. When thoroughly dried, the remainder of the pods are shelled by hand and the beans stored. 241 251

Mungos

Four varieties of mungos are raised in the Philippines, differentiated according to the color of the bean.[63] The Dull Yellow type is raised in Caticugan. Very few mungos, however, are planted in Caticugan; in 1951, 77 acres of mungos were planted in Siaton municipality--an excessively high estimate of the local agricultural inspector. I have been in most of the larger cultivated areas of the municipality and rarely saw more than a few small patches of mungos. One reason for their scarcity is cost of seed. In the stores of Siaton poblacion, mungos were more costly than rice. 241 [311] [435]

[63] Uichanco and Sacay, op. cit., I, pp. 364-5.

Vegetables and Other Garden Crops

Vegetables approximate gubang as the most important source of cash income for the majority of families in Caticugan. The majority of barriofolk have a small home garden, plagued by insects, farmyard animals and lack of care. The gardens are rarely fenced. A number of families plant vegetables mainly for sale in the poblacion. Gardens are usually tended by women, who also sell the vegetables. In a recent descriptive account of a barrio in Bulacanan province, Luzon, this fact is stated indirectly:

> At Anilao [the name of the barrio] day begins in the night's small hours, when the men rise to go fishing...When the men return home at dawn, the women are up, breakfast has long been ready...All morning the men sleep, while the women work the vegetable gardens or gather grass to sell to rig drivers.[71]

Nearly every morning a few women from Caticugan could be seen carrying vegetables to sell to the poblacion.

Vegetable gardens often are planted on the canal banks in Caticugan. This location is considered desirable because the ground is usually moist and better drained during the rainy season when many gardens die of flooding. Pieces of thorny bamboo are put in the ground to support stringbeans, gourds and squashes. A few women hang strings of seaweed on the bamboo supports of the gourds and squashes; these are said to repel insects.

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[71] "Life in Barrio Anilao," Philippines Free Press, XLIV, No. 40 (October 3, 1953), p. 2e. This unsigned article consists mainly of photographs that present some realistic scenes of barrio life. Underlining in quotation by writer.

Shanghai and Cambodian varieties. In 1951 the same herd, owned by a Spaniard living in Bais, contained only seventy animals. The pre-war carabao level was not attained by 1953 in Siaton municipality. 231

In Caticugan there are fewer carabaos than before the last war but most families have an animal for agricultural work. Many families once had a few more head than were needed for farming purposes, and this surplus has not yet been replaced. One man rented a carabao for plowing his field, from a relative of his wife, for fifty cents a day. Most carabao in Caticugan are the native variety although there are a few pink-skinned Cambodian carabaos. Carabaos are required to be registered when two or three years old and their brand recorded at the municipio. The fee is fifty cents; consequently many owners do not obey the ordinance. As a result local figures are of little value in determining the actual number of carabao in Siaton municipality.

Pangligiran hill is the favorite place to graze Caticugan's carabaos. There usually are plenty of fodder and wallow holes for the animals and no immediate fields. The wooded hills across the Mantuyop River from Naga are another site where carabaos are taken to graze. Since the carabaos in these two localities are usually permitted to wander untied, they cohabit at will and no selective breeding is possible. 231 311

Calves are branded when they are about one year old. Young carabao are put to work in the fields when three or 231

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$2.50 fee connected with such title transfers; this discourages many heirs from making the title changes. Land records in the municipio are usually changed only when the land is sold and the title legally transferred.

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The constant subdivision of land in the Philippines among heirs has been condemned as one reason for the small size of farms. The Hardie report recommends that the "inheritance law respecting succession to agricultural properties should be modified" in order to prevent "fragmentation of farm units through succession."[13] This recommendation would be more appealing if the report had suggested means for achieving such a drastic innovation. If a field is too small to be economically divided among the heirs, Caticugan barriofolk have a number of solutions. First, the land may be sold to another person and the receipts divided equally among all heirs. Second, one heir may purchase the land and the money divided equally among the remaining heirs. Third, fields may be rotated among the heirs. For example, four brothers in Naga inherited a small field from their father. Instead of dividing or selling the field one brother tills the land each year and receives all the harvest. The next year another brother farms the land and so forth until each has had his turn.

In Barrio Caticugan there were individual paddies that were owned by as many as ten heirs. In Naga eight

[13] Hardie, op. cit., p. x. Vide Pelzer, op. cit., p. 11.

siblings owned one cornfield while seven owned still another field. It is for such reasons that the municipio land records do not accurately reflect the actual division of agricultural land in Caticugan. Usually such fields are listed under the names of parents or grandparents of the cultivators. Sometimes the land record merely states "Juan Cruz and heirs"; such fields are normally farmed under the arrangement described in the section on temporary division of fields. (See Pages 467-472.)

Fields are rotated sometimes while the actual owner is alive. In Barrio Caticugan a nephew was farming a small field owned by his childless aunt; he had agreed to work the field one year and the following year it would revert to his aunt. At the end of each harvest, however, the nephew made various excuses for breaking the agreement--"I shall work the field next year because this year's harvest was poor." His aunt never filed a formal complaint in Siaton municipio "because it is a small field and I do not want any trouble."

Movable Property

Animals may be rotated among the heirs like the fields. If there are three heirs and only one carabao, the animal may be sold to a stranger or to one of the heirs, and proceeds divided equally among all of them. An heir may keep a male carabao for one year, then pass the animal along to the other heirs; the carabao is

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CB
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produced in the Philippines. This type of land use is most common along the northern coast of Panay and the Cavite and Pampangan sections of Manila Bay. In Negros Oriental there are several hundreds of acres of fishponds south of Tanjay whereas other ponds are found in Manjuyod and between Guihulngan and Vallehermoso. There were no fish ponds in Siaton municipality.

The Bonsod (Fish Corral)

P-CB
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Bonsods are a pre-Hispanic method of catching fish. Antonio de Morga describes a type of fish corral used by Filipinos living near Manila in the 17th century.

> The natives' [Filipinos'] method of catching them [fish] is by making corrals of bejucos, which are certain slender canes or rushes, solid and very pliant and strong; these are employed for making cables for the natives' boats, as well as other kinds of ropes. They catch the fish inside these corrals, having made the enclosures fast by means of stakes. They also catch the fish in wicker baskets made from the bejucos, but most generally with atarrayas [a type of fish net], esparaveles [a round fish net that is jerked along in shallow water], and other small barrederas, [a net with a tighter mesh than the usual type] and with hand lines and hooks...[36]

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[14]

Retana, who published an annotated edition of de Morga, speculates that the bonsod originally came from Borneo.

Fish corral varieties in the Philippines have yet to be thoroughly studied and classified. They vary in size and design, from small shallow-water corrals to

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[36] Antonio de Morga, Blair and Robertson, op. cit., XVI, p. 96. Povedano, writing in 1572, mentions the fish corrals of the people of Negros. E. D. Hester (ed.) The Robertson Text and Translation of the Povedano Manuscript of 1572. Transcript No. 2. Chicago, Philippine Studies Program, Department of Anthropology, University of Chicago, 1954, p. 48. Mimeographed. Unfortunately, this translation was not completed in time for me to use it throughout my report.

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The next largest soil type represented in Siaton is the Isabela series of which two small enclaves of Isabela clay are located near Barrios Caticugan and Giliga-on. Because of the soil's heavy texture, both external and internal drainage are poor; this gives the soil its bluish-black color. Isabela clay, the most important soil type in this series, is also found in Isabela, Binalbagan, Kabankalan, and San Carlos, Negros Occidental. "One drawback... [of this soil type] ... [312] is its poor drainage condition. Sugar cane fields are provided with drainage canals at regular intervals to facilitate the drawing out of excess water."[40]

In Negros Occidental, where this clay soil appears, corn is often planted after the rice harvest, which is the reverse of the practice in Caticugan. While sugar cane and lowland rice are the two important crops raised on this soil, corn and coconuts also are grown as minor crops. The soil survey report on Negros Oriental states: "This series [Isabela] as defined in Siaton area [including Barrio Caticugan] is dissected by the destructive Siaton River. It is therefore to be expected that this series is of alluvial formation arising from the deposition of secondary soil-building material brought down by the flow of the Siaton River during the rainy season."

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[40]Alicante and others, op. cit., pp.53-4.

States, Italy, Spain, Iran, and southeast Asia. "About one hundred of the older varieties and four or more of the recent introductions are grown commercially [in the Philippines]."[93] There are four major categories of rice in the Philippines: irrigated lowland; non-irrigated lowland; palagad ("dry season rice"); and upland rice.[94] In Negros 59 per cent of the rice land is occupied by either irrigated or non-irrigated lowland rice.

Most of Negros' irrigated rice land, about 7,000 acres, is located near the coast, normally on river deltas where the waters are easily diverted. Exceptions include the Canlaon plateau where, at an elevation of nearly 1,000 feet, about 2,500 acres of rice land are irrigated by streams which originate on nearby volcanic peaks. Most of the lowland non-irrigated rice land is found along the flood plains. These are areas which cannot be irrigated due to lack of capital or technical difficulty.

Lowland rice usually is planted in Negros between June and August, although the dates vary slightly due to early or late start of the rainy season.[95] Non-irrigated

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[93]Uichanco and Sacay, op. cit., p.2.

[94]Palagad is the second rice crop a farmer tries to raise in one year from a usually, but not necessarily always, irrigated paddy. Cultivation practices have created two subtypes of upland rice agriculture: one where the fields are plowed for planting and the other where the rice is planted with a dibble stick.

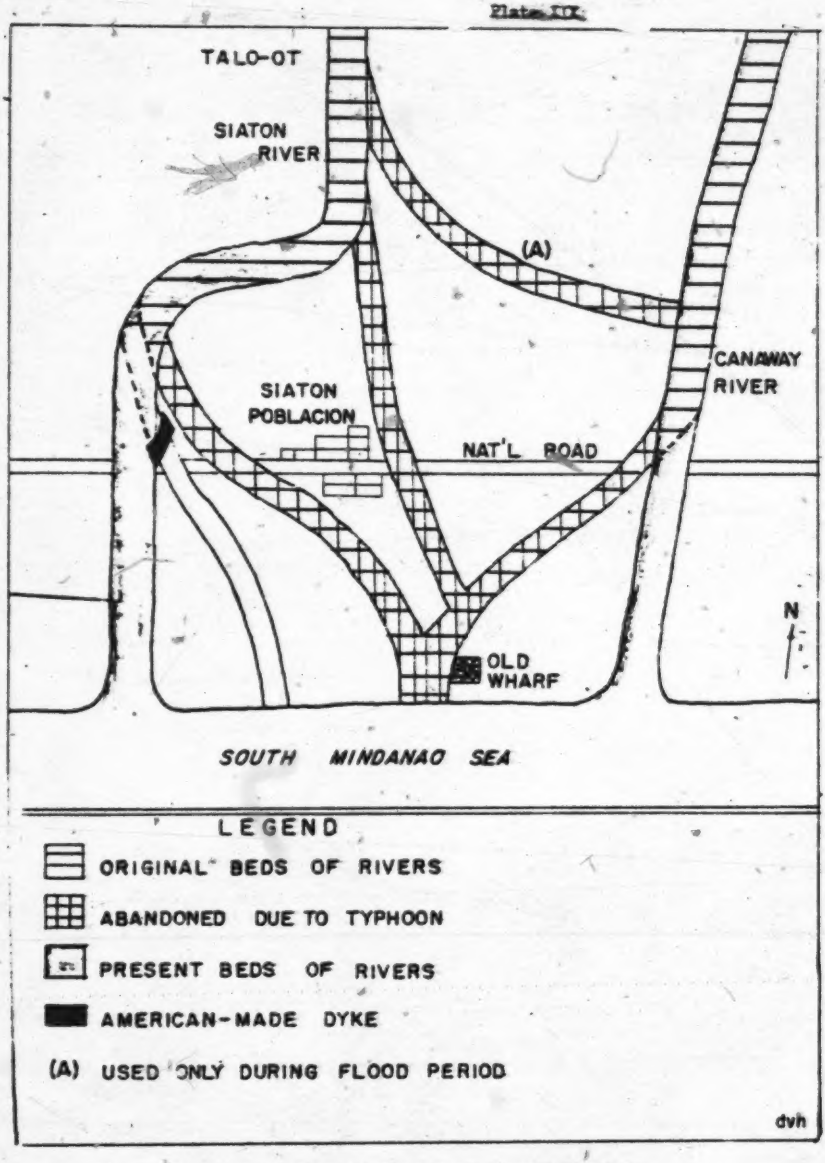
[95]Hainsworth and Moyer, op. cit., p.53. These months appear to be the general planting and harvesting dates for rice in the Visayan Islands.

The northwest part of Caticugan is still quite boggy. Along the base of the bluff runs a shallow stream which eventually joins the Caticugan Creek. To the west is the low bluff of Caticugan; Lucas Ege, founder of Caticugan, built canals here to drain the many springs. The hills are covered with bamboo groves, shrubs, and some coconuts. Taking the path up the bluff one emerges at Upper Naga. To the north a hill undulates down to a grassy shelf on which stand the houses of Upper Naga. Following the crest of the bluff southward one comes to the main settlement of Naga where a small bamboo school is located. The nearest house has several jars of bright-colored candies in the window sill to attract the few pennies of the children. To the west is Mantuyop River, a rockier and shallower stream than the Siaton River. Across the Mantuyop River the hills are covered with low-growing trees and shrubs.

If the opposite direction had been taken on leaving Caticugan one would have ascended the small plateau of Dangola, rocky, grass-covered and with scattered fields. The southwestern part of Dangola is covered with grass and large wallow holes where carabaos roll happily in thick mud. To the northwest is the level riverine plain of Sandolot with fenced fields and residences. Descending toward the east from Dangola one arrives at Talo-ot, separated from Caticugan

20: Hart E-5 (195.) 1954 OA1 Philippines
Central Bisayan OA14

Plate XIX

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SIATON - CANAWAY RIVER PATTERNS

P. 156

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Present day Barrio Caticugan's land was later purchased by Father Manuel Cabriada on Romero's transfer to Dumaguete. Later Cabriada was sent as the first missionary to Tolong. In 1872 Cabriada returned to Siaton. When Julio Adan replaced Cabriada he purchased the land and later sold it to Lucas Ege for fifteen dollars. Lucas Ege lived to be quite old; he died around 1898, according to his grandson. While the exact date is unknown, Ege's development of Caticugan must have begun after 1872 and before 1898. I estimate Ege began to drain the land and settle it with his relatives about 1885.

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312

Before its purchase by Ege, the pocket-size plain of Caticugan was a bog. Little of the land could be cultivated and planted with rice. The ground was so boggy that "carabaos could not walk on most of the land" and "a lighted cigar dropped on the earth would ignite it. The ground would burn, without smoke, just like ashes." Ege's friends warned him that the land was haunted for they saw mysterious torches there at night, the eerie handiwork of the encangtos (unseen spirits). Lucas Ege, however, purchased the land and began to build a series of drainage canals in order to increase the cultivable area.

[784]

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Before the 1896 Siaton River flood, the river ran at the base of the Dangola bluff and turned southward along the present course of Caticugan Creek. After this flood, the Siaton changed its course to its present bed.

end of the last war Negros Oriental has imported about 40 per cent of the corn consumed from Mindanao.[35] 243 311

Barrio Caticugan is unique in Siaton municipality since sections of corn land and paddies can be irrigated. Some barriofolk grow one, and often two, crops of corn in their paddies before the latter are transplanted. Land devoted to irrigated corn in Barrio Caticugan and the division between the fields planted both with rice and corn and solely corn are shown in Plate XXIII.[1] This limit is imposed by the land's elevation that makes gravity flow irrigation impossible farther east.

Barrio Caticugan's canals were built originally not as an irrigation system but to drain the boggy land so it could be farmed. In fact, the land west of the main path of Barrio Caticugan was so boggy that no corn was planted here until forty or fifty years ago. Many old residents of Barrio Caticugan remember when only rice was raised in the barrio. The canals were said to have been much deeper in the past; now they are only several feet deep. In some parts of Barrio Caticugan, such as the northwestern end, the canals are silting up and the land is becoming increasingly boggy. For this 243 312

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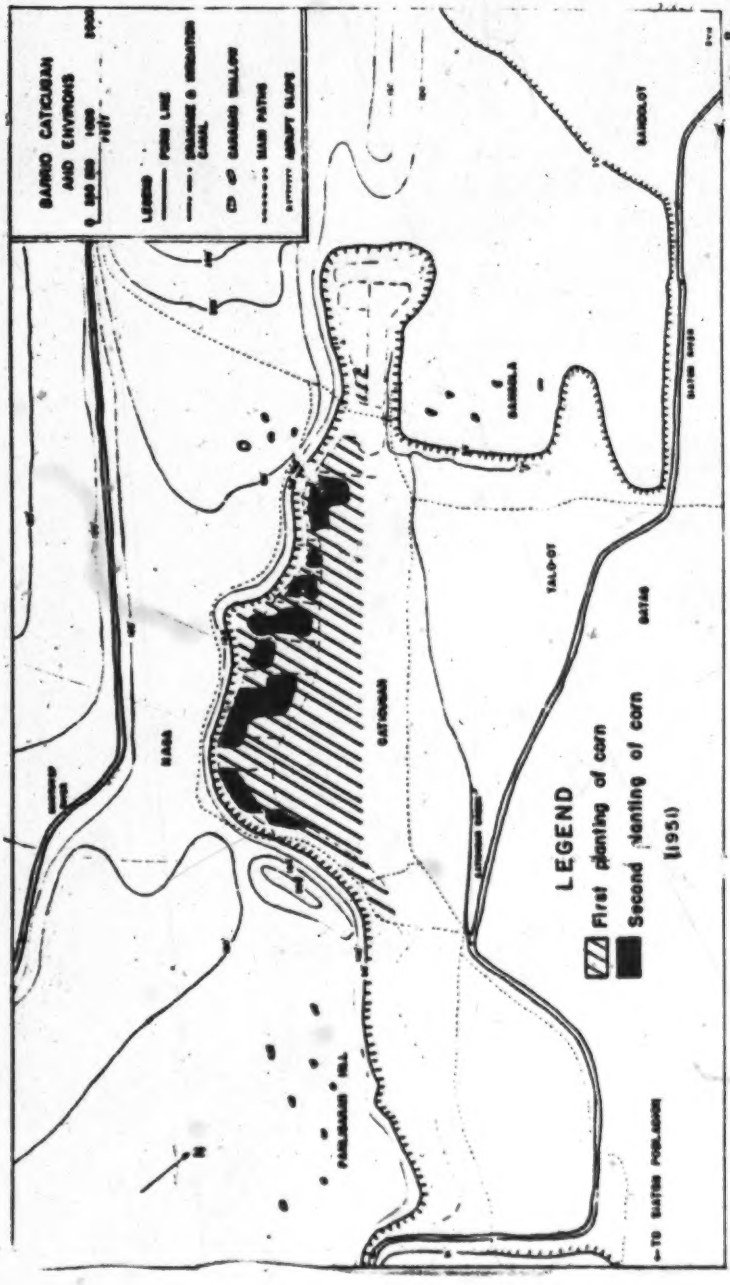
35 "Production Date by Municipalities: Crop Year from July 1, 1952 to June 30, 1953." Provincial Agricultural Office, Dumaguete, Negros Oriental, 1953. Typescript. Vide "Oriental Negros Expects Corn Increase," Philippines Free Press, XLIII, No. 30 (July 26, 1952), p. 22. This unsigned article stated that in 1952 the Department of Agriculture and Natural Resources estimated that only 17 per cent of the corn consumed in the province would be imported from Mindanao. An expected 23 per cent increase in the corn harvests because of increased use of fertilizers was anticipated.

1 [See p. 325, cat. 243 or 311 -- Analyst]


BARRIO CATICUGAN AND ENVIRONS
LEGEND
LAND USE (IRRIGATED CORN)
LEGEND
First planting of corn
Second planting of corn
(1951)
PLATE XXIII
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3//
3/2

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reason little corn is planted here and that which is sowed does not grow well.

There are no cooperative efforts to maintain the canals. Each farmer cares for the canals which run by or through his paddy. The distribution of the water is done without rancor because there is sufficient water for all. During my residence some older men in Barrio Caticugan talked about digging a new canal to irrigate more land. The owner of the spring that the proposed canal was to tap, however, requested ten gantas of shelled corn annually from every farmer through whose field the canal would pass. This price was considered excessive and the canal project was dropped. There was also talk about purchasing a second-hand pump to bring water from the Siaton River to Barrio Caticugan's fields. The largest landowner in Barrio Caticugan had the capital to purchase the pump but the project had not passed the discussion stage in 1953.[36]

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By irrigating some of their paddies the barriofolk can plant corn without waiting for the southwest monsoon. In 1951 the first irrigated paddy corn in Caticugan was planted in March, continuing into April. The sowing occurred immediately after the rice harvest so these

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[36] In 1952 the Mutual Security Agency allocated three million dollars for the purchase of irrigation pumps in the Philippines. James A. Storer, "Philippine Economic Progress," Far Eastern Survey, XXII, No. 8, (July, 1953) pp. 91-2. Ortigas states that both the Canaway and Sacsac rivers in Siaton were under consideration as possible irrigation sources. Ortigas, op. cit., p. 140.

assault on the land. Of the land alienated in Negros, which represents either open or agricultural land, only 80 per cent is now cultivated. The remainder of this land is idle, in pasture, or covered with various grasses, principally the coarse cogons (Imperata exaltata) or the wild cane (Saccharum spontaneum), the latter called tigbao in the Visayas and talahib in Tagalog.

The commercial forests of Negros represent some of the best timber lands in the Philippines (See Plate IX.)[2] Covering about 38 per cent of the island, nearly 70 per cent of the commercial forests are of the Dipterocarpaceae family, large trees usually more than 100 feet in height.[32]

The Insular Lumber Company located at Fabrica (Negros Occidental) with a daily output of 125,000 board-feet is the world's largest hardwood lumber mill. Other lumber mills are located at Victorias, Himamaylan, Cauayan, San Carlos, Tanjay and Tolong.[33] These mills

[32] Florencio Tamesis and Luis Aguilar, Important Commercial Timbers of the Philippines: Their Properties and Uses. Popular Bulletin No. 32. Manila, Department of Agriculture and Natural Resources, Bureau of Printing, 1951, p.15. While there are more than 3,000 arborescent species in the Philippines, 75 per cent of the standing timber belongs to the lauan family (Dipterocarpaceae).

[33] M. M. Alicante and others, Soil Survey of Negros Occidental Province, Philippines. Soil Report No. 14. Manila, Department of Agriculture and Natural Resources, Bureau of Printing, 1951, p.13.

[See p.59, cat. 137 --ANALYST]

have a daily output ranging from 20,000 to several thousand board-feet daily. There were six saw mills in Tolong in 1951; recently a plywood factory and another large saw mill (the latter owned by the American Rubber Company) have been established in this municipality. Most saw mills in Tolong are located in the mountains; the cut timber is hauled out by trucks during the dry season. 313

The trees most frequently cut for these mills are white lauan (Pentacme contorta Merr. & Rolfe), red lauan (Shorea negrosensis Foxw.) and tangile (Shorea polysperma Merr.) The latter two trees are known as Philippine red mahoganies in the timber trade, although they are not true mahoganies.[34] The lumber cut in Tolong is trucked to Dumaguete or shipped in small boats to Cebu, Bacolod and Iloilo. Just prior to my visit to Tolong one boat-load of lumber had been sent to Japan. While Negros has abundant timber resources, the barriofolk use only small quantities in building their houses. Inadequate development of Negros' timber resources, high prices, and poor transportation facilities are a few reasons why so little lumber is used by the rural people. [433]

Brush, shrubs, and immature forest growth compose the secondary forest areas of Negros, resulting from the destruction of the primary or tropical rain forest by caingin or lumbering activities. The secondary forests are, for the most part, in the municipalities of Cadiz, 137

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[34] Tamesis and Aguilar, op. cit., pp. 45, 47, and 49.

$275 in Ragay Gulf. These figures illustrate the inflation that has occurred in the Philippines since 1938.

Table XXXIV, at the end of this chapter, lists the local, English and scientific names (whenever possible) of fish caught in Siaton bonsods; Table XXXV gives the frequency of their catch and class accorded them by people living in both the barrio and Siaton poblacion.[1]

Construction of the Fish Corral

Construction of bonsods in Siaton begins in late October or early November. Bonsods are built, for the most part, between Malabuhan and Salag Point; few bonsods are erected west of Salag Point because the coral sea floor makes it almost impossible to embed the posts. (See Plates XLIV and XLV.) In the past the long bamboos needed to build a bonsod could be cut in Caticugan and other barrios near the sea. Today bamboo is cut in Lamtoc, Balanan, and Casala-an and floated as rafts down the river since nearby bamboo resources have been exhausted. Some fish corral owners advance to the cutters in the barrios part of the money to be paid for the bamboo with full payment made on delivery. Long thick poles usually cost about twenty cents each; in Tanjay similar bamboos are reported to bring twice this amount.

Most of the rattan obtained to build the bonsods comes from Tolong municipality. The people said that once rattan grew abundantly in the hills near Caticugan;

[1] [See pp. 640-645 -- Analyst]

[2] [See pp. 586A and B, cat. 116 -- Analyst]

tugging the boat up a steep hill. The boat measured 63 feet in length and the widest part of the hull exceeded 3 feet.[72] For three days the group had been struggling to get the parao to the river from their destination. Each man received one dollar a day for both their labor and carabao.

396 501 483 [465]

Boat Construction

When the contractor has made all necessary arrangements the workers select a tree for the boat's hull. Trees used most frequently to make boats in Mangoto are magsinolog (white lauan), balangobang and lanitga (both species of red lauan). These woods are preferred by boat-builders for their lightness and durability.[73] In the past bay-ang trees were cut but today so few exist that they are not used. In the "old days," according to Siaton informants, many lanitga trees grew near Barrio Cabangahan

396 313

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[72] The bottom of the boat was 10 inches thick; the solid stern, where the motor was to be mounted, was 6 feet long.

[73] Magsinolog is probably Shorea eximia (Miquel) Scheffer, that is widely distributed in the Philippines. Reyes, op. cit., pp. 313-5. Reyes states S. eximia is sold in the local market as white lauan or almon "...and is an excellent wood for boat planking..." Lanitga is possibly Toona calantas Merrill and Rolfe, Reyes, op. cit., pp. 183-184. T. calantas is commonly known as kalantas but is called lanipga in Samar, Leyte and Cebu and grows in Negros; Reyes reports T. calantas is used to make boats. Balangobang is not listed by Reyes but was said to be a species of red lauan by the forestry officials in Tanjay. White and red lauan, according to Tamesis and Aguilar, is widely used in the Philippines for barato construction. Tamesis and Aguilar, op. cit., p. 64.

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313

and boats were made from them. Now lanitga trees have almost disappeared. The only boat I saw under construction in Siaton was in Barrio Sumalaring; the hull was being carved from a kapok tree.

People who cut red lauan are required by law to pay a tax of sixty-five cents per cubic meter to the municipality and a twenty-five-cent reforestration fee; for white lauan the charges are thirty cents per cubic meter and a twenty-cent reforestration fee. Wide violation of these forestry regulations occur in Mangoto; as one boatmaker told me: "Well, the forest is wide. Some foresters do not refuse a bribe, maybe as much as five dollars. But we only give them the money if caught."[74]

A method called pandita ("to know") is used by some boat-builders to determine a tree's soundness. Any kind of a vine is obtained, one end bitten off, and then wrapped around a tree. The vine is then taken from the trunk and wrapped around one's head. If the bitten end of the vine ends at one's mouth, ear, nose or eye the tree is rotten and should not be cut. (Possibly the point is that if the vine ends at any of the "holes" of the human head the tree will also have holes inside?) It is obvious, as the workers admitted, that the pandita did not always work. In the locality of Mangoto one sees a

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[74] I talked with two foresters I met in the forest above Mangoto who assured me few boats were being built in the area. When they left I was shown two boats under construction less than 100 yards from where I talked with the foresters.

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number of cut trees that are partially hollowed and then abandoned because the bole was discovered to be rotten.

Some believe it best to cut a tree for a boat when the moon is "a thin slice in the sky," for trees cut then resist attack by wood-borers; I was unable to find out why. Ceremonies prior to cutting a tree are more frequently held in isolated unsettled areas. Some Mangoto workers flatly denied that such ceremonies were practiced; others explained them to me.

Pandita also denotes one ceremony to placate spirits. If a desired tree is believed to harbor spirits, a piece of wood, about 12 feet long, is leaned against its trunk. The cutter invites any spirits who live in this tree to move the piece of wood. If the wood is not removed when the cutter returns the following day, the tree is felled. Often the cutters plead with the spirits: "Please excuse me for cutting this tree. It is not my fault. Mr. --- [the name of the contractor or buyer] wishes to have a boat made and I must eat. So do not blame me for cutting your tree." Such a speech may be made even if the pandita were favorable.

A Siaton buyer witnessed the panditas. They are so similar to the caingin ceremonies previously described, that it is unnecessary to describe them in detail. A food offering is placed on a table at the base of the tree and the spirits are invited to dine. The food is made in sevens and consists of the rice cakes, taka, etc. One informant reported that Don Antoy, the legendary spirit of Pangligiran hill in Siaton, is invited to attend Mangoto panditas.

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assumption of certain skills by local specialists who are paid a cash wage.

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Table XXXVIII[1] illustrates the itemized costs of three different dwellings built in Caticugan in 1951.[10] House C's cost probably comes closer to the cost of the typical Caticugan dwelling than the other two dwellings. This house had two rooms--sala and kitchen--lacked wooden shutters, cement post supports, and little lumber was used. Table XXXIX[1] lists the items and cost of building a poblacion dwelling inhabited by a Siaton municipal official. No bamboo or nipa were used; the cost of the two dwellings illustrate the difference in dwellings between Caticugan barriofolk and Siaton principalia.

[369]
[565]

574
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435

The owner of House C did not hire any carpenters; he held a palihog that cost eight dollars. The work accomplished by palihog assistants could have been done in half a day by two laborers. The palihog, in this case, is an example of how "... the prestige factor inherent in the giving of a feast compensates for the lessened efficiency and the lower return."[11] While precise figures cannot be

[556]

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1 [See p. 667 ff, cat. 435 or 342--Analyst]

313 ●
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[10] Some men of Caticugan make extra money by working for lumber firms in Dumaguete. For example, a father and son in Barrio Caticugan were hired by one firm to cut first-class timber (salay, gisok, sambulawan, yakal, and amoning) in the mountains a day's walk from their home. They were paid eight cents per board foot with an additional two cents per board foot for bringing the lumber from Pinac-an (where they worked a permit issued to the Dumaguete lumber firm) to the poblacion. Another group of four men in Barrio Caticugan worked four days cutting lumber from felled trees in the nearby mountains; they earned a total of twenty-five dollars, or a daily wage of about one dollar and fifty-five cents. These were the only two groups hired to cut timber in Caticugan.

[11] Melville F. Herskovits, Economic Anthropology: A Study in Comparative Economics. New York, Alfred A. Knopf, 1952, p. 107.

as the tidal effect is felt."[37] The mangrove-nipa area between the Siaton and Canaway Rivers is the source of most of the nipa used to thatch houses in this vicinity. 137 [314]

Soils

Two parent materials have played major roles in the origin and development of present day Negros' soils. First, the volcanic parent materials from the central mountains and, second, the limestone materials derived from coral depositions during periods of Negros' submergence. There are three major soil groups in Negros, based on factors of relief and the nature of the parent materials.[38] 134

The three major soil groups of Negros are (1) flat lowland soils; (2) rolling uplands soils (subdivided into those of sedimentary and igneous derivation); and (3) hill and mountain soils. The most important agricultural soil group is the flat lowland soils. These are soils of recent alluvial deposition which are usually found on the level or slightly undulating lands of the coastal plains--the plains of western Negros, San Carlos, Bais, and the many small plains of the eastern and western coasts. The flat lowland soils are the best agricultural soils in Negros, covering about one-fifth of the island, and are

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[37] Wernstedt, op. cit., p.47.

[38] The soils of Negros are inadequately studied. The two major studies are M. M. Alicante and others, op. cit., and Alfredo Barrera and others, "Soil Survey of Negros Oriental Province, Philippines." Manila, Bureau of Soil Conservation, 1950. Typescript.

GUHANG

Of all the "cash crops" of Caticugan guhang is probably the major source of cash income for the largest number of families. The fermented sap of the buri palm (Corypha elata Roxb.) is the source of guhang. Though much as been written about making tuba (from the sap of the coconut tree) there are fewer accounts of making guhang. One poblacion wit said the name of the drink came from the desire, after excessive drinking, "to go hang yourself." Brown states:

> This [the buri] is the largest and most stately palm found in the Philippines. Its straight trunk attains a diameter of one meter and height of 20 meters...The plant grows 25 to 30 or more years, during which time large quantities of starch collect in the trunk. It then flowers once and dies...[54]

Besides being the source of guhang the buri has many other uses in the Philippines. The palm is the source of alcohol, vinegar and sugar, all made from the sap while the trunk yields large quantities of starch. The edible kernels of the fruit are used to make sweetmeats. The immature unopened frond is utilized in many parts of the archipelago to manufacture mats, sails, bags, while the buri's petiole yields the so-called Buntal fiber from which the famous hats of Baliuag and Lucban are woven.[55] Barriofolk in Caticugan do not make sugar from the buri's sap, although flour was extracted from the

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[54] Brown, op. cit., I, p. 284.

[55] Brown, op. cit., I, pp. 286-95.

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but practically no commercial activities are connected with the fiber. Before the last war a few people were said to gather kapok, either domestic or wild, and sell it to Chinese stores in the poblacion. Children would go to the forests to get pods from wild trees, to sell to Chinese for about five cents a pound. Today, however, no one in Caticugan sells kapok; the ground under most trees is littered with rotting pods. Many trees had died recently. Another reason the people said no one sold kapok was that most men dislike climbing the trees because the limbs break easily. Kapok is used by the barriofolk to stuff sleeping pillows. A device called lokogan is whirled between the palms of the hands in a basket of kapok to remove the seeds. (See Plate XXIX.) However, only one was seen in Caticugan.

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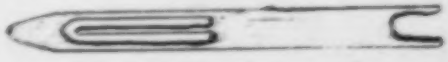
413

Plate XXIX



SIKHOHAN
Scale: 1" ~ 2½'

$275 in Ragay Gulf. These figures illustrate the inflation that has occurred in the Philippines since 1938.

Table XXXIV, at the end of this chapter, lists the local, English and scientific names (whenever possible) of fish caught in Siaton bonsods; Table XXXV gives the frequency of their catch and class accorded them by people living in both the barrio and Siaton poblacion.[1]

## Construction of the Fish Corral

Construction of bonsods in Siaton begins in late October or early November. Bonsods are built, for the most part, between Malabuhan and Salag Point; few bonsods are erected west of Salag Point because the coral sea floor makes it almost impossible to embed the posts. (See Plates XLIV and XLV.) In the past the long bamboos needed to build a bonsod could be cut in Catiougan and other barrios near the sea. Today bamboo is cut in Lamtoc, Balanan, and Casala-an and floated as rafts down the river since nearby bamboo resources have been exhausted. Some fish corral owners advance to the cutters in the barrios part of the money to be paid for the bamboo with full payment made on delivery. Long thick poles usually cost about twenty cents each; in Tanjay similar bamboos are reported to bring twice this amount.

Most of the rattan obtained to build the bonsods comes from Tolong municipality. The people said that once rattan grew abundantly in the hills near Catiougan;

[1] [See pp. 640-645 -- Analyst]

[2] [See pp. 586A and B, cat. 116 -- Analyst]

438
314

today long trips must be made to more distant mountains to gather small supplies of rattan. Rattan cutting by Tolong barriofolk often results in conflicts between the rattan gatherers and individuals who have leased large tracts of forest for timber concessions.[56] Rattan

[56] To cut rattan legally a permit must be obtained from the Bureau of Forestry that states the number of pounds of rattan that may be cut in a designated area; the permit costs $2.50. Rattan licensees must also pay the municipality treasurer in which the rattan is cut a tax called gui-ya that amounts to about one cent a pound. An individual may be given permission to cut rattan in the same area where a timber concession has been granted.

Licensees frequently hired Bukidnons who live in the hills near Tolong to cut rattan in their concession. When these cutters are questioned by the employees of a lumbering concern to ascertain the legality of their activities, they give the name of the licensee who hired them. Sometimes Bukidnons cut rattan illegally and when discovered they give the name of an individual having a license to cut rattan but who has not hired them. The lumbering company may keep records of all licensed persons cutting rattan in their concession. The total rattan cut may be more than the permit allows if too many of these unauthorized cutters are included. The rattan licensee, too, may be purposely cutting more rattan than his permit grants. These irregularities may be reported to the local agent of the Bureau of Forestry in Tolong, who confronts the rattan licensee with violations of his permit that may be unknown to him. He may be fined or his permit cancelled. As a result, feuds develop between some rattan licensees and lumbering firms in southern Negros.

Rattan licensees who have been reported as illegally cutting excessive rattan may retaliate by reporting the presence of caingins in the area worked by the lumber concern; lumber concerns are legally required to prohibit caingins in the area they exploit. If caingins are reported, the firm may be fined or lose its license. Rattan licensees may also report illegal cutting or gathering of forest products not covered by timber concern's permit. As a result severe conflicts often occur between rattan cutters and timber concerns. This information was given me by Professor Oracion who knows the area intimately. Caticugan barriofolk cut rattan without a license but usually gather only small amounts for personal use.

335
[435]

Caticugan had cement forms to which wooden house posts were bolted by iron straps embedded in the concrete. The cost of cement, made in nearby Cebu Island, was so high in 1951-52 that few families could afford to buy several sacks when building a new house.

After the posts have been installed a temporary bracing (dalamba)--the same term used for fish corral bracing--is lashed to the posts on which barefoot workers stand while building the roof. Once the bracing is finished holes are bored in the upper portions of the posts to insert pegs (tarogos) that support the rafter beams. (See Plates LXV, 30, and LXV-A.)[1]

[342
435]

Rafter beams are normally lashed with rattan. The barriofolk tend to use nails or nuts and bolts to fix the various rafters when wood and not bamboo is used. Rattan, however, is still more popular and cheaper.[22]

335
789
777

After the pegs are fixed in the posts, the sablayan (Plate LXV, 22) and balabag (Plate LXV, 28)[1] rafter beams are added and lashed in place with rattan. The "heads" or larger ends of the bamboo sablayan and balabag should

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[22] Barriofolk may gather their rattan (oway) in the mountains or buy it. Rattan gathered for house construction, is cut in lengths about 12 feet long. There are many names for different varieties of rattan, usually based upon their use. Mangnao, malabagakay, tagalola and malabutong rattan varieties are normally used in house construction. Tagalola is the rattan employed to lash the bamboo floor slats. Palasan and tagsa-on, thicker varieties, are used in making rope, e.g., to tie the goats or carabaos. Abangan, a thick variety, is not suitable for rope-making owing to the deep notches in the stem; it may be used as the anchor rope for bobo. Tagakan is rarely gathered because it is brittle "even when green" according to my informants. Homokan is used to make the woven seats of chairs or beds. Another variety of rattan, tagiti, the narrowest in diameter is used for a variety of purposes.

1 [See p. 682, cat. 335 or 116 -- Analyst]

high, with a capacity of about 2-1/4 pounds of clean rice; the largest was 9 inches high with a capacity of 4-1/2 pounds. It took her about two days to make the large pot; four or five of the smaller ones could be made in the same time--of course, after the clay had been gathered and prepared for working.

437 415 323

BURI WEAVING

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Weaving of buri (Cebuano: buli) palm bags and sleeping mats is the most widespread of all handicrafts in the Siaton River valley. Large buri bags (baluyut), four or five feet high, serve to store rice or shelled corn. Smaller bags (bolugasan) are used to carry shelled corn to the poblacion mills for grinding for storage. Sleeping mats (banig) are about three to five feet in width and four to six feet in length. Plate LXX,[1] A and B, shows the type of weave used for making both the bags and sleeping mats. Drawing B (Plate LXX) shows how the edges of the sleeping mats are finished. Weaving buri bags and mats is strictly a woman's job, although men cut the fronds.

415 352 285 [462]

Preparing the Buri for Weaving

285 314

Unopened immature buri fronds are cut from the tree's crown. The best time to cut the fronds was said to be the period of the new moon; if gathered at any other time the fronds are very brittle and difficult to weave. After the unopened fronds are cut, they are pulled apart and placed, fan-like, on the ground to dry for two or three days.

1 [See p. 703, Cat. 285, or 116 -- Analyst]

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When the fronds are dry the stiff mid-rib is stripped from each individual leaf. The leaves then are smoothed by running them over the back of a knife or seashell. Buri leaves are cut into fairly regular widths by use of a rattan guide (batacan). (See Plate LXXI.)[1] The batacan is hooked around a leaf and a small knife inserted just above the notch facing the worker; it penetrates the leaf to a second notch on the back of the batacan. By moving the batacan and the knife down the leaf together an even strip is cut. Buri strips, ready for weaving, are called lila.

After a sufficient supply of lilas is prepared, the plaiting of the bag or mat is begun. The only type of plaiting used is illustrated in Plate LXX. Strands used to plait mats and baskets are fairly broad and flat, producing a checkerboard type of design; actually little can be done in plaiting such strands except to pass them alternately over and under. Sleeping mats, unlike bags, are usually plaited with a double thickness. Only one woman in Caticugan made any attempt to decorate her buri bags. The sibokao tree's heartwood makes a brown dye; sometimes, though rarely, she used tanbark as a dye "because I do not have to buy the sibokao to make a dye." She dyed a few buri strips, plaiting them into the bag, making a simple geometric design. Plate LXX, C, illustrates the design made in some placemats she plaited for me.

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[386]

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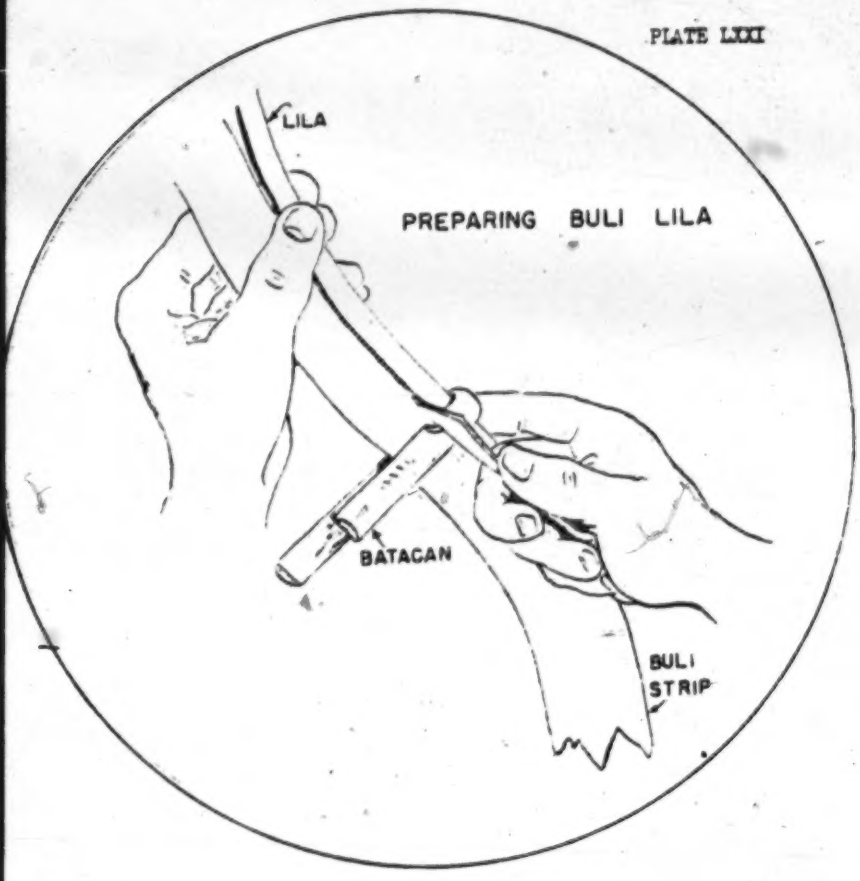
The decreasing number of buri palms in the vicinity of Caticugan may pose a problem for the barriofolk in the

1 [See p. 705, cat. 285 -- Analyst]

PLATE LXXI

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not-too-distant future. Since the palm is usually killed to make suhang before it flowers, the reproductive cycle of the tree is disturbed. Most people agree that there were more buri palms a decade ago than today. If the palms become scarce the people will have a difficult time finding an adequate substitute for buri. However, this potential problem (I may exaggerate it) does not seem to worry the

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barriofolk. Possibly the developing jute industry of the Philippines will replace buri plaiting in the future.

BARRIO BASKETS

Three major types of baskets used by the barriofolk of Caticugan are: (1) the harvest basket, bukag; (2) the winnowing basket, niggo or ayagang; (3) and the shallow kalalay used in abaca weaving. Several other types of baskets were made by schoolchildren in the poblacion but never used in the barrio; they are taught to make small bags and baskets that can be sold as curios. Basket-making is said to be predominately a woman's job, although some men make bukags. Baskets were made so rarely in Caticugan that I never saw any of these three types being plaited.

The bukag, ~~previously~~ mentioned in connection with the corn harvests, is a loosely plaited basket of thin strips of bamboo and rattan about 2 feet in height with an 18-inch opening. The bukag is roughly made and does not take much time to plait. This type of basket, to my knowledge, is always made by the barriofolk; I never saw any for sale in either the poblacion or Dumaguete. They are used, almost entirely, to carry unhusked corn from the fields to the house or storehouse.

The wide shallow basket used for winnowing the chaff from pounded rice or ground corn is called the niggo or ayagang. This basket also is plaited from rattan and thin pieces of bamboo. An increasing number of them are

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## Preparation of the Clay and Moulding the Pots

The pot is shaped by hand with the use of wooden paddles, flat stones, and seashells; the potter's wheel is not used.[4] A grey-colored sandy clay is obtained in nearby hills by the potter of Datag. Originally she gave the owner of the land where she obtained her clay one pot for each batch of earth. This arrangement proved unsatisfactory so she now obtains clay from the field of a relative. After the clay is dug, a rag is tied in a simple knot and left near the pit. This is a precaution against "envious persons" who might utter disparaging words while passing the location, making the dug clay unsuitable for pottery. She told me that "Sometimes these 'envious people' put egg shells or even seashells inside the hole where I dig my clay, mixing them with the clay. Pots made with this clay will explode or crack when burned."[5]

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A supply of clay is brought back to the potter's house where she dampens it and removes any small pebbles

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[4] The potter's wheel is used in other regions of the Philippines. "A Pot Is Made." Manila, This Week: Sunday Magazine of the Manila Chronicle, VII, No. 27 (July 6, 1952), pp. 13-4, contains a series of pictures of pot making in La Union, an Ilocano province. The article states either a hand or foot rotated potter's wheel is used and that one woman can make a dollar's worth of pots a day.

[5] In describing the making of clay pots in Masbate Island, Solheim writes: "The old folks used to leave a little money (sanag--protection money) where they got the clay and a piece of red cloth so that the resulting pots would not crack when used for cooking. The informant...thought that if these gifts were not left, the spirits of the clay pots would be angry and cause the pots to break." Wilhelm G. Solheim, III, "Pottery Manufacturing in the Islands of

Twine nets are repaired with a bamboo shuttle-like device called sikhohan; sikhohan are made in several different sizes. (See Plate L.)[1] In repairing twine nets all loose or "false" threads are cut; "false" threads are those that if unravelled sufficiently are not fixed to an untorn part of the net. New twine is woven into the holes with the sikhohan. Net mending is a man's job, "especially if we cannot go to the sea"; women rarely mend nets.

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286
[426]

Bobo Fish Traps

The bobo, a bamboo fish trap, is widely used in Siaton for obtaining pelagic fish; the trap is distributed throughout the Philippines. Victoria has written of the bobo of Cebu. He states that its fishermen bait the bobo;[68] however, Siaton bobos are not baited. Kangleon reported that Leyte fishermen put bobos in water as deep as 180 feet where they may stay for 3 months.

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[171]
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[68] De la Victoria, op. cit., p. 46. Umali calls the bobo "a fish pot" and writes that recently they have been made of chicken wire. Umali, op. cit., p. 106.

[1] [this plate is missing -- Analyst]

Kangleon's description of the bobo and its use in Leyte corresponds closely to Siaton practices.[69] More fish are caught in bobos in Siaton than by any other method except the fish corrals and large nets. 226 322

The bobo is made of slender pieces of bamboo, either woven together or lashed with rattan or sig-id. Though all bobos have the same general shape, three different types of weave are found in Siaton: (1) minata; (2) tinap-anan; and (3) tinagik. Minata bobos are woven with bamboo splints whereas tinap-anan and tinagik are tied with rattan or sig-id. (See Plates LI-LIV.)[1]

Bobo sizes vary. If they are too small they are unprofitable; if too large fishermen cannot surface them. The smallest bobo measured was 2 feet 7 inches long, 2 feet 8 inches wide, and 10 inches high, whereas the largest bobo was 12 feet long, 9 feet 8 inches wide, and 4 feet in height. The "hooded mouth" section of the largest bobo was 8 feet high. Most bobos, however, are from 7 to 10 feet in length, 6 to 8 feet in width and 2 to 10 feet in height at the rear.

Bobos are built on two sturdy bamboos; coral is tied to the front and rear of the trap for weight. The entrance passageway tapers off to a narrow opening inside the bobo. Sharpened bamboo sticks protrude from the end of this passage, making it all but impossible for fish inside to escape.

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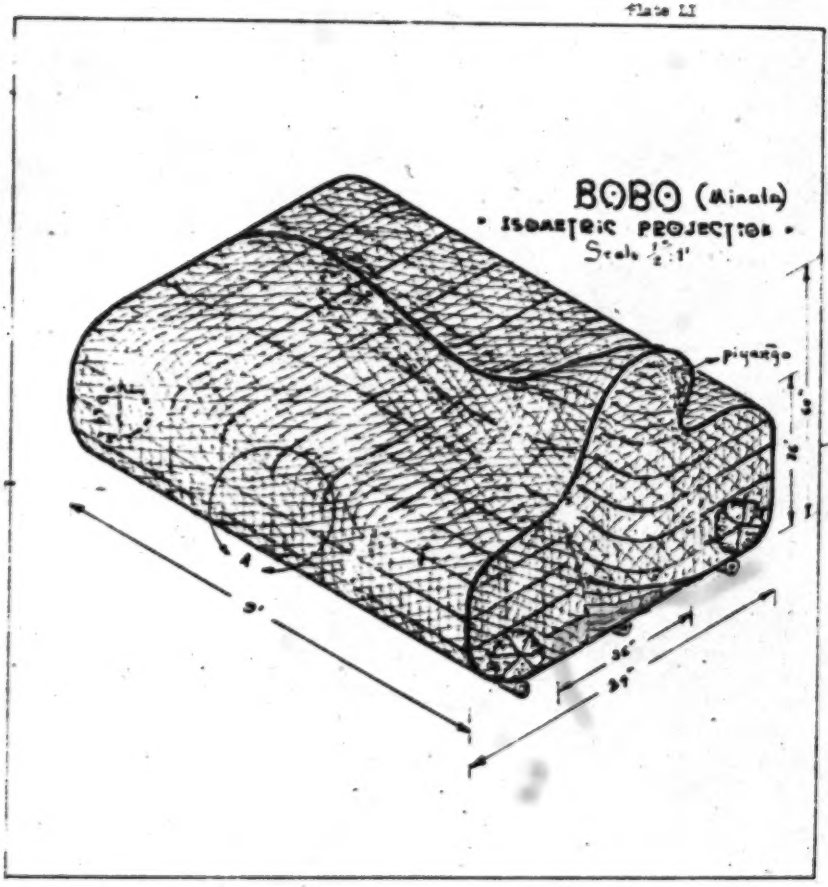
[69] Ruperto Kangleon, "Fishing in Southern Leyte." Manila, Bisaya Ethnography, I-V, Bisaya Paper No. 104 (1916), Beyer Collection, 1918, p. 4. Typescript.

1 [See p. 613ff, cat. 226 or 322 -- Analyst]

40: Hart E-5 (.95.4 1954 - OAI Philippines Gen.
Central Bisayan OA.4

Plate LI

22b
322




P. 613

Plate LII




Page 614

20: Hart E-5 (1951) 1954 OAI Philippines Central Bisayan UA.14

P. 614

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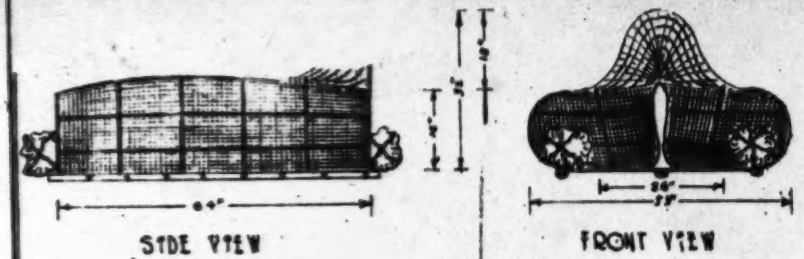


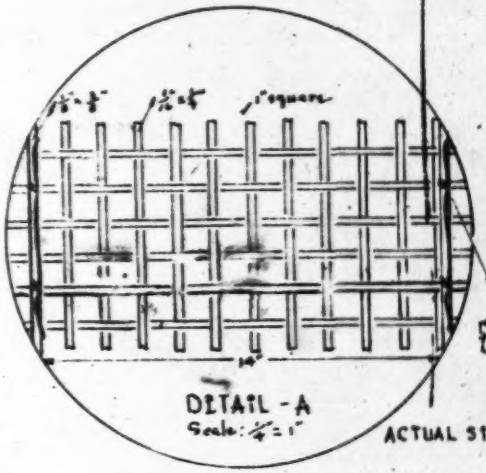


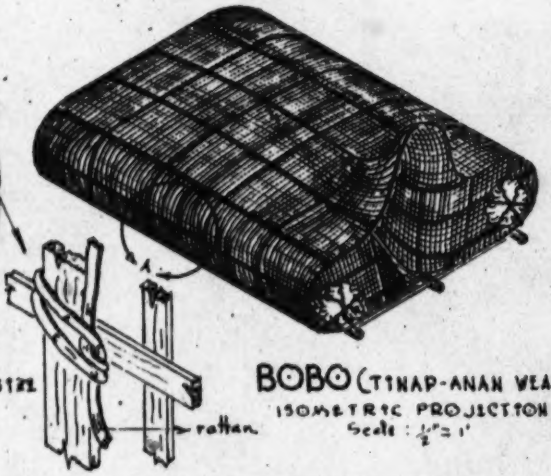


BOBO (TINAP-ANAN WEAVE)
ISOMETRIC PROJECTION
Scale : 1/2" = 1'

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20: Hart, E-5 (1951) 1954 OA1 Philippines
Central Bisayan OA 14

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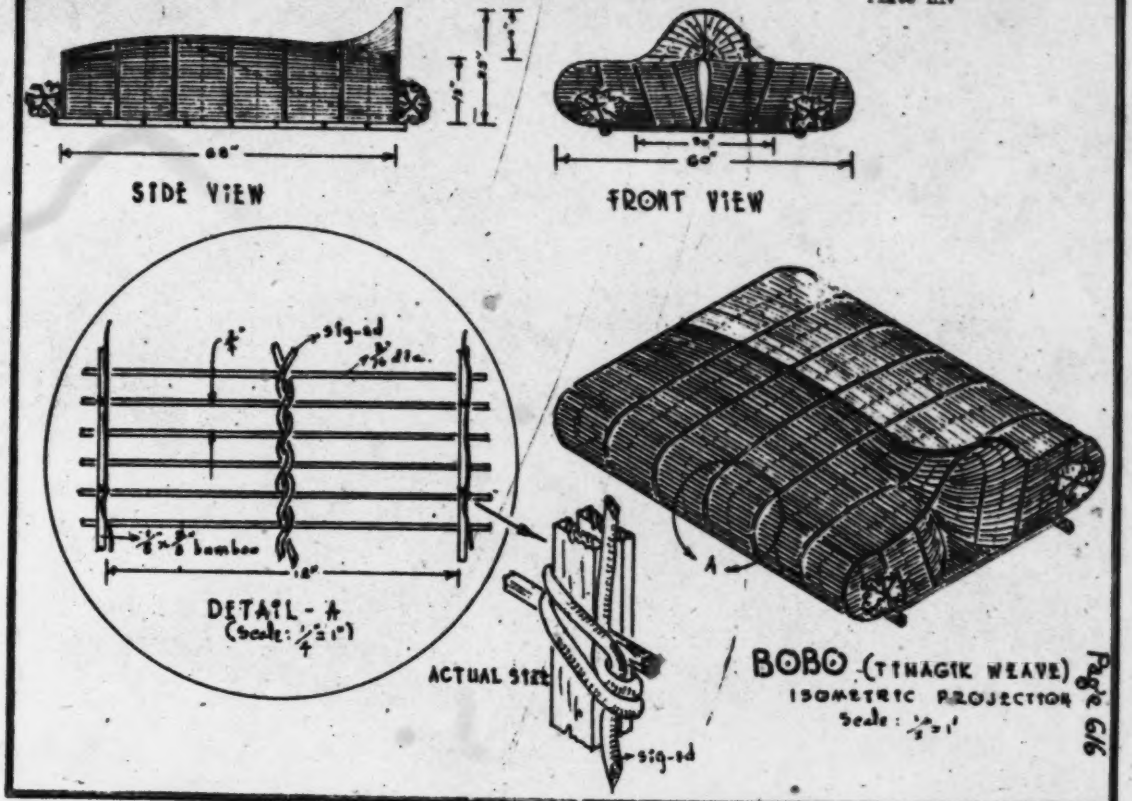
Plate LIV

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20: Hart E-5 (1951) 1954 OA1 Philippines
Central Bisayan OA14

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Men buy iron bolo blades in the poblacion or Dumaguete and make their own wooden handles. The only decorative wood carving found in Caticugan occurs on the ends of bolo handles. When the owners were asked what animal the carved head on the handle represented, they usually did not know. Most of the carved figures are quite similar in style. (See Plates LXXIXand LXXX.)[1]

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531

These carved heads on bolo handles in Caticugan may possibly derive from a modified version of the mythical Garuda of ancient Indian folklore and art. The Garuda figure probably was diffused to the Philippines from Indo-China or Indonesia during the ascendancy of Hindu empires in this area, e.g., Champa and Sri-Vishaya.

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Krieger writes:

> The art of metal work, as well as decorative motifs based on the lotus flower and other Hindu cult representations, are characteristic of influence from India [in the Philippines].[21]

Dwellings still exist in Panay that have carved exterior decorations showing Hindu influence.[22] Beyer writes: "The most cultured Philippine languages contain many Sanskrit words, and the native art a noticeable sprinkling of Indian design."[23] Magahats also carve heads of animals on their bolo handles that are quite similar to those of Caticugan.[24] It is my impression that carved bolo handles are found in most parts of the Philippines.

[21] Herbert W. Krieger, Peoples of the Philippines. War Background Studies No. 4. Washington, Smithsonian Institute, November 15, 1942, p. 30.

[22] A number of archaeological finds in the Visayas indicate Hindu influence in the area. For example, a small bronze image of the Hindu god Siva was found in Mactan, off Cebu, that probably dates from the time of the Madjapahit empire. Beyer, op. cit., p. 361.

1 [See p. 735 ff, cat. 531 or 412 -- Analyst]

[pp. 738 + 739 are missing -- Analyst]

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The barriofolk are quite unaware of the possibility that their Garuda-like carved bolo handles may symbolize Hindu influence in their cultural heritage. It is curious that only bolo handles are selected; none of the other weapons or personal equipment is carved for decorative purposes. Perhaps the explanation lies in the importance attached to a man's bolo in pre-Hispanic Philippines.

Various household articles are made by the barriofolk of Caticugan. Long pieces of bamboo are hollowed and used to carry water from the springs and river to the houses. Spoons and dippers of coconut shell are fixed with rattan to bamboo handles. A few young men made ukeleles from local woods, buying only the gut strings. I never saw parents make toys for their children.

SUMMARY

The meager barrio handicrafts in Caticugan are in a state of decline. Abaca cloth is woven less frequently than in the immediate past and certain types of weaving and fabrics have disappeared. Most barriofolk consider abaca a poor substitute for cotton garments; imported used American clothing is changing the people's mode of dress. Self-sufficiency of the barriofolk in pottery has been lost; today nearly all of them depend on pottery wares produced in Dumaguete. Bamboo drinking cups, plates and eating

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[23] Benitez, op. cit., pp. 21-2.

[24] Oracion, op. cit., p. 40.

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pottery is purchased; most of it is made in Dumaguete for Nearly all cooking none of the local womenfolk make their own pottery. In the near vicinity of Caticugan only one woman regularly made pottery that she bartered for food. Weaving of fine fabrics from banana fibers has ceased completely in the barrio; the weaving of abaca cloth is rapidly declining, though a few women still weave abaca for skirts, men's shirts, and a few other purposes. Abaca clothing, however, is quite unpopular with the younger generation and the barriofolk's style of dress is being changed by the post-war traffic in used American clothing.

Few baskets are made today in Caticugan. The winnowing basket that is used daily is normally purchased in the poblacion or in Dumaguete. I never saw a woman making such a basket, though several Naga women were said to weave them. Tin basins have taken the place of wooden basins and metal spoons and forks are rapidly replacing those made of coconut shell. The most widespread handicraft in Caticugan is the weaving of sleeping mats and bags from buri fronds; this handicraft appears to be threatened by a decrease in palms.

The decline of barrio handicrafts has been recognized by the Philippine government. School programs attempt to perpetuate and revive certain handicrafts; however, the school programs I observed do not promise to be very successful. Advice on the development or modernization of cottage industries has been given by American experts as one means of reducing the chronic

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underemployment of the barriofolk.[2] Most of these cottage industries aim at producing export handicrafts or luxury items. Perhaps most important is the changing attitudes of the barriofolk toward their own handicrafts. Abaca clothing is felt, by many young folk, to be a symbol of a rustic. The barriofolk claim that they can buy better and cheaper pottery than they can make. With the expanding role of money in the general economy, fewer people make handicrafts for bartering. As a result, in Caticugan, the younger generation, particularly women, grows up without training in basic handicrafts of their forefathers, and with an attitude that such training is neither desirable nor important.

[291 369] [437] [868]

This chapter deals with the following handicrafts that still exist in Caticugan and vicinity: (1) pottery; (2) buri weaving and basketry; (3) abaca weaving; and (4) woodwork, i.e., making wooden saddles and carved wooden bolo handles.

## POTTERY

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There are an estimated 20,000 potters in the Philippines. "Much of the work is done by women who sit beneath

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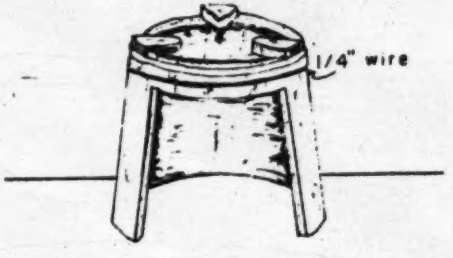
[2] Recently a crafts team was sent to the Philippines under the auspices of the Economic Cooperation Administration and the United Nations. It consisted of a furniture designer, a wood products designer, and a textile expert, Marianne Hammarstrom. The unpublished Hammarstrom report has been briefly, and somewhat inaccurately, summarized by Will Savoy, "Philippine Weavers Learn New Techniques," Department of State Field Reporter, I, No. 2 (September-October, 1952), pp. 13-4. I was able to secure a typescript copy of the original report.

their houses and beat out clay which the men have prepared."[3] Pots are made of red alluvial clays, often mixed with sand; after drying in the sun they are stacked and fired. Firing techniques differ slightly throughout the archipelago. With the exception of a few Chinese potters, kilns are not used; only a few use the potter's wheel, and still fewer use glazes.

No pottery is made today by the barriofolk of Caticugan. The rice cooking pot (kolon) that always had a large sale is being replaced by the aluminum pot and frying pan. In parts of the archipelago the kerosene stove is replacing the clay cooking stove (horno), although this is not the case in Caticugan. (See Plate LXIX.) Only

PLATE LXIX




HORNO
scale: 1/8" : 1"

one woman in Barrio Datag regularly made pots during the dry season; she did not make them during the rainy season

[3] Mary K. Risley, The Ceramic Industry in the Philippines. United Nations Publications Sale Number: 1954.II.H.5., ST/TAA/K/Philippines/4/January 20, 1954, p. 5.

owing to firing difficulties. Most of my material on techniques of pottery was obtained from this cooperative Datag potter. 323 178

Most clay cooking pots now used in Caticugan are made in Dumaguete city. In this city there is a district, Daro, that specializes in the manufacture of cooking pots, clay stoves and large waterjars for drinking purpose. Some pots sold in Siaton poblacion are made in Mayabon, Zamboanguita, but are regarded as inferior to Daro's products. Mayabon is situated in a small enclave of Dauin clay that may explain the small pottery industry. (See Plate X, page 64.) A family came to Siaton from Daro in 1951 and started to make clay pots for sale in the poblacion; the business did not succeed and after several months they left. 323 369 438 [134]

The decline of pottery in Caticugan and environs is due largely to improvement of transportation facilities in southern Negros. The superior clay wares of Dumaguete became easier to buy in Siaton poblacion. Better transportation facilities increased both the number and frequency of visits to the city. The pots became so cheap that the barriofolk preferred to buy rather than make them. One old woman of Caticugan explained: "I stopped making pots because it is hard work. I would get sick always having my hands in the cold clay, squeezing it. And they are very cheap to buy." 323 369 438 178 489

As older women ceased their pottery activities, their daughters were not taught the technique. With a 323 [868] 178

gradual increase of money circulating in the barrios over the years, funds were available for the purchase of pots. Another reason that may have had some influence on the decline of pottery in this locality was the Japanese occupation of Negros. A number of women who before the war made pots to barter during the harvest, stopped because of their fear of meeting Japanese patrols; they never resumed this activity after liberation.

Four popular sizes of clay cooking pots are sold in Siaton poblacion; Table XLI indicates their capacity and cost.

TABLE XLI

CLAY COOKING POTS SOLD IN SIATON POBLACION

| Capacity (pounds of clean rice) | Cost (U. S.) |
|---|---|
| 1.5 | 5¢ |
| 2.25 | 8¢ |
| 4.5 | 10¢ |
| 10.0 | 15¢ |

Pots holding as much as 25 pounds of clean rice are made in Daro but they are rarely sold in Siaton. The local merchants will not risk bringing these large, expensive, and rather fragile pots from Dumaguete since breakage would mean a considerable loss. Larger pots are used when one cooks for a fiesta or wedding feast. Today, however, the 5-gallon kerosene can is replacing this large size pot. The smallest clay pots are called anlet in Siaton and anglet in Masbate Island.

## Preparation of the Clay and Moulding the Pots

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The pot is shaped by hand with the use of wooden paddles, flat stones, and seashells; the potter's wheel is not used.[4] A grey-colored sandy clay is obtained in nearby hills by the potter of Datag. Originally she gave the owner of the land where she obtained her clay one pot for each batch of earth. This arrangement proved unsatisfactory so she now obtains clay from the field of a relative. After the clay is dug, a rag is tied in a simple knot and left near the pit. This is a precaution against "envious persons" who might utter disparaging words while passing the location, making the dug clay unsuitable for pottery. She told me that "Sometimes these 'envious people' put egg shells or even seashells inside the hole where I dig my clay, mixing them with the clay. Pots made with this clay will explode or crack when burned."[5]

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A supply of clay is brought back to the potter's house where she dampens it and removes any small pebbles

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[4]The potter's wheel is used in other regions of the Philippines. "A Pot Is Made." Manila, This Week: Sunday Magazine of the Manila Chronicle, VII, No. 27 (July 6, 1952), pp. 13-4, contains a series of pictures of pot making in La Union, an Ilocano province. The article states either a hand or foot rotated potter's wheel is used and that one woman can make a dollar's worth of pots a day.

[5]In describing the making of clay pots in Masbate Island, Solheim writes: "The old folks used to leave a little money (sanag--protection money) where they got the clay and a piece of red cloth so that the resulting pots would not crack when used for cooking. The informant...thought that if these gifts were not left, the spirits of the clay pots would be angry and cause the pots to break." Wilhelm G. Solheim, III, "Pottery Manufacturing in the Islands of

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or sticks. The clay is then kneaded and pounded until it will bend without breaking. Some women add sand "to make the water boil better" but she did not. After the clay has been kneaded to the correct plasticity, a piece is rolled into an elongated shape about the size of a wooden rolling pin; of course, the size depends on the type of pot to be made.

The potter starts the rough shape of the pot by slowly making a hole with her thumbs in one end of the clay roll. She then begins patting the exterior of the roughly-shaped pot with a wooden paddle, pikpik (literal translation: "to tap or pat.") When the pot's interior is large enough the potter holds inside a small stone dolly, dokol (literal translation: "to knock, particularly the head.")[6] The paddle is used to flatten and shape the pot's exterior while the dolly is held against the inside wall.

Unfinished pots are set aside in rough form. To prevent them from cracking, strips of buri frond are tied around the vessel's body. After the last pot of one batch is shaped, the potter returns to the first pot that has partially dried. A smaller paddle than the pikpik is used to shape the pot's rim which is carefully wiped smooth with a rag.[7]

5 (Continued) Masbate and Batan, Philippines." Journal of East Asiatic Studies, I, No. 3 (April, 1952), p. 49. I wonder if the people believed the spirits lived in the pots or rather were felt to be the "owners" of the clay or inhabited the locality where the clay was dug.

6 The dolly used in Masbate is called dohol and is the seed or fruit of the Parinarium Glaberrimum. Ibid., p. 50.

7 In Daro, Dumaguete, the rim of the pot is made separately from the body and later attached to the pot. This is also the practice in La Union and Masbate.

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The last step is to smooth the pot's exterior by gently scraping with a bolalo shell; in Masbate the smoother (bulalo) is an operculum from the marine shell of the same name. Unfired clay pots are put under the potter's house to dry; if placed in the sun they usually crack. No slip is used by this potter and she makes no attempt to decorate her pots. Bright-colored flowers are painted on one side of the large waterjars made in Daro.

After the pots have dried for several days they are fired. A pile of buri fronds is put on the ground, the pots placed on top, and covered with more fronds. Before the pots are fired, three charcoal crosses are scratched on each one to prevent them "from breaking or exploding when burned." The fuel is lighted and burns for about an hour. While the fire is burning, pieces of bendita palm are thrown into the blaze--a precaution in case any spirits are living in the vicinity.[8] Fired pots have a reddish-brown color due to the iron oxide.

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The potter of Datag usually made only pots that had been ordered. Larger pots are bartered for the amount of grain or dried camote or cassava chips they hold, whereas smaller pots bring twice their capacity. None of the pots made by this woman were sold for cash. Several times I saw her bartering her pots in Caticugan. The smallest pot she made was 4-1/2 inches at the mouth and 4-1/2 inches

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[8] Bendita leaves are leaves of the patikan palm, better known as the "Fish-Tail palm" (Caryota cumingii Lodd.) Brown, op. cit., I, p. 256. Bendita leaves are a popular decoration for church and chapel during fiestas.

high, with a capacity of about 2-1/4 pounds of clean rice; the largest was 9 inches high with a capacity of 4-1/2 pounds. It took her about two days to make the large pot; four or five of the smaller ones could be made in the same time--of course, after the clay had been gathered and prepared for working.

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BURI WEAVING

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Weaving of buri (Cebuano: buli) palm bags and sleeping mats is the most widespread of all handicrafts in the Siaton River valley. Large buri bags (baluyut), four or five feet high, serve to store rice or shelled corn. Smaller bags (bolugasan) are used to carry shelled corn to the poblacion mills for grinding for storage. Sleeping mats (banig) are about three to five feet in width and four to six feet in length. Plate LXX,[1] A and B, shows the type of weave used for making both the bags and sleeping mats. Drawing B (Plate LXX) shows how the edges of the sleeping mats are finished. Weaving buri bags and mats is strictly a woman's job, although men cut the fronds.

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Preparing the Buri for Weaving

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Unopened immature buri fronds are cut from the tree's crown. The best time to cut the fronds was said to be the period of the new moon; if gathered at any other time the fronds are very brittle and difficult to weave. After the unopened fronds are cut, they are pulled apart and placed, fan-like, on the ground to dry for two or three days.

1 [See p. 703, cat. 285, or 116 -- Analyst]

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on it; two days later the owner returns. If he is able to separate the vine, without a break, in two parts the site is a favorable one.[20]

Another method of selecting a house site is to mark a square on the ground on the proposed site. A cross and as many stones as there are members in the family are put inside this square. If some of the stones are missing the next morning this is an unfavorable omen. One family in Talo-ot repeated this method three times until finally the same number of stones were at the base of the cross as were put there the evening before. The spirits appear to be amenable to persistence and doggedness on the part of humans.

CONSTRUCTION OF THE DWELLING

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The first step in the actual construction of a new dwelling is to dig the post holes. A blunt iron-pointed digging stick (gabok) is used to loosen the dirt that is scooped out of the hole with one's hands or a coconut shell. When the hole becomes so deep that it is difficult to reach the bottom the songsong is employed. The songsong is a sturdy bamboo whose end is split in many places; when pounded into the loose dirt these ends flare outward and the earth is packed inside. The songsong is then withdrawn from the hole and the dirt shaken out.

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[20] Oracion, op. cit., pp. 21-2. The same method of locating the four post holes, as described by the balisa, is also used by the Magahats; however, it does not appear to have any supernatural purpose.

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In contrast to the bolhon, which was generally organized for cooperative agricultural labor, is the palihog. The palihog is assistance of neighbors or friends in doing a job which one cannot do alone. The workers are fed by the individual who requested their assistance. Palihogs are most frequently held for the construction or repair of residences. While the bolhon has disappeared the palihog is still practiced. Two palihogs occurred in Caticugan during my residence. Both palihogs were held for the repair or construction of dwellings.

One palihog was formed to replace rotten house posts. This is quite a task; men pull the house with ropes to a more erect position. The other palihog was to help the owner place the posts in the holes for a new house. The palihog is said to be held sometimes when a man is late in plowing or planting and wants to accomplish the task speedily; while several fields were planted late in 1951, because the cultivators were sick, no palihog occurred. Immediately after the last war, according to the barriofolk, due to the carabao shortage, there was a resurgence of the palihog. However, once the shortage was alleviated the palihogs rapidly decreased.

One palihog was held in Barrio Caticugan by a family who had dug the post holes for their new house. They needed help to get the long timbers into the holes. There were about ten men in the palihog besides the

prices vary according to size and quality. Needed supplies as wire and rope normally are purchased in Dumaguete. 226 458

Plate XLVI[1] illustrates the general shape and size of the typical Siaton bonsod. Bamboo poles (osok) used to make the bonsod walls (bolon and paniko) are sharpened at one end with a large bolo or saw; a small slit is made in the internodes of the bamboo that will be submerged. These slits permit water and sand to enter the bamboos making them heavier and easier to push into the sea floor. Usually a number of these internodes at the ends of the poles are filled with sand for the same purpose. A chisel (gobia) is used to make the slits. 226 335

From 120 to 130 bamboos are used to make the banata or matting of the bonsod. (See Plate XVLII)[2] Each section of the banata is from 78 to 84 feet long and about 20 feet wide. The bamboo splints (lag-e) that are woven together to make the banata are one-half inch wide. Sometimes the banata is called lag-e although, technically, the lag-e are the long bamboo splints of the banata. For the typical Siaton bonsod fourteen banatas are used. The banata enclose the bonsod to prevent the escape of the fish caught inside the corral.

Bamboo poles are split by the golayan. A long bamboo is split for a few feet at the end and a small piece of bamboo is jammed into the split end. The pole is placed on a raised platform consisting of two horizontal crossbars supported by two uprights. Two vertical bamboos are attached to the horizontal crossbars making

1 [See p. 589, cat. 226 or 335 -- Analyst]
2 [See p. 590, cat. 226 or 335 -- Analyst]

20: Hart E-5 (1951) 1954 OA1 Philippines
Central Bisayan OA14

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Plate XLVI
Page 589

20: Hart E-5 (1951) 1954 OA1 Philippines-Off.
Central Bisayan OA14



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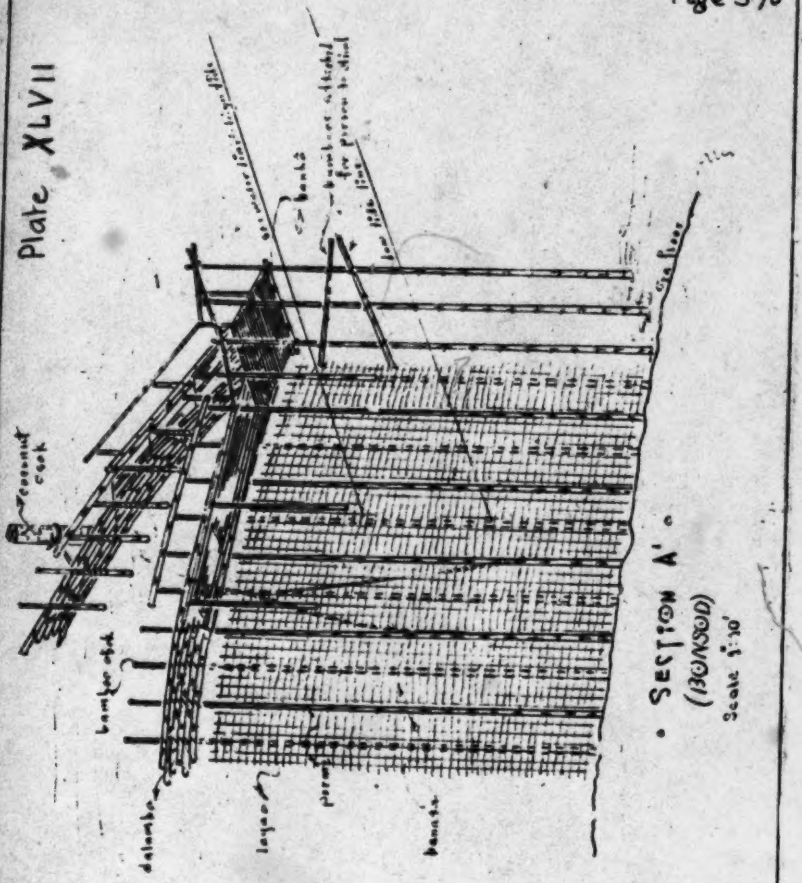
Plate XLVII



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a small square entrance. The ends of the stick in the split end of the bamboo are forced against these two vertical bamboos and the pole is pushed through the entrance. Since the stick in the split end of the bamboo cannot pass through the entrance it splits the bamboo down its entire length. The end of the bamboo, as it is being pushed, is "threaded" through a large rattan ring beyond the entrance of the golayan so the two bamboo splints (golay) will not spring outward during the process. Usually one man guides the bamboo through the rattan ring whereas another pushes; a 70-foot bamboo can be split within a few minutes. The golay are then split into thinner splints with a bolo and become the lag-e.

There are certain times deemed best to start the banata weaving. Workers of one bonsod constructor started their banata on Sunday "because the church is full and the bonsod will have good luck, catching many fish." The men worked only a short period on the banata; the idea was to start the banata on Sunday, not to finish it. Older men are said to believe it is wise "to end the banata at one's heart so one can feel when fish are inside the bonsod." Others say the banata should be ended "at one's mouth so one can always eat what one catches inside the bonsod." Some fishermen believe it is best to begin the weaving of the banata on either a Wednesday or Saturday with a full moon.

Lag-e splints are placed on the ground about 4 inches apart; they are woven into a banata with rattan

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lashings by open twining. Each row of open twining is separated from the other by about 6 inches. Sig-id vine is used more frequently than rattan in Tanjay because of the scarcity of the latter. In Siaton builders said sig-id vine is not as strong as rattan and, for this reason, rarely use it in constructing their bonsods. If the materials have been prepared previously, an individual can weave one banata section in a day. When the individual banatas are finished they are rolled, placed on the raft, and floated to the fish corral site.

When the bonsod construction begins, a raft (balsa) is built from fifty or sixty bamboos. Sharpened bamboo osoks are loaded on the raft that is poled to the site. Often osoks remain from the last fish corral that furnish builders with the bonsod outline. If not, the first osok is sunk in the center of the entrance to the bonsod pamuerta ("gate"); the gate is usually thirty to thirty-five feet wide and is where the fish enter the bonsod. Then two osoks are pushed into the seafloor on each side of the center one, about 15 feet to the left and to the right. Three or four men move the osok back and forth, gradually pushing it into the bottom.

Once the three pamuerta osoks are embedded, if the bonsod is being built on a new site or no poles remain from the previous fish corral, the balangsan ("ruler") is used to get the proper crescentric shape of the bonsod. The balangsan is a bamboo about fifty

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feet long; a large stone is tied to each end so it will sink. A rope is then tied to the balangsan's center so the workers may move the submerged bamboo. From the center entrance bamboo (see Plate XLVIII, E)[1] another bamboo is sunk at the end of the togdan. Using this pole and the pamuerta bamboo a straight line 85 feet long is made seaward; at the terminus another pole is sunk. (See Plate XLVIII, F.)[1] The rope tied to the balangsan is fixed to the center pamuerta pole; an arc is gradually made either way from the bolon, the fish corral's center section. It is impossible to see the submerged balangsan, but the men can feel when a pole, being pushed downward, bumps against the balangsan. As they move either way, in making the panikos, they reduce the length of the rope tied to the balangsan; by this method the bonsod's crescentric shape is achieved.

The hasang (or tombadaham) walls of the bonsod are called "gills." (See Plate XLVIII, A to B and C to D.)[1] Once the poles are embedded, the dalamba is added--a row of five to seven bamboos to which the osoks are lashed. (See Plate XLVIII, View of Lag-e.)[1] However, until the banata are installed, only every other pole is tied to the dalamba; otherwise the banata could not be placed alternately between the poles. Bamboo poles on the outside of the banata are called perme; those on the inside are known as layao. Normally from 300 to 350 poles are used to make the bolon, panikos, and hasang.

1 [See p. 593A, cat. 226 or 335 -- Analyst]

Plate XLVIII

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Some builders use more bamboo to make the fish corral walls stronger.

The togdan is usually from 150 to 200 feet long; the bamboos are firmly fixed to the dalamba. The togdan guides the fish into the bonsod; once inside the fish rarely escape through the open entrance by which they entered. The togdan does not have a banata for the bamboos are close enough to guide the fish into the bonsod.

The next step is to make platforms (lantay or banko) at the ends of the bonsod. (See Plates XLVI and XLVII.[1] These platforms are where the men stand when they net the catch inside the fish corral. Some bonsods (none in Siaton) have a small hut on one of the platforms where a man stays at night to watch and call the workers if a school of fish enters. In Siaton the practice is to send a man in a boat to see if the bonsod caught any fish during the night.

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The final step is the installation of the banata; this process normally calls for a ladlad. To install the banata more men are needed for one day than employed to construct the fish corral. A ladlad is a traditional feast given by the builder mainly to attract volunteer workers to help install the banata. Table XXXVI[2] presents a breakdown of the cost of one ladlad given when the banata was installed in a bonsod off Sitio Baybay.

1 [See pp. 589, 590, cat. 226 or 335 -- Analyst]

2 [See p. 595, cat. 226 or 476 -- Analyst]

TABLE XXXVI

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Ladlad Expenses, Sitio Baybay, 1951

| Food Items | Cost (Dollars) |
|---|---|
| Small pig | $12.50 |
| Tahores (beans) | .30 |
| Spices (for pig) | .20 |
| Cornmeal | 3.75 |
| Bread | .40 |
| Guhang | 2.00 |
| | $19.15 |

This ladlad attracted only three volunteer workers and the host invited friends from the poblacion whom he did not expect to help with the banata's installation. I asked him if it would not have been cheaper to have paid wages to the three volunteer workers than to have held a ladlad. He replied: "Oh, yes. But the ladlad is traditional"; the prestige gained was adequate compensation to the host. Usually, however, ladlads attract more volunteer laborers and is cheaper than paying for extra workers.[57]

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After eating, the workers put the banata rolls on the raft and float them to the fish corral. A roll is pushed from the raft into the water and slowly maneuvered by swimmers to the proper position alongside the bonsod wall. Several men, standing on the bonsod catwalk, push the banata roll with a pole until it floats vertically,

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[57] In Tanjay the ladlad is called labod. One Tanjay informant said it was necessary to kill the labod pig inside the fish corral; this is not done in Siaton to my knowledge. Some Siaton informants, however, said it was wise to stain the banata with pig blood before they were installed.

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A long pole is inserted into the roll's center as the swimmers unwind it. Gradually the banata is inserted between the perme and layao poles, the latter are not lashed to the dalamba. Once the banata is between the perme and layao bamboos, the layao again are only temporarily lashed. After several days the water-logged banata sinks to the bottom, and another banata is placed above it. When the second row of banata (sugabao) are installed, the layao are lashed permanently to the dalamba. The banata are attached to one another with bamboo "pins" (bulankit). If the banata were fixed to the perme and layao they would be unable to rise and fall with the tide; currents and swells would soon break them.

A few large coconut boles are pushed into the seafloor near the fish corral. (See Plate XLVIII, View of Lag-e.)[1] The dalamba is tied, with wire or rope, to these supports to strengthen the bonsod. These coconut trunks are sometimes made firmer by an anchor embedded in the seafloor and tied to the coconut tree. (See Plate XLVI.)[2]

The wood anchor's crossbar has slits in each internode so it will fill with water and sand and become heavier when submerged. (See Plate XLIX.)[3] An anchor may also be hooked to the dalamba, and the other end of the rope tied to the coconut. The strength and movement of the currents determines the number and positions of these coconut supports and anchors.

1 [See p. 593A, cat. 226 or 335 -- Analyst]
2 [See p. 589, cat. 226 or 335 -- " ]
3 [See p. 597, cat. 226 or 335 -- " ]

20: Hart E-5 (1951) 1954 OA1 Philippines
Central Bisayan OA14

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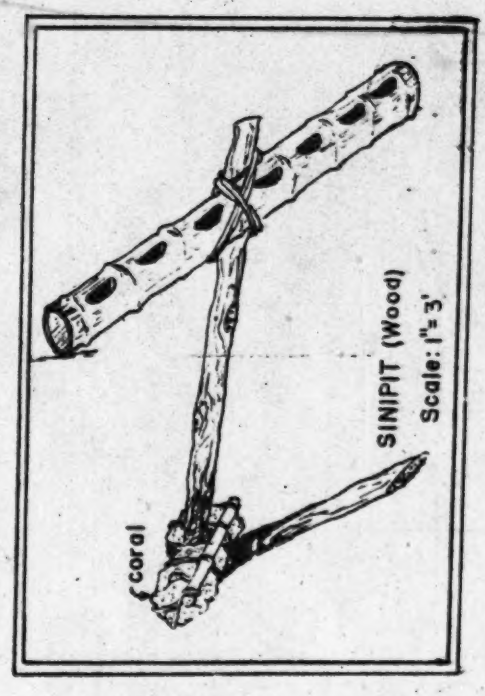
Plate XLIX

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Several Siaton builders said that a bonsod could be built within ten to twelve days, with seven or eight workers, if the materials were prepared. However, the construction of a bonsod usually extends over a longer period since rough seas may delay the work for several days at a time.

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Associated Beliefs of the Bonsod

When the bonsod (or pahubas) is completed a pa-anod is held by many of the owners or builders.[58] A small raft (gakit) is loaded with a roasted or live white chicken and other foods and set adrift in the sea. The food offering is usually made in sevens and includes the same foods previously described for the agricultural ceremonies. Many fishermen believe the fish are owned by sea spirits; by making a pa-anod they will be lucky and catch many fish. The person releasing the little raft may say: "Spirits, here is your share. We hope this is enough. If not, spirits, please excuse us and give us good catches in our bonsod." Some said the raft is set adrift the third night after the completion of the bonsod and when a bobo fish trap is first used. The pa-anod may be done at night since many believe it is unwise to permit strangers to witness the ceremony.

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[58] Pa-anod means "to float away" or "to be carried away by the current." The same ceremony is practiced in Panjay; some people in Siaton refer to the pa-anod as a liwata.

## CHAPTER VIII

## THE BARRIO DWELLING

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The dwelling typical of the Catiougan barriofolk, the materials used, household furnishings, methods of construction, and the various associated beliefs and practices with the home are described in this chapter. The materials and style of the typical Philippine rural dwelling have not changed radically for centuries. In the early 17th century one observer wrote: "Their houses are built on four posts; their walls are of bamboo and thatch, and are very small."[1]

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The typical barrio dwelling (balay) in Catiougan is a one- or two-room pile structure from one to five feet above the ground. Walls are of bamboo and nipa palm leaves; the roof is thatched with nipa shingles or cogon grass. Although nails and wire are used, rattan lashing is the usual means of fastening the timbers and shingles. In 1939 Philippine Census states that nearly 69 per cent of the Filipinos lived in "light material" houses; 78 per cent of the inhabitants of Negros Oriental and 70 per cent of the people of Negros Occidental occupied such residences.[2]

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[1] Pedro De Sant Pablo, O.S.F., "Compulsory Service by the Indians," Blair and Robertson, op. cit., XIX, p. 72. This account was written in 1620.

[2] The Yearbook of Philippine Statistics: 1946, pp. 190-1.

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bark now can be peeled easily from the trunk segments. This inner bark must be dried in the shade for several weeks before installation.

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The bark is nailed to the house framework or lashed with rattan. Nails make a neater walling and save time; small wooden discs are used to prevent the nail head from tearing through the bark. People who live in bark-walled dwellings often prefer them to nipa walling; they report that bark walls are cheaper, more durable and take less time to prepare. Bark walls, however, are typical only of dwellings near the forests, usually in pioneering communities opening new areas of interior farm land.

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In Siaton poblacion a few houses are built of "strong material," i.e., timber beams, wooden walls and floors, and corrugated iron roofs. The 1939 Philippine Census states that 4.6 per cent of the Filipinos then lived in "strong material" dwellings. These homes are usually inhabited by the principalia in Siaton and cluster near the plaza; before the last war the most elaborate houses surrounded the plaza. In these houses the typical split bamboo slat floor often yields preference to plank flooring. More "strong material" dwellings were found in Siaton poblacion before the last war; present high prices of materials makes the reconstruction of such houses costly.

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ASSOCIATED PRACTICES: When to Begin House Construction

Construction of a Caticugan barrio dwelling involves various associated practices. Certain months are considered best to start building of a new house, for various practices concerned with building methods, and for numerous ceremonies appropriate after the house is completed.

For advice on when to begin construction of a house most barriofolk consult a small astrology booklet, Napta Lunario.[17] (No one knew what Napta meant; Lunario was translated as "something to do with the moon.") The subtitle of this booklet states that it is:

> The true story of the fate of all people. With the stars that go together at the time you were born, the day that is good for planting, to build a house, buying, making love, or getting married, etc. What is the significance of nights with no moon, etc.

However, the role of astrology in the life of the people in Caticugan is not as prominent as in mainland southeast Asia--Burma and Thailand--where hardly a decision is reached that is not influenced by astrological readings.

In fact, the Napta does not seem to be widely used by the barriofolk except for practices connected with house construction. I never heard of anyone consulting the book to determine when to plant fields, make love or get married; all Napta references were made when information was collected for this chapter. Not everyone has

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[17] Primo J. Alvez. Napta Lunario, Cebu City, Bacalso Press, Basak, Pardo, 1938.

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a copy of the book; they consult one owned by a friend or neighbor. One illiterate informant had his daughter read a friend's Napta to determine when he should start the building of a new dwelling. Much of the information probably has become part of the people's folklore.

According to Napta unfavorable months to start building a new house are February, March, Apri, August, and December. According to Napta, if a house is started in these months its future occupants will be visited by serious illness, death, thunder, or lightning, and the owner will not be prosperous or happy. December is considered worst; this was the month that "King Herode of Judea ordered the beheading of the children." A house built during favorable months, June, July, September, October and November, is blessed by God, the occupants will prosper and have no misunderstandings with their neighbors. Some people state that months containing an R are favorable for beginning the construction of a new house.[18]

Barriofolk do not agree perfectly as to good and bad months. For example, Napta states that April is a bad month but some people said it was a good month. The belief that the months which contain an R are favorable conflicts with the recommendations of Napta that are more widely accepted. September, the peak of the rainy season, is considered by most people to be one of the

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[18] Enero, Pibrero, Marso, Abril, Septiyembri, Octubri, Obiyembri and Disyembri are months with an R in Cebuano; Mayo, Hunyo, Hulyo, and Agosto lack an R.

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best months in the year to begin a new dwelling; then it is easier to dig the deep post holes, and follows the first corn harvest, a period of less activity. Whether these factors really are involved is not known; none of the people cited them as reasons for selecting September.

The important requirement is to start construction of the house during a favorable month; building activities can continue during unfavorable months. One man, working on a new house in August, was questioned if this were wise since the month is unfavorable according to Napta. He replied that it was all right for he had raised the house posts in June--a favorable month.[19]

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The construction of a barrio dwelling rarely continues without a break until the house is finished. Building activities often extend over a period of months. Posts may be erected and nothing done for a month until the family is able to buy or prepare materials for the framework and walls. Sometimes only the roof and kitchen walls are finished; one family was living in such a house in Talo-ot. In the poblacion another family began to purchase house posts and timber for a residence two years before actual construction began. Several Caticugan families lived in semi-completed dwellings for months. Often the kitchen is added long after the completion of the one-room dwelling; until then cooking is done under the house.

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[19] One poblacion informant, a member of the principalia, said it was all right to begin construction of a house during June but if one did his children would grow up selfish. He also told how he once warned a Chinese merchant in the poblacion not to begin his house during an unfavorable month; the warning was not heeded and a few weeks after the house was completed it burned to the ground. The Chinese had fallen asleep while smoking; his opium pipe fell from his mouth and started the fire.

When the holes[1] are dug, the posts are laid beside them. Their tops point in a particular direction, depending on the month. Napta states that for January, February and March the posts must face the northeast, for the following three months the southwest, for the next three months to the east and for the last three months toward the northeast. The directions correlate with the southwest and northeast monsoons. This custom is to prevent accidents to the house such as fire or flood. 335 189 777

Some informants said that the tops of the posts should be pointed with the wind. Two dwellings in Caticugan were begun in June and the posts were pointed toward the southwest before they were placed in their holes. Sometimes the post ends are charred to prevent termites from eating the wood after it is in the ground.

Putting heavy posts in their holes appears to be one of the few occasions for a palihog; several palihogs were witnessed in Caticugan for this task. In one case friends and neighbors of one man were invited to help him and his son put posts in holes already dug. Eight men came; when they finished the job, which took about an hour, they ate a meal prepared by the owner. After the meal the men went home but not until some of their wives and children also had come to eat. 335 574 476

There are different ways of erecting bamboo house posts. (See Plate LXIII.)[2] Since bamboo rots quickly in the ground a few barrio houses had bamboo house posts that rested on stone foundations. In one case short 335 342

wooden posts were put in the holes and cut so they fitted inside the larger bamboos that supported the house. In this manner the bamboo posts did not enter the earth. These techniques of preparing bamboo house posts, however, are not widespread since wooden posts are normally used. 335 342

Before the house posts are erected, various items are put in the holes; this practice is followed by nearly all barriofolk. Table XL[1] indicates items placed in the holes and the reasons for so doing. Magahat men chew betel nut and lime and spit red saliva into the post holes: "This procedure is to show respect to the spirits of the place."[21] Spanish coins are considered superior to contemporary Philippine coins, although the latter are used if the former are unavailable. One builder purchased Spanish coins from a neighbor for his post hole ceremony. 335 342 789 777

As in most of these practices to honor or placate the spirits, the combination of items vary but a "core" is accepted by nearly all people. The "stock" items are tilala, kalipay, mik, damolmog, gabigabi, and the pieces of a broken frying pan. It is desirable but not necessary to have an adequate number of each item so one may be put in every post hole. One woman spent an afternoon collecting items for the post hole ceremony; the new house had six posts. She was unable to obtain all items in sixes. The items were dropped into the holes, beginning with the northeast hole, in a counter-clock-wise fashion; the ceremony was done quickly by the woman with no religious

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[21] Oracion, op. cit., pp. 22-3.

1 [See p. 678 cat. 335, 342, 789, or 777 -- Analyst]

20: Hart E-5 (195.) 1954 OA1 Philippines OR.
Central Bisayan OA.4



TABLE XL

ITEMS USED IN POST HOLE CEREMONY
FOR A NEW DWELLING
CATICUCAN, 1951

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| Items | Purposes |
|---|---|
| 1. Small lagit (live) stones from river rapids. | 1. To prevent fire; to protect the house from strong winds so the dwelling will not be carried away as the stones are not washed away in the river rapids; to make the house posts last longer; to make occupants happy while living in the house; to make them have a "watery, cold mind," i.e., not quick to anger. |
| 2. Tilala leaves (Cordyline fruticosa A. Chev). | 2. So the spirits will not be surprised when they see people living in the new dwelling. |
| 3. Kalipay leaves. (Kalipay means "happiness"). | 3. So household members will always be happy and courteous when visitors come. |
| 4. Mik (Spanish coins) or Philippine coins; salt is sometimes used as a substitute. | 4. To prevent termites from destroying the house posts; so members of the family will not be sickly. |
| 5. Dumolmog (a green river moss) and gabigabi, an underwater river plant. | 5. So the house will not burn. The connection is that these two plants are always under water. |
| 6. Palito leaves. | 6. So household members will always be happy and contented. |
| 7. Any type of flower. | 7. Same purpose as kalipay and palito. |
| 8. Pieces of a broken frying pan. | 8. To make the house strong; to make the occupants of the house live harmoniously, to sleep peacefully in the house. |

TABLE XL (Continued)

| Items | | Purposes |
|---|---|---|
| 9. Beads from the dumdum necklace. (Dumdum means "to remember.") | 9. | So household members, if they move, will never forget their home and return some day. |
| 10. Kaboy leaves | 10. | So household members will always be kind to visitors. |

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overtones. This is the common practice but no one could explain why the northeast hole was selected or a counter-clock-wise movement appropriate.

Framework Construction

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The accompanying drawing of a barrio dwelling represents a little better type than is typical for Caticugan as a whole. (See Plate LXIV.)[1] Most houses do not have wooden shutters, the porch usually is not as elaborate, and posts normally are wood instead of bamboo. Basically, however, the sketch represents the average Caticugan dwelling. Some houses were more huts than dwellings, raised only a foot from the surface, with one small room. Only one house in the barrio had wooden walls; this dwelling belonged to the most affluent resident of the community.

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After the posts have been placed in their holes, a plumb line is used to get them straight. Then earth is tamped around them so they are firmly fixed. If bamboo posts are used braces, pelepol, (Plate LXIV, E)[1] may be added to strengthen the uprights. Only two houses in

1. [See p. 680, Cat. 342 -- Analyst]

335 [435]

Caticugan had cement forms to which wooden house posts were bolted by iron straps embedded in the concrete. The cost of cement, made in nearby Cebu Island, was so high in 1951-52 that few families could afford to buy several sacks when building a new house.

After the posts have been installed a temporary bracing (dalamba)--the same term used for fish corral bracing--is lashed to the posts on which barefoot workers stand while building the roof. Once the bracing is finished holes are bored in the upper portions of the posts to insert pegs (tarogos) that support the rafter beams. (See Plates LXV, 30, and LXV-A.)[1]

[342 435]

Rafter beams are normally lashed with rattan. The barriofolk tend to use nails or nuts and bolts to fix the various rafters when wood and not bamboo is used. Rattan, however, is still more popular and cheaper.[22]

335 789 777

After the pegs are fixed in the posts, the sablayan (Plate LXV, 22) and balabag (Plate LXV, 28)[1] rafter beams are added and lashed in place with rattan. The "heads" or larger ends of the bamboo sablayan and balabag should

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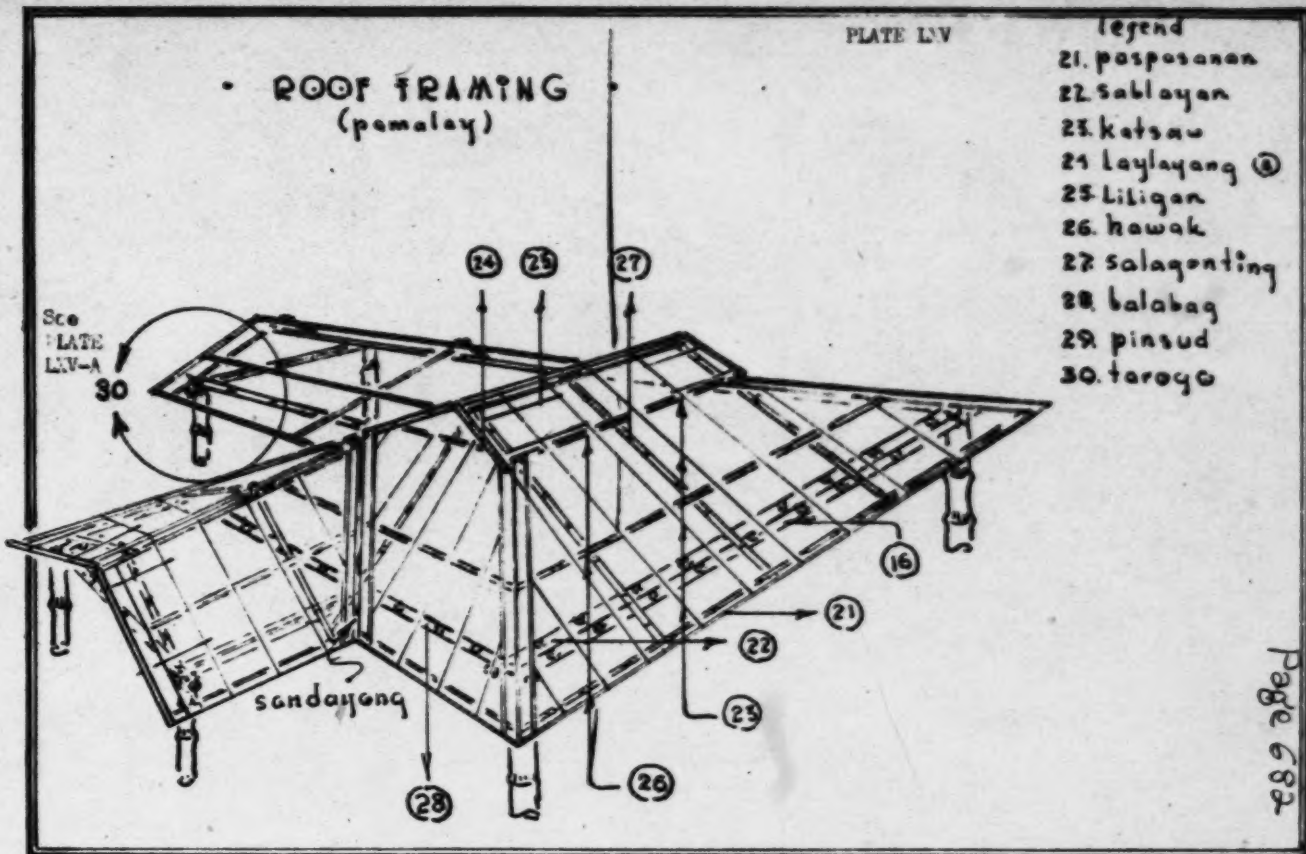
[22] Barriofolk may gather their rattan (oway) in the mountains or buy it. Rattan gathered for house construction, is cut in lengths about 12 feet long. There are many names for different varieties of rattan, usually based upon their use. Mangnao, malabagakay, tagalola and malabutong rattan varieties are normally used in house construction. Tagalola is the rattan employed to lash the bamboo floor slats. Palasan and tagsa-on, thicker varieties, are used in making rope, e.g., to tie the goats or carabaos. Abangan, a thick variety, is not suitable for rope-making owing to the deep notches in the stem; it may be used as the anchor rope for bobo. Tagakan is rarely gathered because it is brittle "even when green" according to my informants. Homokan is used to make the woven seats of chairs or beds. Another variety of rattan, tagiti, the narrowest in diameter is used for a variety of purposes.

[1 See p.682, Cat. 335 or 116 -- Analyst]

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should point either east or south. The reasons for this custom have been forgotten; some speculated that maybe it was because when one floats bamboo down the river the larger ends point south. If rafters are made of timber instead of bamboo it is impossible to determine the "head" and people ignore the custom.

The next step is to install the sbay-sbay (Plate LXIV, 16) that strengthen the sablayan and balabag; however, if timber is used the sbay-sbay are omitted. The roof framework (pamalay) consists of a number of vertical and horizontal slats to which the nipa shingles (atop) are lashed. First the salagonting (Plate LXV, 27) then the hawak (Plate LXV, 26) and finally the katsaw (Plate LXV, 23) are added to the roof framework. The thickest end of the bamboo salagonting must be at the peak of the roof; otherwise it is believed the occupants will always be sickly. The katsaw should always alternate so the occupants will not suffer from nightmares. The hawak, that run the length of the roof, are tied under those that run the opposite direction; this is done to make it easier to add new nipa shingles.

Nipa shingles cost from $1.25 to $1.50 per 100 in Siaton. Nipa swamp owners not only sell shingles in the nearby barrios but also send them to Dumaguete. The Siaton bus often stopped along the road, just outside the poblacion, to pick up large bundles of nipa shingles that the owner was taking to Dumaguete. Some go to a nipa swamp and cut the leaves to make one's own shingles, paying

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the owner for the material. This is cheaper than buying the shingles ready-made.

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Shingles are made of strips of leaves "sewed" with rattan to a narrow bamboo slat. The leaves are doubled over the bamboo and rattan is interwoven below the stick to keep the leaves in place. Plate LXVI[1] illustrates how the shingles are attached to the roof; a nipa roof lasts from six to seven years. The barriofolk normally replace the rotted nipa shingles by twos and threes rather than reroof the entire dwelling; new shingles are added just before the start of a rainy season.

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When the roof framework is finished the roof is shingled. The first step is to put shingles on the silik (Plate LXIV, 10), the roof ridges. Before the first shingle is placed on the silik, a kapia snail shell and some river moss are placed under the shingle. As one informant explained:

> In putting on shingles I put a kapia and river moss under the first one. In doing this I say to myself: 'I'll put this kapia here as a lihi so during strong winds the roof won't be destroyed. And I am putting moss here so my house will not be destroyed by fire.'

Another informant said kapia shells are used because "they are very hard to pry off the rocks in the river." Some added a few leaves found floating in the river to serve the same purpose as the river moss.

Many barriofolk consider it unwise to cut rattan by biting it when making the first tie in building a dwelling. One Naga informant told me:

1 [See p.685, cat. 342 or 116 -- Analyst]

20: Hart E-5 (1951) 1954 OA1 Philippines
Central Bisayan OA14

PLATE LXVI
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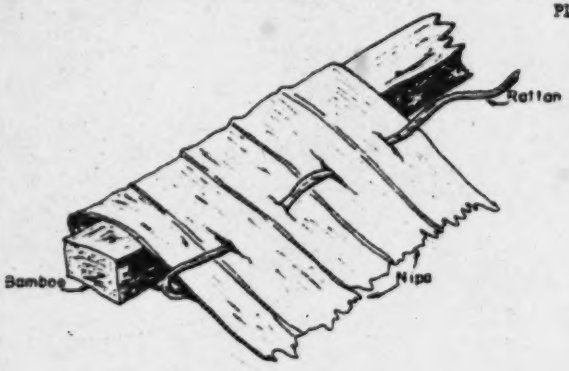
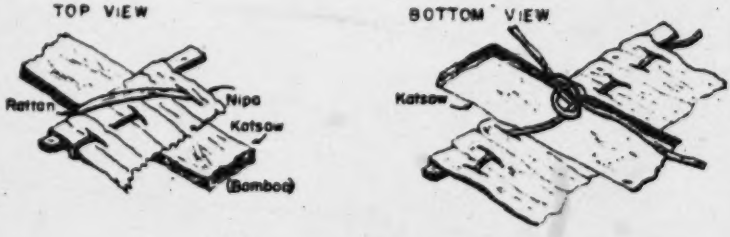



CONSTRUCTION OF NIPA SHINGLE
(actual size)




METHOD OF ATTACHING SHINGLE TO ROOF

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In the first tie of the house with rattan one must be careful not to bite the rattan or else the old people say the house will have many kinds of insects. Maybe they are right. The first house I built I happened to bite the rattan the first time I started to tie; there were plenty of mosquitos in this house, especially during the rainy season. In building this house [the informant's dwelling at the time] I was careful not to bite [the rattan] and there are not many insects, especially mosquitos.

The imitative magic principle is apparent; if one "bites" the rattan the completed house will have many insects that will "bite" the occupants. After the silik is finished, shingles are fixed to the remainder of the roof. Then the bamboo bobong (Plate LXIV, 12) are put along the roof ridges and the da-og (Plate LXIV, 19) added; sometimes the bobong is made of tin. The da-og strengthen the roof and prevent shingles from being blown off during a strong wind.

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When the roof is finished, the floor (salag) framework is begun. (See Plate LXVII,)[1] First pegs are inserted to support the floor beams that may be either bamboo or timber. The bangon are installed after the bamboo hanlag (bosa-og if made of wood) have been put in place. The floor is made of bamboo slats one-half an inch wide and one-fourth an inch apart; the slats are smoothed with the bolo and then either nailed or lasted to the liligan. Such a floor makes a dwelling cooler during the hot season and easier to clean than a solid flooring.

The framework for the door and shutters are now made. The door is usually made of woven strips of bamboo with "hinges" of strong rattan, or fixed to slide in

1 [See p. 687, cat. 342 or 335 Analyst]

20: Hart E-5 (1951) 1954 OA1 Philippines Central Bisayas OA14 Pg 687

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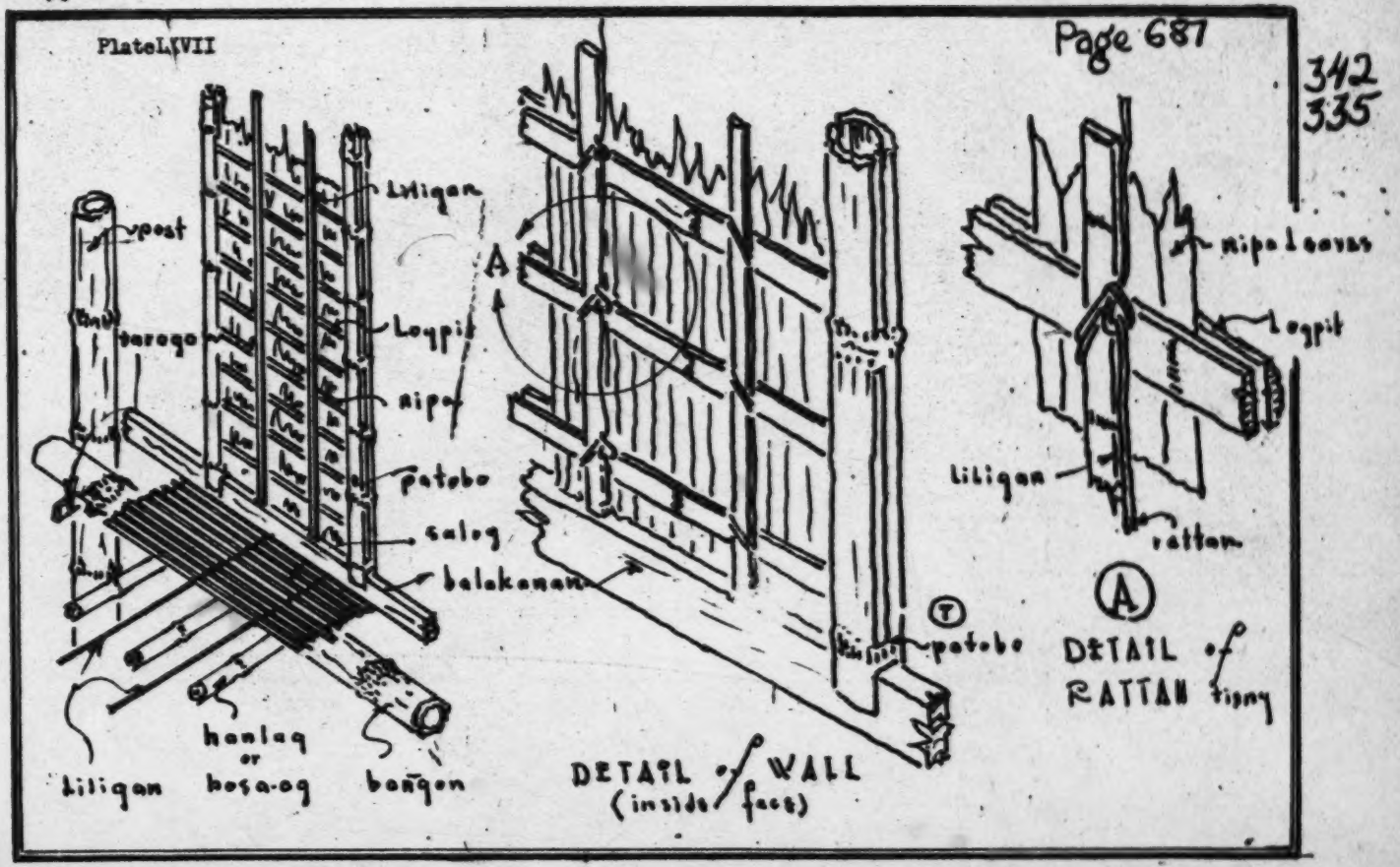
Plate LVII



grooves. The shutters (takop or sira) are made normally of nipa or buri palm leaves. In some cases the shutters are wooden. 335 342

A general belief is that it is best for the doorway to face either the east or north; most of the Caticugan dwellings do. However, the barrio chapel has two doors, one facing south and the other west, and a group of houses along the base of the Dangola bluff doorways facing south. Some of these houses are unfinished; the owners eventually plan to have either an east or north doorway. In the poblacion, with its grid street system, there is no attempt to follow this custom. 335 342 789 777 [77]

Barriofolk state that the old people (gulang) thought it wise to have the doorway face either east or north so one's life will always be "rising like the sun" or because rain usually comes from the southwest or west. If the doorway opens to the south or west the occupants of the house will be sickly, not alert during their sleeping hours, or their lives "always setting like the sun does in the west." One informant, whose statement was not backed by the majority of the people, said it was necessary to have the door facing the east or north for otherwise when entering the house "one will go against the 'heads' of the sablayan and balabag."[23]

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[23] Oracion states: "Most houses in the coastal barrios and towns...are constructed so that the main door and stairs face east. This is believed to bring prosperity to the occupants. If the main door entrance faces west, it is believed that the occupants will get sick and may die." Oracion, op. cit., p. 25.

House Wall Types

Besides wood there are three types of house walls in Caticugan. Bamboos are pounded until they are quite flat; they are then cut along one side, spread out and lashed or nailed as walling (sasa). A second type of walling, siklat, is a loose basket weave of thin pieces of bamboo. These two types of walls are often built around the kitchen since they are less inflammable than nipa. The most common type of exterior house wall is nilogpit that is made of nipa. (See Plates LXVII and LXVIII.)[1] The vertical patobo (Plate LXVII, 7) have slits in their sides into which thin pieces of bamboo (logpit) are inserted. Nipa leaves are placed between the logpits and then tied to the liligans. Sometimes wire is used to lash the liligans and nipa instead of rattan.

The next step is to install the partitions (salud) if the dwelling is to be divided into rooms. The earth hearth is built and the altar (artal) constructed. A shelf (pantaran), that often extends outward from the kitchen wall, is made for the large clay water jar. A bamboo ladder is built to climb to the doorway.

Barriofolk said some changes in their dwellings have occurred since the "old days." In the past the roof was steeper, there was no porch or balcony, nor wooden shutters that slide in grooves. Bamboo floor slats were never nailed but always tied with rattan and no cement, wire, or bolts were used. As for furnishing there were no clay pot rests (hornos), mirrors, chairs or chinaware;

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1 [See p. 687 & cat. 342 or 335 -- Analyst]

# CHAPTER VIII

## THE BARRIO DWELLING

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The dwelling typical of the Catiougan barriofolk, the materials used, household furnishings, methods of construction, and the various associated beliefs and practices with the home are described in this chapter. The materials and style of the typical Philippine rural dwelling have not changed radically for centuries. In the early 17th century one observer wrote: "Their houses are built on four posts; their walls are of bamboo and thatch, and are very small."[1]

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The typical barrio dwelling (balay) in Catiougan is a one- or two-room pile structure from one to five feet above the ground. Walls are of bamboo and nipa palm leaves; the roof is thatched with nipa shingles or cogon grass. Although nails and wire are used, rattan lashing [335 is the usual means of fastening the timbers and shingles. In 1939 Philippine Census states that nearly 69 per cent 362 of the Filipinos lived in "light material" houses; 78 per cent of the inhabitants of Negros Oriental and 70 per cent of the people of Negros Occidental occupied such residences.[2]

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[1] Pedro De Sant Pablo, O.S.F., "Compulsory Service by the Indians," Blair and Robertson, op. cit., XIX, p. 72. This account was written in 1620.

[2] The Yearbook of Philippine Statistics: 1946, pp. 190-1.

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[369]

The higher percentage of people living in "light material" dwellings in Negros Oriental, in contrast with Negros Occidental, is explained partly by fewer and smaller urban settlements in the former province. Another factor is the cement or wooden dwellings furnished for sugar cane workers in Negros Occidental. In Barrio Caticugan 99 per cent of the people lived in "light material" dwellings; in the poblacion I estimated that 85 per cent of the dwellings were of bamboo and nipa. Before the war, however, there were more wooden tin-roofed houses in the poblacion; this was not the case in Caticugan. All of the "heavy material" houses in the poblacion were burned during the last war; only a few of them had been rebuilt by 1952.

MOUNTAIN HOUSES AND THE MATERIALS USED

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The transitional point in Siaton River valley between dwellings with pounded bamboo walls (sasa) and cogon-grass-thatched roofs, and the more typical bamboo-nipa and nipa shingled house occurs in Sitios Lamtok and Balanan. (See Plate VI, Page 42.) North of this area most houses have pounded bamboo walls and cogon-thatched-roofs, although there are some houses of the lowland type. Pounded bamboo walls and cogon grass roofs are not regarded as superior to materials used in Caticugan or the poblacion. These materials are used because of the distance from the nipa palm swamps along the seacoast. It is difficult to carry the large bundles of nipa back from the coastal area; at

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the same time an abundant supply of cogon grass is available--owing to the nearby kaingins--in the upper Siaton River valley. Residents in Caticugan reported that cogon grass is more inflammable than nipa and takes more time to thatch; no dwellings in Caticugan had cogon-grass-thatched roofs. Some houses had pounded bamboo walls; usually this wall type was used only for exterior kitchen walls since it is less inflammable.

Farther north in the Siaton River valley, such as in Apoloy, Olambid and Comon (sometimes called Goshen since Seventh Day Adventists have settled there) walls of many dwellings are made of bark peeled from trees. The bark of the lauan group--danlogan and balangobang--is considered best for house walls. These barks are softer and thicker than other hardwood barks.[3]

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A tree from six to ten feet in circumference is chosen for bark for house walls. The tree is cut so that one end is slightly elevated when it falls to facilitate removal of the bark. The trunk is then cut into segments of the length of the bark wanted for the walls. The outer bark ("dead bark" as it is called by the people) is carefully scraped from the trunk segments so not to injure the inner bark. When this process is completed the inner bark is pounded with a wooden club until sap appears on its surface; then a line is drawn along which it is cut. The

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[3]The danlogan is probably white lauan (Pentacme contorta Merrill and Rolfe) that is widely distributed in the Philippines, including Negros. Reyes, op. cit., pp. 309-10.

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bark now can be peeled easily from the trunk segments. This inner bark must be dried in the shade for several weeks before installation.

[335]

The bark is nailed to the house framework or lashed with rattan. Nails make a neater walling and save time; small wooden discs are used to prevent the nail head from tearing through the bark. People who live in bark-walled dwellings often prefer them to nipa walling; they report that bark walls are cheaper, more durable and take less time to prepare. Bark walls, however, are typical only of dwellings near the forests, usually in pioneering communities opening new areas of interior farm land.

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In Siaton poblacion a few houses are built of "strong material," i.e., timber beams, wooden walls and floors, and corrugated iron roofs. The 1939 Philippine Census states that 4.6 per cent of the Filipinos then lived in "strong material" dwellings. These homes are usually inhabited by the principalia in Siaton and cluster near the plaza; before the last war the most elaborate houses surrounded the plaza. In these houses the typical split bamboo slat floor often yields preference to plank flooring. More "strong material" dwellings were found in Siaton poblacion before the last war; present high prices of materials makes the reconstruction of such houses costly.

INTERIOR FURNISHING OF THE BARRIO HOUSE

The typical Caticugan dwelling has two rooms--the *sala* or the living, dining bed-room, and kitchen. Sometimes the kitchen is completely separated from the *sala* but there may be only a partial partition. Some dwellings have a third room, a combined bedroom and storage space. Normally this room lacks beds and is used mainly to store boxes of clothing, sleeping mats, grain or other household equipment. Rarely do the "bedrooms" have windows; most barriofolk believe that night air is not healthy. In the *poblacion* many *principalia* shutter their bedroom windows when they retire; another reason is to discourage thieves. However, fresh air circulates through the loose walls and the slat floors.

In Caticugan the *sala* usually has a table and one or more wooden benches; sometimes benches of bamboo are fixed to the wall. Very few chairs occur in *barrio* dwellings although they are quite common in better houses in the *poblacion*. In two houses, one in Barrio Caticugan and the other in Naga, Singer sewing machines were seen. Most houses have a few pictures on the walls. The walls of the *sala* may be covered with colored illustrations from newspapers and magazines, mostly of American origin, and pictures of Filipino movie stars from the *Cebuano*-dialect magazine, *Bisaya*.[4]

[4] *Bisaya* is the most widely read dialect magazine in Siaton; it is a weekly, published in Manila, with a 1954 circulation of 2,973 in Negros Oriental. The magazine, first started in 1946, contains short stories, comics,

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What I have called "bedrooms" is something of a misnomer; "bedroom-storage" might be more appropriate. In no case was there more than one bed in such a room, although the family often consisted of five or six persons. At night sleeping mats were spread on the sala or kitchen floor to accommodate all the members of the family. Beds are raised bamboo platforms with a woven bamboo or rattan mesh over which is put the sleeping mat. Pillows are made of red cotton cloth or abaca fabric filled with kapok; the seeds are not removed. Women may have a few white cotton pillow cases for use when guests spend the night. Sleeping mats are rolled in the morning and placed in a corner of the room or sorted with the pillows in the rafters. There is a riddle on this activity:

In the morning they go up; at night they come down. What are they?

(Mabuntag mosaka, magabii manogpa. Unsa man?)

The answer is alugnan (the mats, pillows and coverings).

Two homes in Caticugan used hammocks of woven rattan as beds. The dwellings of the poblacion principalia normally have beds made either by local carpenters or purchased in Dumaguete; the beds have the same woven mesh over which sleeping mats are placed. The principalia normally sleep under mosquito nets--rarely seen in the barrio.

The space under the raised barrio house is called silong; here the plow, harrow, mortar and pestle, lumber, and firewood are stored. The nests of chickens may be

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352 513

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tied to the house posts and the pig's trough is usually in the silong. In a few cases the silong was enclosed with a loosely woven bamboo grill. Many houses have small porches, most of them roofed, with bamboo benches; a few potted plants grow on the porch and the corn or rice grinders (galingan) are often kept there. (See Plates LIX and LX.)[1]

Two types of grinders are made from a grey granite. One is used to grind corn into meal (bugos mais) and the other to make flour rice for rice cakes (hinka).[9] Corn or rice kernels are dropped into the hole at the top of the grinder and ground between the teeth of the lower part of the mill. These grinders are gradually disappearing; most barriofolk take their corn (rarely rice) to the kerosene machine mills in the poblacion. I saw one corn grinder abandoned near a residence; the owner said she discarded it because their corn was ground in the poblacion.

Another device often seen in barrio dwellings is the kagoran that is used to shred coconut. The meat is rubbed against the iron shredder and collected below in a dish. Shredded coconut is mixed with a little water and squeezed by hand to make "coconut milk" used in preparing rice cakes and other foods. (See Plate LXI.)[2]

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[9] The same type of corn grinder is used by the Magahats. Oracion, op. cit., p. 85, Plate 56, illustrates the galingan (as also called by Magahats) for grinding corn. The Magahats evidently do not have the rice grinder used in Caticugan

1 (See p. 661 ff, cat. 412 or 116 -- Analyst)
2 (this plate is missing -- Analyst).

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The windows of the dwellings usually have shutters. There were no glass windows in the barrio; very few houses of the principalia in the poblacion had attractive translucent shell-paned windows. Shutters in both the barrio and poblacion are normally made of woven palm leaves and attached at the top to a bamboo pole, either with rattan or tin loops (made from a tin can) so they can slide open or shut. There was no electricity in the barrio; a few people owned Coleman lanterns. The most common method of illumination was the kerosene lamparilla that are made in Dumaguete. The wick, a spare rag, gives a weak and sooty light. (See Plate LXII.)

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After several years it is a constant job to keep a barrio dwelling in repair. New nipa shingles must be added, rents in the walls closed, and props placed to prevent a leaning dwelling from tumbling down. Rattan lashings of floor slats are replaced when they break and

new slats installed. A local riddle accurately describes the general appearance of most of the Caticugan dwellings. 356 524

Since birth all patches. What is it? A house

(Sukad nabata tapak sanina. Unda [illegible]? Balay)

COST OF BUILDING A BARRIO DWELLING

The basic materials used to build a barrio dwelling are obtained in the locality, i.e., bamboo, nipa, house posts, rattan, etc. Wire, nails, and galvanized iron sheets are purchased in poblacion stores or, more frequently, obtained in Dumaguete. The use of wire, nails, iron roofing and cement, for example, in the construction of new dwellings in Caticugan, though still small, is increasing. More families would have purchased these materials ~~during my residence except~~ for highly inflated prices and restricted supplies. This trend toward using materials that are made and normally purchased outside the community (in contrast to going to the mountains to obtain materials) will continue to reduce the bartering that still persists in their basic economy and decrease the barriofolk's self-sufficiency. 435 178 438 342

In the past, a family who decided to build a new dwelling in Caticugan were assisted by neighbors and friends. Today, however, when an individual constructs a new house it is mainly a family task. If additional labor is needed the builder may hire local carpenters. House construction exemplifies the transitional process--from community cooperation, to family, and gradually to the 476 602 178 463

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602
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assumption of certain skills by local specialists who are paid a cash wage.

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Table XXXVIII[1] illustrates the itemized costs of three different dwellings built in Caticugan in 1951.[10] House C's cost probably comes closer to the cost of the typical Caticugan dwelling than the other two dwellings. This house had two rooms--sala and kitchen--lacked wooden shutters, cement post supports, and little lumber was used. Table XXXIX[1] lists the items and cost of building a poblacion dwelling inhabited by a Siaton municipal official. No bamboo or nipa were used; the cost of the two dwellings illustrate the difference in dwellings between Caticugan barriofolk and Siaton principalia.

[369]
[565]

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The owner of House C did not hire any carpenters; he held a palihog that cost eight dollars. The work accomplished by palihog assistants could have been done in half a day by two laborers. The palihog, in this case, is an example of how "... the prestige factor inherent in the giving of a feast compensates for the lessened efficiency and the lower return."[11] While precise figures cannot be

[556]

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1 [See p. 667ff, cat. 435 or 342--Analyst]

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465

[10] Some men of Caticugan make extra money by working for lumber firms in Dumaguete. For example, a father and son in Barrio Caticugan were hired by one firm to cut first-class timber (salay, gisok, sambulawan, yakal, and amoning) in the mountains a day's walk from their home. They were paid eight cents per board foot with an additional two cents per board foot for bringing the lumber from Pinac-an (where they worked a permit issued to the Dumaguete lumber firm) to the poblacion. Another group of four men in Barrio Caticugan worked four days cutting lumber from felled trees in the nearby mountains; they earned a total of twenty-five dollars, or a daily wage of about one dollar and fifty-five cents. These were the only two groups hired to cut timber in Caticugan.

[11] Melville F. Herskovits, Economic Anthropology: A Study in Comparative Economics. New York, Alfred A. Knopf, 1952, p. 107.

TABLE XXXVIII

COST OF BUILDING THREE BARRIO DWELLINGS, CATICUGAN, 1951

| Materials and Labor | House A | | House B | | House C | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Amount | Cost ($) | Amount | Cost ($) | Amount | Cost ($) |
| Bamboo | 130 poles | 19.50 | 150 poles | 25.50 | 100 poles | 20.00 |
| Nipa shingles | 1000 | 15.00 | 1200 | 18.00 | 800 | 10.00 |
| House posts | 8 | 10.00 | 10 | 12.50 | 9 | 13.50 |
| Sawn lumber | - | 55.00 | - | 20.00 | - | 9.00 |
| Rattan (pieces) | 500 | 1.50 | 1000 | 2.50 | 1000 | 2.25 |
| Wall materials | (12) | 25.00 | nipa | 1.25 | nipa | 1.00 |
| Nails | 30 lbs | 6.25 | 15 lbs | 2.45 | 9 lbs | 1.80 |
| Wire | 4 lbs | 1.00 | 11 lbs | 3.50 | none used | - |
| Galvanized iron sheets | none used | - | 1 sheet | 1.25 | none used | - |
| Window frames and shutters | - | - | (13) | 5.00 | - | - |
| Labor | (14) | 25.10 | (15) | 10.13 | (16) | 8.00 |
| Total Cost | | $158.35 | | $99.08 | | $65.66 |

[12]The nipa walls were contracted for by the builder and were partially made of wood.
[13]Contracted to a carpenter by builder.
[14]Six carpenters worked for six days; five received fifty cents a day whereas the sixth carpenter was paid sixty-five cents. The owner fed the men two meals a day that he valued at 17-1/2 cents a day for each carpenter. The owner's son also worked with the carpenters.
[15]One carpenter worked for fifteen days for fifty cents a day plus two meals valued at seventeen and a half cents a day; the owner's two sons worked with the carpenter.
[16]Labor costs were palihog expenses: one goat, four dollars; guhang, one dollar and fifty cent; and other foods, two dollars and fifty cents. The palihog group spent three hours raising the house posts and inserting them in the holes.

20: Hart E-5 (1951) 1954 OA1 Philippines
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given, I estimate the typical Caticugan dwelling costs between fifty and a hundred dollars. Increased costs involve use of such materials as nails, wire, galvanized iron roofing, cement and iron straps for house posts, and lumber.

TABLE XXXIX

Cost of Building a Poblacion Dwelling, Siaton, 1951

| Items | Amount | Cost (Dollars) |
|---|---|---|
| House posts (including hauling) | 12 @ 5.33 each | 64.00 |
| Flooring (including hauling) | - | 111.90 |
| Walling and framing | - | 878.37 |
| Plywood for partitions | - | 110.12 |
| Galvanized iron sheeting | 96 sheets @ 3.50 each | 336.00 |
| Roof nails and washers | - | 8.85 |
| Nails | - | 56.42 |
| Wire | 2.2 pounds | .40 |
| Cement | 9 bags @ 2.00 each | 18.00 |
| Gravel | 120 petroleum cans (5-gallon) @ 5 cents each | 6.00 |
| Sand | 60 petroleum cans @ 5 cents each | 3.00 |
| Iron straps for house posts | 30 @ 50 cents each | 15.00 |
| Shutters, doors, and windows | - | 25.00 |
| Labor | - | 400.00 |
| Painting | - | 300.00 |
| | Total Cost - | $2,333.06 |

The barriofolk said a typical bamboo-nípa dwelling lasts from twenty to twenty-five years. If the house posts are bamboo they must be replaced every six or seven years as must a nipa roof. Wooden posts usually last as long as the house.

best months in the year to begin a new dwelling; then it is easier to dig the deep post holes, and follows the first corn harvest, a period of less activity. Whether these factors really are involved is not known; none of the people cited them as reasons for selecting September. 335 777 787

The important requirement is to start construction of the house during a favorable month; building activities can continue during unfavorable months. One man, working on a new house in August, was questioned if this were wise since the month is unfavorable according to Napta. He replied that it was all right for he had raised the house posts in June--a favorable month.[19]

The construction of a barrio dwelling rarely continues without a break until the house is finished. Building activities often extend over a period of months. Posts may be erected and nothing done for a month until the family is able to buy or prepare materials for the framework and walls. Sometimes only the roof and kitchen walls are finished; one family was living in such a house in Talo-ot. In the poblacion another family began to purchase house posts and timber for a residence two years before actual construction began. Several Caticugan families lived in semi-completed dwellings for months. Often the kitchen is added long after the completion of the one-room dwelling; until then cooking is done under the house. 335 461 342

[19] One poblacion informant, a member of the principalia, said it was all right to begin construction of a house during June but if one did his children would grow up selfish. He also told how he once warned a Chinese merchant in the poblacion not to begin his house during an unfavorable month; the warning was not heeded and a few weeks after the house was completed it burned to the ground. The Chinese had fallen asleep while smoking; his opium pipe fell from his mouth and started the fire.

## SELECTION OF A HOUSE SITE

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The same animistic concept that underlies saingin selection applies to selection of a house site. One must determine if the spirits approve or disapprove of the chosen location. The balisa is the most widespread method of selecting a house site in Caticugan; one might say that it kills two birds with one stone.

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To measure the correct distance between the four post holes (there may be more posts) four equal lengths of bamboo are prepared; a small hole is made in each end of each bamboo stick. The sticks are then arranged in a square on the ground and small pegs are driven through the holes, holding the square to the earth. Diagonals are then measured from northeast to southwest and southeast to northwest; if these diagonals are the same length this is deemed a favorable sign from the spirits. However, if the spirits object to a dwelling on that spot, no matter how carefully the bamboo square is made the diagonals will never be equal. The site is usually abandoned or the process repeated until a favorable response is obtained. The balisa has a practical aspect for if the diagonals are equal then the bamboo square has located the four post holes.

One Naga informant explained how he selected his house site in 1950. Questions in () I asked during the interview.

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I got a stick six feet long and split it into two pieces. I placed one part in the place where I wanted to build the house and said to myself: [loud enough so the spirits could hear] 'I will put this stick here and I have another stick of the same length that I shall sleep with tonight. I shall measure the two sticks tomorrow; if they are of the same length I will build my house here. If not, I shall look for another place. So while I sleep tonight you [the spirits] let me dream if you want me to build my house here or not.' When I went to sleep that night I slept with the stick. The next morning I measured the two sticks; and they were the same length so I built my house here.

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I also buried a green coconut, one that when you shake it you cannot hear the water inside. I let it stay in the ground all night and the next morning I dug it up. I shook it but I could not hear the water. According to the old people, all omens were good. If I had heard the water when I shook the coconut the old men say the site would be a hot one. (What do you mean by 'hot'?) I do not know what they mean by hot; I just follow what the old people say. (Did you have a dream the night you slept with the stick?) No, that is why I decided to build my house here.

~~Other people said the coconut remains buried for one week.~~

Often the balisa may be accompanied by other practices to determine whether the spirits object. One family, two days after holding a favorable balisa, put a small cross in what would be the center between the four post holes of the proposed house. A loop of sig-id vine (rattan is also used) about 6 feet long was put on one arm of the cross. The next morning the vine was measured and it was found to be the same length. This was interpreted as an omen that the spirits approved of the site. If the vine had been shorter or longer than 6 feet this would have been an unfavorable sign from the spirits. An almost identical method of selecting new house sites exists among the Magahats. A cross is put in the site and a vine hung

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on it; two days later the owner returns. If he is able to separate the vine, without a break, in two parts the site is a favorable one.[20]

Another method of selecting a house site is to mark a square on the ground on the proposed site. A cross and as many stones as there are members in the family are put inside this square. If some of the stones are missing the next morning this is an unfavorable omen. One family in Talo-ot repeated this method three times until finally the same number of stones were at the base of the cross as were put there the evening before. The spirits appear to be amenable to persistence and doggedness on the part of humans.

CONSTRUCTION OF THE DWELLING

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The first step in the actual construction of a new dwelling is to dig the post holes. A blunt iron-pointed digging stick (gabok) is used to loosen the dirt that is scooped out of the hole with one's hands or a coconut shell. When the hole becomes so deep that it is difficult to reach the bottom the songsong is employed. The songsong is a sturdy bamboo whose end is split in many places; when pounded into the loose dirt these ends flare outward and the earth is packed inside. The songsong is then withdrawn from the hole and the dirt shaken out.

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[20] Oracion, op. cit., pp. 21-2. The same method of locating the four post holes, as described by the balisa, is also used by the Magahats; however, it does not appear to have any supernatural purpose.

When the holes[1] are dug, the posts are laid beside them. Their tops point in a particular direction, depending on the month. Napta states that for January, February and March the posts must face the northeast, for the following three months the southwest, for the next three months to the east and for the last three months toward the northeast. The directions correlate with the southwest and northeast monsoons. This custom is to prevent accidents to the house such as fire or flood. 335 189 777

Some informants said that the tops of the posts should be pointed with the wind. Two dwellings in Caticugan were begun in June and the posts were pointed toward the southwest before they were placed in their holes. Sometimes the post ends are charred to prevent termites from eating the wood after it is in the ground.

Putting heavy posts in their holes appears to be one of the few occasions for a palihog; several palihogs were witnessed in Caticugan for this task. In one case friends and neighbors of one man were invited to help him and his son put posts in holes already dug. Eight men came; when they finished the job, which took about an hour, they ate a meal prepared by the owner. After the meal the men went home but not until some of their wives and children also had come to eat. 335 574 476

There are different ways of erecting bamboo house posts. (See Plate LXIII.)[2] Since bamboo rots quickly in the ground a few barrio houses had bamboo house posts that rested on stone foundations. In one case short 335 342

20: Hart E-5 (195-) 1954 OA1 Philippines ~~OA~~
Central Bisayan OA14

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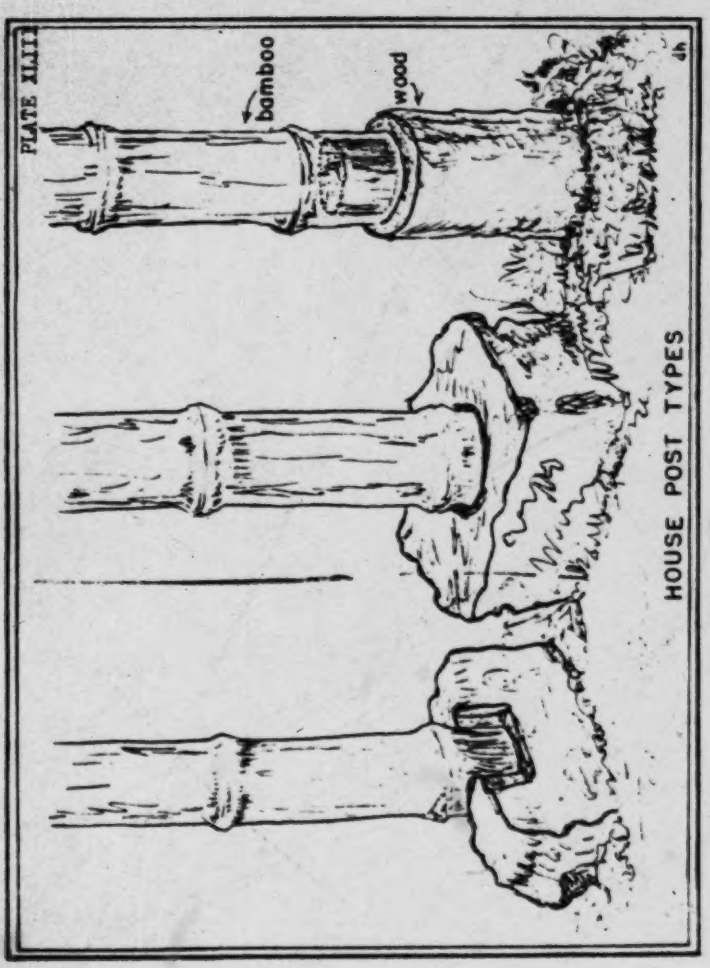


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wooden posts were put in the holes and cut so they fitted inside the larger bamboos that supported the house. In this manner the bamboo posts did not enter the earth. These techniques of preparing bamboo house posts, however, are not widespread since wooden posts are normally used.

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Before the house posts are erected, various items are put in the holes; this practice is followed by nearly all barriofolk. Table XL[1] indicates items placed in the holes and the reasons for so doing. Magahat men chew betel nut and lime and spit red saliva into the post holes: "This procedure is to show respect to the spirits of the place."[21] Spanish coins are considered superior to contemporary Philippine coins, although the latter are used if the former are unavailable. One builder purchased Spanish coins from a neighbor for his post hole ceremony.

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As in most of these practices to honor or placate the spirits, the combination of items vary but a "core" is accepted by nearly all people. The "stock" items are tilala, kalipay, mik, damolmog, gabigabi, and the pieces of a broken frying pan. It is desirable but not necessary to have an adequate number of each item so one may be put in every post hole. One woman spent an afternoon collecting items for the post hole ceremony; the new house had six posts. She was unable to obtain all items in sixes. The items were dropped into the holes, beginning with the northeast hole, in a counter-clock-wise fashion; the ceremony was done quickly by the woman with no religious

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[21] Oracion, op. cit., pp. 22-3.

1 [See p. 678 cat. 335, 342, 789, or 777 -- Analyst]

20: Hart E-5 (195.) 1954 OA1 Philippines
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TABLE XL

ITEMS USED IN POST HOLE CEREMONY
FOR A NEW DWELLING
CATICUGAN, 1951

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| Items | Purposes |
|---|---|
| 1. Small lagit (live) stones from river rapids. | 1. To prevent fire; to protect the house from strong winds so the dwelling will not be carried away as the stones are not washed away in the river rapids; to make the house posts last longer; to make occupants happy while living in the house; to make them have a "watery, cold mind," i.e., not quick to anger. |
| 2. Tilala leaves (Cordyline fruticosa A. Chev). | 2. So the spirits will not be surprised when they see people living in the new dwelling. |
| 3. Kalipay leaves. (Kalipay means "happiness"). | 3. So household members will always be happy and courteous when visitors come. |
| 4. Mik (Spanish coins) or Philippine coins; salt is sometimes used as a substitute. | 4. To prevent termites from destroying the house posts; so members of the family will not be sickly. |
| 5. Damolmog (a green river moss) and gabigabi, an underwater river plant. | 5. So the house will not burn. The connection is that these two plants are always under water. |
| 6. Palito leaves. | 6. So household members will always be happy and contented. |
| 7. Any type of flower. | 7. Same purpose as kalipay and palito. |
| 8. Pieces of a broken frying pan. | 8. To make the house strong; to make the occupants of the house live harmoniously, to sleep peacefully in the house. |

TABLE XL (Continued)

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| Items | | Purposes |
|---|---|---|
| 9. Beads from the dumdum necklace. (Dumdum means "to remember.") | 9. | So household members, if they move, will never forget their home and return some day. |
| 10. Kaboy leaves | 10. | So household members will always be kind to visitors. |

overtones. This is the common practice but no one could explain why the northeast hole was selected or a counter-clock-wise movement appropriate.

Framework Construction

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The accompanying drawing of a barrio dwelling represents a little better type than is typical for Caticugan as a whole. (See Plate LXIV.)[1] Most houses do not have wooden shutters, the porch usually is not as elaborate, and posts normally are wood instead of bamboo. Basically, however, the sketch represents the average Caticugan dwelling. Some houses were more huts than dwellings, raised only a foot from the surface, with one small room. Only one house in the barrio had wooden walls; this dwelling belonged to the most affluent resident of the community.

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After the posts have been placed in their holes, a plumb line is used to get them straight. Then earth is tamped around them so they are firmly fixed. If bamboo posts are used braces, pelepol, (Plate LXIV, 2)[1] may be added to strengthen the uprights. Only two houses in

1 [See p. 680, Cat. 342 -- Analyst]

# BARRIO RESIDENCE



- Legend -

1. Post
2. peltepol
3. bangon
4. hanlag
5. kordezo
6. hagdan (ladder)
7. marko (palobo)
8. Layanglayang
9. soleg
10. silik (nipa)
11. atop (nipa)
12. bobong (bamboo)
13. sandayong
14. balakanan
15. bongbong
16. obay-obay
17. brandilla
18. pasamano
19. da-og
20. fensa

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20: Hart, E-5 (1951) 1954 OA1 Philippinds
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Caticugan had cement forms to which wooden house posts were bolted by iron straps embedded in the concrete. The cost of cement, made in nearby Cebu Island, was so high in 1951-52 that few families could afford to buy several sacks when building a new house.

After the posts have been installed a temporary bracing (dalamba)--the same term used for fish corral bracing--is lashed to the posts on which barefoot workers stand while building the roof. Once the bracing is finished holes are bored in the upper portions of the posts to insert pegs (tarogos) that support the rafter beams. (See Plates LXV, 30, and LXV-A.)[1]

Rafter beams are normally lashed with rattan. The barriofolk tend to use nails or nuts and bolts to fix the various rafters when wood and not bamboo is used. Rattan, however, is still more popular and cheaper.[22]

After the pegs are fixed in the posts, the sablayan (Plate LXV, 22) and balabag (Plate LXV, 28)[1] rafter beams are added and lashed in place with rattan. The "heads" or larger ends of the bamboo sablayan and balabag should

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[22] Barriofolk may gather their rattan (oway) in the mountains or buy it. Rattan gathered for house construction, is cut in lengths about 12 feet long. There are many names for different varieties of rattan, usually based upon their use. Manamao, Malabagakay, tagalola and malabutong rattan varieties are normally used in house construction. Tagalola is the rattan employed to lash the bamboo floor slats. Palasan and tagsa-on, thicker varieties, are used in making rope, e.g., to tie the goats or carabaos. Abangan, a thick variety, is not suitable for rope-making owing to the deep notches in the stem; it may be used as the anchor rope for bobo. Tagakan is rarely gathered because it is brittle "even when green" according to my informants. Homokan is used to make the woven seats of chairs or beds. Another variety of rattan, tagiti, the narrowest in diameter is used for a variety of purposes.

1 [See p. 682, cat. 335 or 116 -- Analyst]

20: Hart E-5 (195.) 1954 OA1 Philippines ~~OA~~
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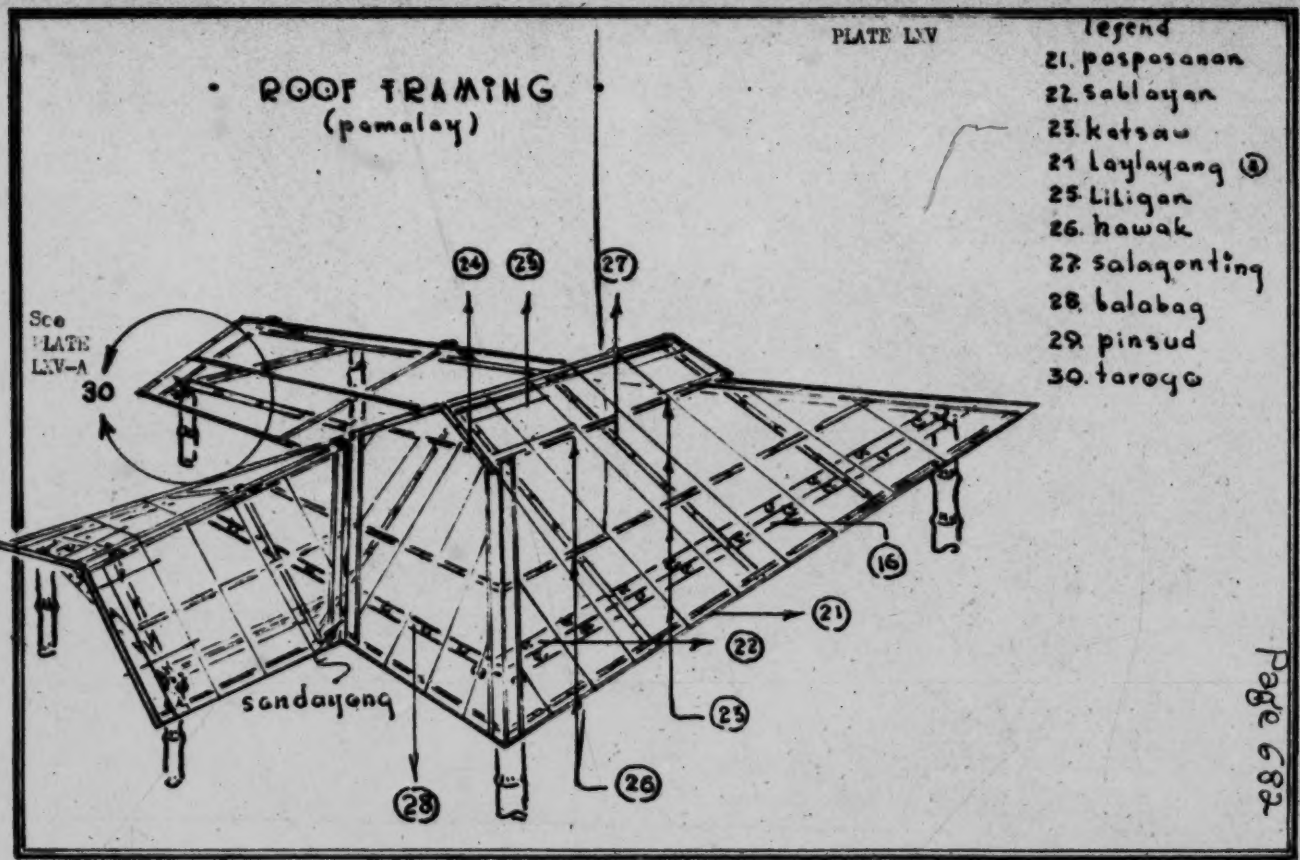


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should point either east or south. The reasons for this custom have been forgotten; some speculated that maybe it was because when one floats bamboo down the river the larger ends point south. If rafters are made of timber instead of bamboo it is impossible to determine the "head" and people ignore the custom. 335 789 777

The next step is to install the abay-abay (Plate LXIV, 16) that strengthen the sablayan and balabag; however, if timber is used the abay-abay are omitted. The roof framework (panalay) consists of a number of vertical and horizontal slats to which the nipa shingles (atop) are lashed. First the salagonting (Plate LXV, 27) then the hawak (Plate LXV, 26) and finally the katsaw (Plate LXV, 23) are added to the roof framework. The thickest end of the bamboo salagonting must be at the peak of the roof; otherwise it is believed the occupants will always be sickly. The katsaw should always alternate so the occupants will not suffer from nightmares. The hawak, that run the length of the roof, are tied under those that run the opposite direction; this is done to make it easier to add new nipa shingles. 335 342 [789 777]

Nipa shingles cost from ₱1.25 to ₱1.50 per 100 in Siaton. Nipa swamp owners not only sell shingles in the nearby barrios but also send them to Dumaguete. The Siaton bus often stopped along the road, just outside the poblacion, to pick up large bundles of nipa shingles that the owner was taking to Dumaguete. Some go to a nipa swamp and cut the leaves to make one's own shingles, paying 435 438

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the owner for the material. This is cheaper than buying the shingles ready-made.

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Shingles are made of strips of leaves "sewed" with rattan to a narrow bamboo slat. The leaves are doubled over the bamboo and rattan is interwoven below the stick to keep the leaves in place. Plate LXVI[1] illustrates how the shingles are attached to the roof; a nipa roof lasts from six to seven years. The barriofolk normally replace the rotted nipa shingles by twos and threes rather than reroof the entire dwelling; new shingles are added just before the start of a rainy season.

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When the roof framework is finished the roof is shingled. The first step is to put shingles on the silik (Plate LXIV, 10), the roof ridges. Before the first shingle is placed on the silik, a kapia snail shell and some river moss are placed under the shingle. As one informant explained:

> In putting on shingles I put a kapia and river moss under the first one. In doing this I say to myself: 'I'll put this kapia here as a lihi so during strong winds the roof won't be destroyed. And I am putting moss here so my house will not be destroyed by fire.'

Another informant said kapia shells are used because "they are very hard to pry off the rocks in the river." Some added a few leaves found floating in the river to serve the same purpose as the river moss.

Many barriofolk consider it unwise to cut rattan by biting it when making the first tie in building a dwelling. One Naga informant told me:

1 [See p.685, cat. 342 or 116 -- Analyst]

PLATE LIVI
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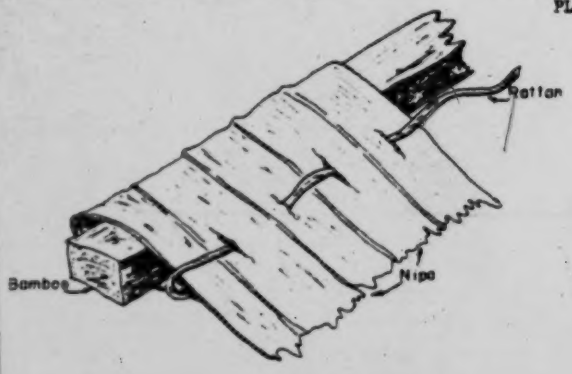


CONSTRUCTION OF NIPA SHINGLE
(actual size)

METHOD OF ATTACHING SHINGLE TO ROOF

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In the first tie of the house with rattan one must be careful not to bite the rattan or else the old people say the house will have many kinds of insects. Maybe they are right. The first house I built I happened to bite the rattan the first time I started to tie; there were plenty of mosquitos in this house, especially during the rainy season. In building this house [the informant's dwelling at the time] I was careful not to bite [the rattan] and there are not many insects, especially mosquitos.

The imitative magic principle is apparent; if one "bites" the rattan the completed house will have many insects that will "bite" the occupants. After the silik is finished, shingles are fixed to the remainder of the roof. Then the bamboo bobong (Plate LXIV, 12) are put along the roof ridges and the da-og (Plate LXIV, 19) added; sometimes the bobong is made of tin. The da-og strengthen the roof and prevent shingles from being blown off during a strong wind.

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When the roof is finished, the floor (salag) framework is begun. (See Plate LXVII,)[1] First pegs are inserted to support the floor beams that may be either bamboo or timber. The bangon are installed after the bamboo hanlag (bosa-og if made of wood) have been put in place. The floor is made of bamboo slats one-half an inch wide and one-fourth an inch apart; the slats are smoothed with the bolo and then either nailed or lashed to the liligan. Such a floor makes a dwelling cooler during the hot season and easier to clean than a solid flooring.

The framework for the door and shutters are now made. The door is usually made of woven strips of bamboo with "hinges" of strong rattan, or fixed to slide in

1 [See p. 687, cat. 342 or 335 Analyst]

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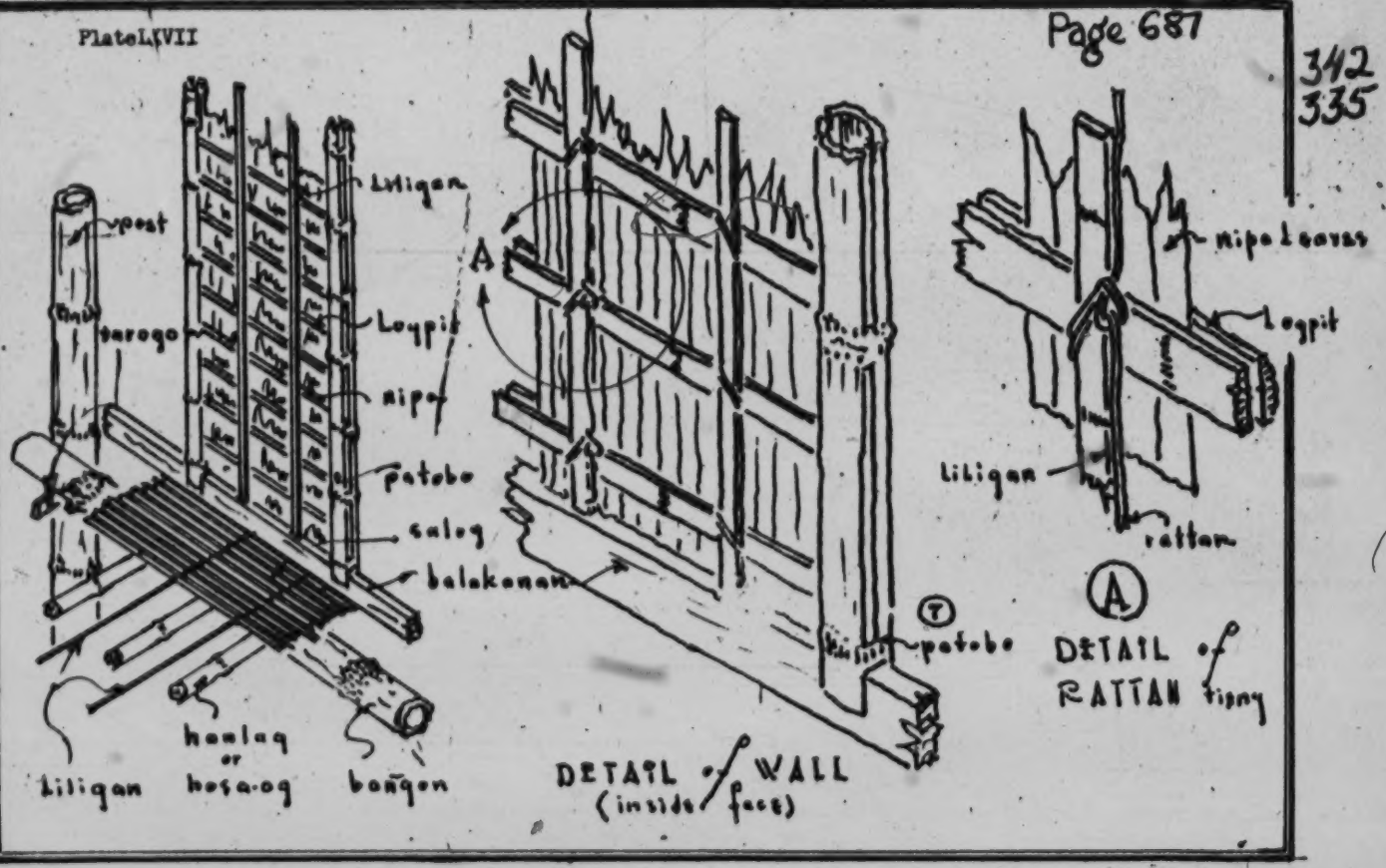


20. Hart E-5 (1951) 1954 OA1 Philippines Central Bisayas OA14 Pg 687

grooves. The shutters (takop or sira) are made normally of nipa or buri palm leaves. In some cases the shutters are wooden. 335 342

A general belief is that it is best for the doorway to face either the east or north; most of the Caticugan dwellings do. However, the barrio chapel has two doors, one facing south and the other west, and a group of houses along the base of the Dangola bluff doorways facing south. Some of these houses are unfinished; the owners eventually plan to have either an east or north doorway. In the poblacion, with its grid street system, there is no attempt to follow this custom. 335 342 789 777 [77]

Barriofolk state that the old people (gulang) thought it wise to have the doorway face either east or north so one's life will always be "rising like the sun" or because rain usually comes from the southwest or west. If the doorway opens to the south or west the occupants of the house will be sickly, not alert during their sleeping hours, or their lives "always setting like the sun does in the west." One informant, whose statement was not backed by the majority of the people, said it was necessary to have the door facing the east or north for otherwise when entering the house "one will go against the 'heads' of the sablayan and balabag."[23]

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[23] Oracion states: "Most houses in the coastal barrios and towns...are constructed so that the main door and stairs face east. This is believed to bring prosperity to the occupants. If the main door entrance faces west, it is believed that the occupants will get sick and may die." Oracion, op. cit., p. 25.

House Wall Types

Besides wood there are three types of house walls 342
in Caticugan. Bamboos are pounded until they are quite 335
flat; they are then cut along one side, spread out and lashed or nailed as walling (sasa). A second type of walling, siklat, is a loose basket weave of thin pieces of bamboo. These two types of walls are often built around the kitchen since they are less inflammable than nipa. The most common type of exterior house wall is nilogpit that is made of nipa. (See Plates LXVII and LXVIII.)[1] The vertical patobo (Plate LXVII, 7) have slits in their sides into which thin pieces of bamboo (logpit) are inserted. Nipa leaves are placed between the logpits and then tied to the liligans. Sometimes wire is used to lash the liligans and nipa instead of rattan.

The next step is to install the partitions (salud) if the dwelling is to be divided into rooms. The earth hearth is built and the altar (artal) constructed. A shelf (pantawan), that often extends outward from the kitchen wall, is made for the large clay water jar. A bamboo ladder is built to climb to the doorway.

Barriofolk said some changes in their dwellings 342
have occurred since the "old days." In the past the roof 178
was steeper, there was no porch or balcony, nor wooden 335
shutters that slide in grooves. Bamboo floor slats were never nailed but always tied with rattan and no cement, wire, or bolts were used. As for furnishing there were 352
no clay pot rests (hornos), mirrors, chairs or chinaware; 178

1 [See p. 687 ff. cat. 342 or 335--Analyst]

PLATE LXVIII







DETAIL - A
SIKLAT EXTERIOR WALL







DETAIL - A
NILOGPIT TYPE

EXTERIOR HOUSE WALLINGS

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basins were made of wood instead of the tin ones used today. No one had Coleman lanterns for light.

HOUSE-WARMING CEREMONY

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When a new dwelling is finished it is customary to hold a novena to bless the house and its occupants; during the ninth (and last) evening of the novena a taktak ug bokbok occurs. When the prayers are over, the guests jump up and down on the floor "to make the destructive bokbok beetles fall to the ground." Some smoke rattan lashings with the sap of the salngan tree or soot from a lamp as a termite preventative.

No taktak ug bokbok was held during my visit; the dwelling must be completed. In Talo-ot, for example, one family had been living in their house for more than a year but the kitchen was unfinished. The "house warming" was not held "because our house is not finished. We must wait."[24]

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If visitors sleep in a dwelling the first night it is occupied they must continue to sleep in the house for

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[24]A story is reported from Guindulman, Bohol, of the young married couple who moved into a new dwelling. The husband's mother-in-law advised them to eat meagerly the first three days in their new house. Only four bananas were to be cooked and eaten, one each for the husband, wife, maid and the last banana to be put in the cupboard. "'The ordeal is called a lihi,' Pemyong the husband explained. 'It sets a sort of pattern for frugal living. The limited meal of one banana and one pata [a salted black fish caught in the river] would remind us to economize always. The extra banana represents our savings which will accumulate through the years and make us rich.'" Joan Fernandez, "How to Get Rich," The Philippines Free Press, XLIII, No. 36 (September 6, 1952), pp. 22-3. This custom is unknown in Caticugan.

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three consecutive nights. If this is not done the occupants will be plagued with misfortune and illness.

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Some house posts have white crosses painted on them as protection against harmful spirits. A few houses had placed under the entrance ladder a small cross made of a thorny wood (salay). The barriofolk explain that this custom of painting or putting crosses on or near their homes originated shortly before the last war. Tales of a "headless" nun who brought typhoid came to southern Negros from Cebu. This supernatural nun was said to visit a dwelling and call out, "Good evening." If any occupants answered her before the greeting was repeated three times one of the family became ill of typhoid and died. To protect themselves the people started to paint crosses on the posts or to erect one near the house entrance. Houses so "protected" were avoided by the "headless" nun who also did not trouble people with the family name of Cruz (cross).

When these tales reached southern Negros some people in Siaton were said to have built crosses as thick as a man's leg. Even today some people will not answer a "good evening" greeting from a visitor outside their house until it is repeated three times. There is a parallel here with the Spanish custom that once required Filipinos to introduce themselves three times to Spaniards before they were recognized.

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Most barriofolk go to Omanod to work as harvesters while some women and young girls go to barter bread, matches, used American clothing and other wares for corn. These vendors rarely sell their wares for money. They barter for corn, and get more corn than they could if they sold their articles. Sometimes, when the harvest is over, the vendors will sell their remaining merchandise rather than carry it home. Others go to Omanod solely to buy corn for the price is lower than in Siaton poblacion. The people usually stay with relatives or friends in Omanod during the harvest period.

Unhusked corn is usually stored in the house, the ears piled in a corner of the room or in a bin. Corn is not husked until it is ready to be shelled and ground. Lagit stones or sea shells may be put with the corn to protect it from the weevils that often do considerable damage. Perhaps only one out of every twenty families in Caticugan has a separate storehouse for corn. The average family's corn supply is small and consumed steadily so individual storehouses are unnecessary. Storehouses that exist are usually built near the residences, although in a few cases they may be at the field's edge. Theft is rare because many would be afraid to steal corn for fear of barang.[50]

[50] Barang is the belief in the supernatural ability of certain persons to cause illness or death to their enemies. These specialists are said to own magical bees that are trained to penetrate the victim's body at their owner's command. Several cases of deaths allegedly due to barang motivated by thievery were reported by the barriofolk of Caticugan.

trees. The new unpainted wooden residence of the parish priest is near the church. The plaza of Siaton is unimproved except for a circle of cement used for fiesta dances, now covered with pungent copra, and a basketball court. Across the street from the plaza is a small wooden building which houses the telegraph and postoffice and offices of the municipal agricultural agent and the government midwife. To the rear of the postoffice building is a neat wooden Protestant church.

The new elementary school is the pride of the community and the center for social gatherings--functions usurped from the church. There are three painted wooden buildings, but the other structures are temporary classrooms of bamboo and nipa. The schoolyard is covered with a green lawn and there are cement paths lined with oleander and small shrubs. By the domestic science building is a struggling rose garden which every "progressive" school must have. Across the street from the school buildings are several sari-sari stores which cater to the appetites of the school children. Farther west a new concrete bridge spans the wide, shallow (in the dry season) Siaton River. Overlooking the bridge is Pangligiran hill where Don Antoy, a legendary supernatural, lives in a grand palace of marble and gold, invisible to ordinary humans.

The houses of the poblacion are similar to those seen along the National Road. However, there are some white wooden houses where local officials live. To the

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## Siaton Schools During the Spanish Period

Prior to 1863 there was no systematic educational structure or administration in the Philippines. "The government did not have any agency for the control and supervision of the schools. Each school was left to its own devices--to choose its teachers, to adopt its curriculum, to administer its own affairs according to the desire of the founders.[104] The royal decree of 1863 extended to the Philippines a school system originally developed for Cuba and provided for "incomplete" primary schools in each barrio of 500 persons or less. The supervision of local schools was given to the parish priests. Two years later the organization of secondary schools, one in each province, was also decreed.[105]

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There had been a school, for boys and girls, in Siaton for several decades before 1890 but the Cadiane manuscript does not go into detail. In 1891, however, Baldomores Torres, the Guardia Civil commandant, decided

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[104] "The parish priest, as ex-officio supervisor, had the following functions: to visit the schools, to admonish erring teachers or to suspend them, to encourage attendance of pupils, to certify whether a child should be admitted to the school, free of charge or not, to recommend to the provincial inspector any needed improvement of the school, and to supervise the teaching of religion and morals." Isidro Antonio, The Philippine Educational System. 2nd ed. Manila, Bookman, Inc., 1949, pp. 9-10.

[105] Katherine M. Cook, Public Education in the Philippine Islands, Bulletin 1935, No. 9, Washington, D. C. U. S. Department of the Interior, Office of Education, 1935, p. 22.

to build a new school in the poblacion. He told the people to collect the materials for the building and selected the plaza as the site. The parish priest, Jorje Carcabilla, objected to the erection of the school on land that belonged to the church.

A bitter struggle between the two leaders followed. The quarrel over the school was secondary; the root of the disagreement was the conflict between the parish priest and the commandant over the management of local affairs and the accession of heirs of the Spanish throne. The political rivalries of Spain were carried to the Philippines. Carcabilla was a supporter of the Carlista party and Torres of the Isabelina party who were then quarreling over the accession rights of Isabel and Carlos, King Ferdinand's children.

Cadiane describes the priest as "cruel, like a soldier," but he is an obvious admirer of Torres. The priest emerged victorious in this dispute and classes continued to be held in the old school building. This victory of the parish priest over the commandant of the Guardia Civil indicates the power the priests then wielded in the Philippines.

Zaide writes that the average parish priest during the Spanish period was "virtual ruler of the town."[106]

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[106] Zaide, The Philippines Since the British Invasion, p. 163.

passengers get off and empty wooden boxes are left by the roadside for the fishermen of Malabuhan. On the return trip the boxes will be filled with fresh fish for sale in Dumaguete. About a quarter of a mile south is Sitio Malabuhan, a fishing village with houses lining a sandy shore and many beached boats covered with coconut fronds.

The bus continues, past Inalad school and is ferried over the placid Canaway River, to arrive at Siaton poblacion. (See Plate XVII.)[1] The business center of Siaton poblacion is strung for several blocks along the National Road here named George Washington Road. There are general stores, a corn mill, and a marketplace. A card game may be in progress in a small store while the guhang "bar" already has patrons, lounging on bamboo benches. A bus from Tolong poblacion may be waiting for its passengers to finish their breakfast at the several cafes in the marketplace while the driver helps a woman to load a squealing pig for Dumaguete market. Other thin pigs root at the roadside or around the marketplace while lazy dogs sleep on the warm asphalt road, moving only when the bus is nearly upon them.

On the plaza's north side is the termite-ridden municipio with offices for the mayor and other officials and a tiny jail with bamboo bars. The church was rebuilt in 1952 but the old stone walls of the former church are seen vine-covered and shaded by giant acacia trees.

[351]

[1/ this plate (p. 128) is missing -- ANALYST]

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INTERIOR FURNISHING OF THE BARRIO HOUSE

The typical Caticugan dwelling has two rooms--the *sala* or the living, dining bed-room, and kitchen. Sometimes the kitchen is completely separated from the *sala* but there may be only a partial partition. Some dwellings have a third room, a combined bedroom and storage space. Normally this room lacks beds and is used mainly to store boxes of clothing, sleeping mats, grain or other household equipment. Rarely do the "bedrooms" have windows; most barriofolk believe that night air is not healthy. In the *poblacion* many *principalia* shutter their bedroom windows when they retire; another reason is to discourage thieves. However, fresh air circulates through the loose walls and the slat floors.

In Caticugan the *sala* usually has a table and one or more wooden benches; sometimes benches of bamboo are fixed to the wall. Very few chairs occur in *barrio* dwellings although they are quite common in better houses in the *poblacion*. In two houses, one in Barrio Caticugan and the other in Naga, Singer sewing machines were seen. Most houses have a few pictures on the walls. The walls of the *sala* may be covered with colored illustrations from newspapers and magazines, mostly of American origin, and pictures of Filipino movie stars from the Cebuano-dialect magazine, *Bisaya*.[4]

[4] *Bisaya* is the most widely read dialect magazine in Siaton; it is a weekly, published in Manila, with a 1954 circulation of 2,973 in Negros Oriental. The magazine, first started in 1946, contains short stories, comics,

Calendars with pictures of the Holy Family or religious scenes are common in the dwellings; these calendars are distributed free by Dumaguete Chinese merchants. Photographs are fairly typical--pictures of weddings, funerals, relatives, school graduations, etc. A few houses had an aparado, a chest cupboard, often with glass doors.

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5 There are two varieties of tree cotton in Caticugan, gapas gamay and gapas dako; both were identified as Gossypium brasiliense Macf. Also see Brown, op. cit., II, pp. 401-3.

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What I have called "bedrooms" is something of a misnomer; "bedroom-storage" might be more appropriate. In no case was there more than one bed in such a room, although the family often consisted of five or six persons. At night sleeping mats were spread on the sala or kitchen floor to accommodate all the members of the family. Beds are raised bamboo platforms with a woven bamboo or rattan mesh over which is put the sleeping mat. Pillows are made of red cotton cloth or abaca fabric filled with kapok; the seeds are not removed. Women may have a few white cotton pillow cases for use when guests spend the night. Sleeping mats are rolled in the morning and placed in a corner of the room or sorted with the pillows in the rafters. There is a riddle on this activity:

In the morning they go up; at night they come down. What are they?

(Mabuntag mosaka, magabii manogpa. Unsa man?)
The answer is alugnan (the mats, pillows and coverings).

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Two homes in Caticugan used hammocks of woven rattan as beds. The dwellings of the poblacion principalia normally have beds made either by local carpenters or purchased in Dumaguete; the beds have the same woven mesh over which sleeping mats are placed. The principalia normally sleep under mosquito nets--rarely seen in the barrio.

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The space under the raised barrio house is called silong; here the plow, harrow, mortar and pestle, lumber, and firewood are stored. The nests of chickens may be

tied to the house posts and the pig's trough is usually in the silong. In a few cases the silong was enclosed with a loosely woven bamboo grill. Many houses have small porches, most of them roofed, with bamboo benches; a few potted plants grow on the porch and the corn or rice grinders (galingan) are often kept there. (See Plates LIX and LX.)[1]

Two types of grinders are made from a grey granite. One is used to grind corn into meal (bugos mais) and the other to make flour rice for rice cakes (binka).[9] Corn or rice kernels are dropped into the hole at the top of the grinder and ground between the teeth of the lower part of the mill. These grinders are gradually disappearing; most barriofolk take their corn (rarely rice) to the kerosene machine mills in the poblacion. I saw one corn grinder abandoned near a residence; the owner said she discarded it because their corn was ground in the poblacion.

Another device often seen in barrio dwellings is the kagoran that is used to shred coconut. The meat is rubbed against the iron shredder and collected below in a dish. Shredded coconut is mixed with a little water and squeezed by hand to make "coconut milk" used in preparing rice cakes and other foods. (See Plate LXI.)[2]

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[9] The same type of corn grinder is used by the Magahats. Oracion, op. cit., p. 85, Plate 56, illustrates the galingan (as also called by Magahats) for grinding corn. The Magahats evidently do not have the rice grinder used in Caticugan

1 (See p. 661 ff, cat. 412 or 116 -- Analyst)

2 (this plate is missing -- Analyst)

House Wall Types

Besides wood there are three types of house walls 342
in Caticugan. Bamboos are pounded until they are quite 335
flat; they are then cut along one side, spread out and lashed or nailed as walling (sasa). A second type of walling, siklat, is a loose basket weave of thin pieces of bamboo. These two types of walls are often built around the kitchen since they are less inflammable than nipa. The most common type of exterior house wall is nilogpit that is made of nipa. (See Plates LXVII and LXVIII.)[1] The vertical patobo (Plate LXVII, 7) have slits in their sides into which thin pieces of bamboo (logpit) are inserted. Nipa leaves are placed between the logpits and then tied to the liligans. Sometimes wire is used to lash the liligans and nipa instead of rattan.

The next step is to install the partitions (salud) if the dwelling is to be divided into rooms. The earth hearth is built and the altar (artal) constructed. A shelf (pantawan), that often extends outward from the kitchen wall, is made for the large clay water jar. A bamboo ladder is built to climb to the doorway.

Barriofolk said some changes in their dwellings 342
have occurred since the "old days." In the past the roof 178
was steeper, there was no porch or balcony, nor wooden 335
shutters that slide in grooves. Bamboo floor slats were never nailed but always tied with rattan and no cement, wire, or bolts were used. As for furnishing there were 352
no clay pot rests (hornos), mirrors, chairs or chinaware; 178

1 [See p. 687 ff. cat. 342 or 335--Analyst]

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basins were made of wood instead of the tin ones used today. No one had Coleman lanterns for light.

HOUSE-WARMING CEREMONY

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When a new dwelling is finished it is customary to hold a novena to bless the house and its occupants; during the ninth (and last) evening of the novena a taktak ug bokbok occurs. When the prayers are over, the guests jump up and down on the floor "to make the destructive bokbok beetles fall to the ground." Some smoke rattan lashings with the sap of the salngan tree or soot from a lamp as a termite preventative.

No taktak ug bokbok was held during my visit; the dwelling must be completed. In Talo-ot, for example, one family had been living in their house for more than a year but the kitchen was unfinished. The "house warming" was not held "because our house is not finished. We must wait."[24]

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If visitors sleep in a dwelling the first night it is occupied they must continue to sleep in the house for

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[24]A story is reported from Guindulman, Bohol, of the young married couple who moved into a new dwelling. The husband's mother-in-law advised them to eat meagerly the first three days in their new house. Only four bananas were to be cooked and eaten, one each for the husband, wife, maid and the last banana to be put in the cupboard. "'The ordeal is called a lihi,' Pemyong the husband explained. 'It sets a sort of pattern for frugal living. The limited meal of one banana and one pata [a salted black fish caught in the river] would remind us to economize always. The extra banana represents our savings which will accumulate through the years and make us rich.'" Joan Fernandez, "How to Get Rich," The Philippines Free Press, XLIII, No. 36 (September 6, 1952), pp. 22-3. This custom is unknown in Caticugan.

high, with a capacity of about 2-1/4 pounds of clean rice; the largest was 9 inches high with a capacity of 4-1/2 pounds. It took her about two days to make the large pot; four or five of the smaller ones could be made in the same time--of course, after the clay had been gathered and prepared for working.

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BURI WEAVING

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Weaving of buri (Cebuano: buli) palm bags and sleeping mats is the most widespread of all handicrafts in the Siaton River valley. Large buri bags (baluyut), four or five feet high, serve to store rice or shelled corn. Smaller bags (bolugasan) are used to carry shelled corn to the poblacion mills for grinding for storage. Sleeping mats (banig) are about three to five feet in width and four to six feet in length. Plate LXX[1], A and B, shows the type of weave used for making both the bags and sleeping mats. Drawing B (Plate LXX) shows how the edges of the sleeping mats are finished. Weaving buri bags and mats is strictly a woman's job, although men cut the fronds.

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Preparing the Buri for Weaving

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Unopened immature buri fronds are cut from the tree's crown. The best time to cut the fronds was said to be the period of the new moon; if gathered at any other time the fronds are very brittle and difficult to weave. After the unopened fronds are cut, they are pulled apart and placed, fan-like, on the ground to dry for two or three days.

1 [See p. 703, Cat. 285, or 116 -- Analyst]

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flowers put in the vases. When a religious service is held at the altar, the coconut oil lamp and a few candles are lighted.[6] 778

Domestic altars of Caticugan are quite similar to those described by Robert Redfield for Tepoztlan. 353 778

> A domestic shrine is found in most houses. This may be no more than a printed or painted picture of a saint, but more commonly it is a carved and painted wooden figure, usually a Virgin or a Christ ...In front of this figure an incense burner...is placed...In it copal gum is burned. [No incense is used for altar services in Caticugan]. Flowers are also placed before the figure, in bottles or vases, and pictures of other saints are hung near the image. This shrine is the center of domestic worship and ritual. Candles are burned before it on feast days...[7]

A few wooden-carved saints can still be seen in Caticugan but, for the most part, they have been replaced by the bright-colored plaster figures sold in Dumaguete or purchased from peddlars who come to the barrios or poblacion during the fiestas.

The frequency of these domestic barrio altars decreases in the poblacion. Some of the more sophisticated think that the barriofolk's altars are primitive; none of the altars seen in the poblacion approached the elaborateness of the two brothers' altar in Barrio Caticugan. Since many principalia of Siaton are Protestants this may explain, in part, the fewer domestic altars that occur in the poblacion. 369 353 778 795

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[6]The life history of one man included a statement that he could escape punishment for a childhood misdeed if he reached the family altar before his father caught him.

[7]Redfield, op. cit., p. 38.

A general pattern does appear, however; the barriofolk more often have domestic altars in their dwellings, of various degrees of elaborateness. These altars are less popular among many of the poblacion principalia (who are Catholics); their popularity and frequency increase in homes of the urban wealthy. Some city homes I visited had a separate room that was a place of worship, a sanctuary with expensive religious pictures and elaborate figures of saints and the Holy Family. The nearness of the local church may account for the decline in number of altars in Siaton poblacion.

Kitchen equipment normally includes the large clay water jar and a dirt and ash-floored cooking platform or hearth (dapog). The small clay pot rests (hornos) cost fifteen cents and are put on the hearth; they resemble the Japanese shichirin. While most barriofolk now use the horno some still cook by setting pots on three stones placed in a triangular position and known as sug-ang.[8] This was the old way of cooking before the horno's introduction. Every kitchen has a few cooking pots. More people are buying iron kettles for cooking. Pot rests (balanka) are made of rattan or corn cobs. (See Plate LVIII.)[1]

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[8] There are a number of riddles concerning the sug-ang.
"Three brothers have but one name." (Bicol)
"What are those three houses facing each other that cannot be burned?" (Igorot)
The answer to both is sug-ang. Buaken, op. cit., pp. 348-50.

1 [See p. 658, cat. 417 -- Analyst]

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tied to the house posts and the pig's trough is usually in the silong. In a few cases the silong was enclosed with a loosely woven bamboo grill. Many houses have small porches, most of them roofed, with bamboo benches; a few potted plants grow on the porch and the corn or rice grinders (galingan) are often kept there. (See Plates LIX and LX.)[1]

[352 353]

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1 [See p. 658, cat. 417 -- Analyst]

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The windows of the dwellings usually have shutters. There were no glass windows in the barrio; very few houses of the principalia in the poblacion had attractive translucent shell-paned windows. Shutters in both the barrio and poblacion are normally made of woven palm leaves and attached at the top to a bamboo pole, either with rattan or tin loops (made from a tin can) so they can slide open or shut. There was no electricity in the barrio; a few people owned Coleman lanterns. The most common method of illumination was the kerosene lamparilla that are made in Dumaguete. The wick, a spare rag, gives a weak and sooty light. (See Plate LXII.)

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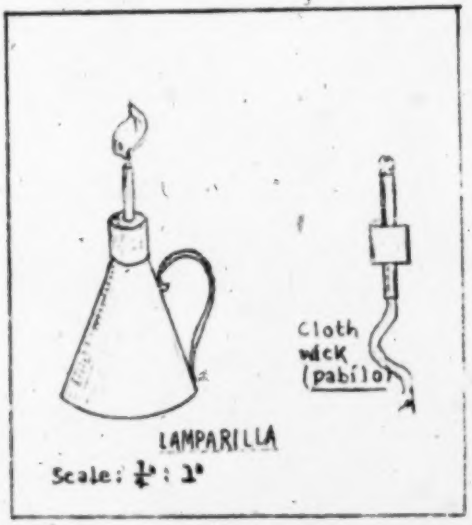


356

After several years it is a constant job to keep a barrio dwelling in repair. New nipa shingles must be added, rents in the walls closed, and props placed to prevent a leaning dwelling from tumbling down. Rattan lashings of floor slats are replaced when they break and

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their houses and beat out clay which the men have prepared."[3] Pots are made of red alluvial clays, often mixed with sand; after drying in the sun they are stacked and fired. Firing techniques differ slightly throughout the archipelago. With the exception of a few Chinese potters, kilns are not used; only a few use the potter's wheel, and still fewer use glazes.

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178

No pottery is made today by the barriofolk of Caticugan. The rice cooking pot (kolon) that always had a large sale is being replaced by the aluminum pot and frying pan. In parts of the archipelago the kerosene stove is replacing the clay cooking stove (horno), although this is not the case in Caticugan. (See Plate LXIX.) Only

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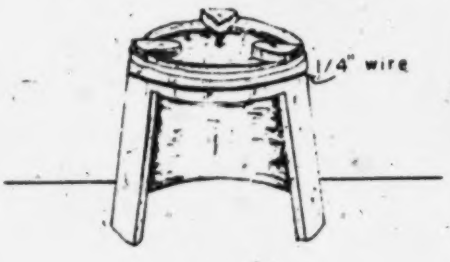
PLATE LXIX




HORNO
scale: 1/8" : 1"

one woman in Barrio Datag regularly made pots during the dry season; she did not make them during the rainy season

[3] Mary K. Risley, The Ceramic Industry in the Philippines. United Nations Publications Sale Number: 1954.II.H.5., ST/TAA/K/Philippines/4/January 20, 1954, p. 5.

Calendars with pictures of the Holy Family or religious scenes are common in the dwellings; these calendars are distributed free by Dumaguete Chinese merchants. Photographs are fairly typical—pictures of weddings, funerals, relatives, school graduations, etc. A few houses had an aparado, a chest cupboard, often with glass doors.

Every Caticugan dwelling had a family or domestic altar. In some cases the altar was merely a religious picture or a cheap plaster figure of a saint placed on a small shelf or, in one case, on the top of a trunk. A few altars were quite elaborate with two or three religious figures and pictures, vases (often beer bottles) for flowers, and paper cut-out or tinfoil decorations. Some altars have a small tin container filled with coconut oil with a wick made from a twist of kapok or native cotton.[5] The most elaborate altar in Caticugan belonged to two unmarried brothers who lived together; both young men were considered to be bayutes, highly feminine-acting men.

Little care is given most altars; they are often dirty and disarranged. During a novena or the fiesta, however, the altars are cleaned, rearranged and fresh flowers put in the vases.

4 (Continued) and several pages of current events. Personal communication to the writer from Mr. B. Canete, Circulation Manager, Liwayway Publications, Inc., Manila, April 3, 1954. Typescript.

5 There are two varieties of tree cotton in Caticugan, gapas gomay and gapas dako; both were identified as Gossypium brasiliense Macf. Also see Brown, op. cit., II, pp. 401-3.

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The windows of the dwellings usually have shutters. There were no glass windows in the barrio; very few houses of the principalia in the poblacion had attractive translucent shell-paned windows. Shutters in both the barrio and poblacion are normally made of woven palm leaves and attached at the top to a bamboo pole, either with rattan or tin loops (made from a tin can) so they can slide open or shut. There was no electricity in the barrio; a few people owned Coleman lanterns. The most common method of illumination was the kerosene lamparilla that are made in Dumaguete. The wick, a spare rag, gives a weak and sooty light. (See Plate LXII.)

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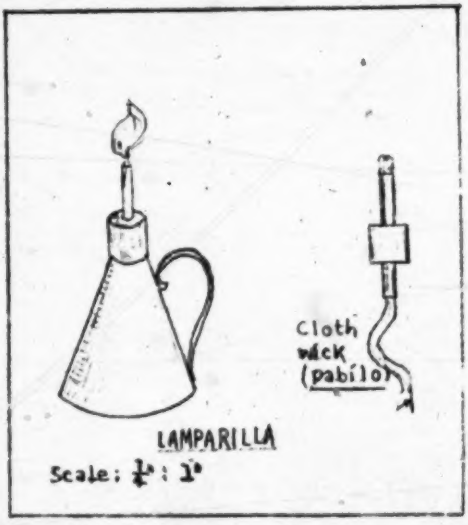


356

After several years it is a constant job to keep a barrio dwelling in repair. New nipa shingles must be added, rents in the walls closed, and props placed to prevent a leaning dwelling from tumbling down. Rattan lashings of floor slats are replaced when they break and

new slats installed. A local riddle accurately describes the general appearance of most of the Caticugan dwellings. 356 524

Since birth all patches. What is it? A house
(Sukad nabata tapak sapina. Unsa ~~man~~? Balay)

COST OF BUILDING A BARRIO DWELLING

The basic materials used to build a barrio dwelling are obtained in the locality, i.e., bamboo, nipa, house posts, rattan, etc. Wire, nails, and galvanized iron sheets are purchased in poblacion stores or, more frequently, obtained in Dumaguete. The use of wire, nails, iron roofing and cement, for example, in the construction of new dwellings in Caticugan, though still small, is increasing. More families would have purchased these materials during my ~~residence except~~ for highly inflated prices and restricted supplies. This trend toward using materials that are made and normally purchased outside the community (in contrast to going to the mountains to obtain materials) will continue to reduce the bartering that still persists in their basic economy and decrease the barriofolk's self-sufficiency. 435 178 438 342

In the past, a family who decided to build a new dwelling in Caticugan were assisted by neighbors and friends. Today, however, when an individual constructs a new house it is mainly a family task. If additional labor is needed the builder may hire local carpenters. House construction exemplifies the transitional process--from community cooperation, to family, and gradually to the 476 602 178 463

part, the planters receive 60 per cent of the sugar obtained from the cane while the mills retain the remainder. In 1952 there were twelve sugar cane mills operating in Negros with only one in Negros Oriental (Bais). 249 257

At Victorias the workers are provided with squat cement houses with running water and electricity. Victorias is a small city with a church (one of the most dramatically modern structures in the Philippines), stores, hospital, recreational facilities, and schools. The general standard of living of the mill workers is much higher than that of the average farmer of Caticugan. Mr. Frederico Ossorio, General Manager of the Victorias Milling Company, has initiated a cooperative vocational school, and other programs to encourage community development and leadership among the workers. 257 361 [511] [874]

Negros' major sugar region begins in the south with Ilog and continues northward and eastward along the littoral. (See Plate XVI.) This region has been divided into the northern and western subregions. On Negros' eastern coast there are two small sugar cane districts, San Carlos and Bais. The sugar cane regions and the plains of Negros coincide closely. (See Plates V and XVI.)[1] 311 249

Wernstedt reports: "The western sugar subregion is the most important sugar-producing region on Negros Island, and the most important single sugar-producing

[1 See pp. 38+105, cat. 311+249 -- Analyst]

south, about a 20-minute walk, is the sea, To the and fishermen have their boats, nets and their fish corrals in the offshore waters. To the west of the mouth of the Siaton River is Baybay, a small sitio in a coconut grove.

One could see Caticugan from the National Road were it not for the coconut palms. Caticugan, Naga, Talo-ot and Dangola are really one community, although known by different names and divided by low bluffs or shallow streams. Kinship ties, trading activities, land ownership, and friendships all bind the people in the different settlements into a functioning group. There are two main paths to Caticugan. One path skirts the cockpit which is empty except on Sundays or holidays, while the other path fords the river around a bend to the north. (See Plate XVIII.)[1] Taking the path by the cockpit one crosses the river, passes through a small willow-covered flood area and up a small rise to the fields of lower Caticugan, often called Pilapil (rice paddy) by the older residents. Northwest along the path one passes dead buri palms, killed by the process of making guhang, and the houses of the people. There is a little sari-sari on the porch of one house where cookies, pop, kerosene, lard, and matches are sold. Continuing, one comes to a tiny bamboo chapel and the only wooden residence, that of the richest man in Caticugan. The path finally ends at the bluffs of Dangola.

1 [plate XVII (p. 131) is missing -- ANALYST]

The northwest part of Caticugan is still quite boggy. Along the base of the bluff runs a shallow stream which eventually joins the Caticugan Creek. To the west is the low bluff of Caticugan; Lucas Ege, founder of Caticugan, built canals here to drain the many springs. The hills are covered with bamboo groves, shrubs, and some coconuts. Taking the path up the bluff one emerges at Upper Naga. To the north a hill undulates down to a grassy shelf on which stand the houses of Upper Naga. Following the crest of the bluff southward one comes to the main settlement of Naga where a small bamboo school is located. The nearest house has several jars of bright-colored candies in the window sill to attract the few pennies of the children. To the west is Mantuyop River, a rockier and shallower stream than the Siaton River. Across the Mantuyop River the hills are covered with low-growing trees and shrubs.

If the opposite direction had been taken on leaving Caticugan one would have ascended the small plateau of Dangola, rocky, grass-covered and with scattered fields. The southwestern part of Dangola is covered with grass and large wallow holes where carabaos roll happily in thick mud. To the northwest is the level riverine plain of Sandolot with fenced fields and residences. Descending toward the east from Dangola one arrives at Talo-ot, separated from Caticugan

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remainder of his expedition returned to Spain. No further visits were made to Negros by the Spaniards until Miguel Lopez de Legaspi's expedition arrived in 1565. It was Legaspi who began the actual conquest of the Philippines and so firmly fixed the flag of Spain, with sword and cross, that it remained unfurled over the archipelago for nearly four centuries.

Soon after their arrival in the Philippines, Legaspi's three ships (a fourth ship had deserted the expedition enroute to Guam) anchored off Cebu. The hostility of the Cebuanos prevented a landing on the island and, in need of provisions, Legaspi sailed among the Visayas, stopping at Leyte, Samar, and Camiguin. While enroute to Butuan, Mindanao, his fleet was blown off its course and with the calm appeared near the coast of Bohol. A landing was soon made on Bohol. Later a small boat under the command of Esteban Rodrigues was sent from Bohol to investigate the situation in Cebu. Encountering a storm they steered their craft for Negros' eastern coast in search of shelter. Rodrigues and his crew are said to have had several narrow escapes on Negros due to the hostility of the inhabitants. Later they crossed Tañon Strait to Cebu where they found a number of villages (14-15) and reported the western coast of the island to be thickly populated.[4]

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[4] Varona, op. cit., p.2.

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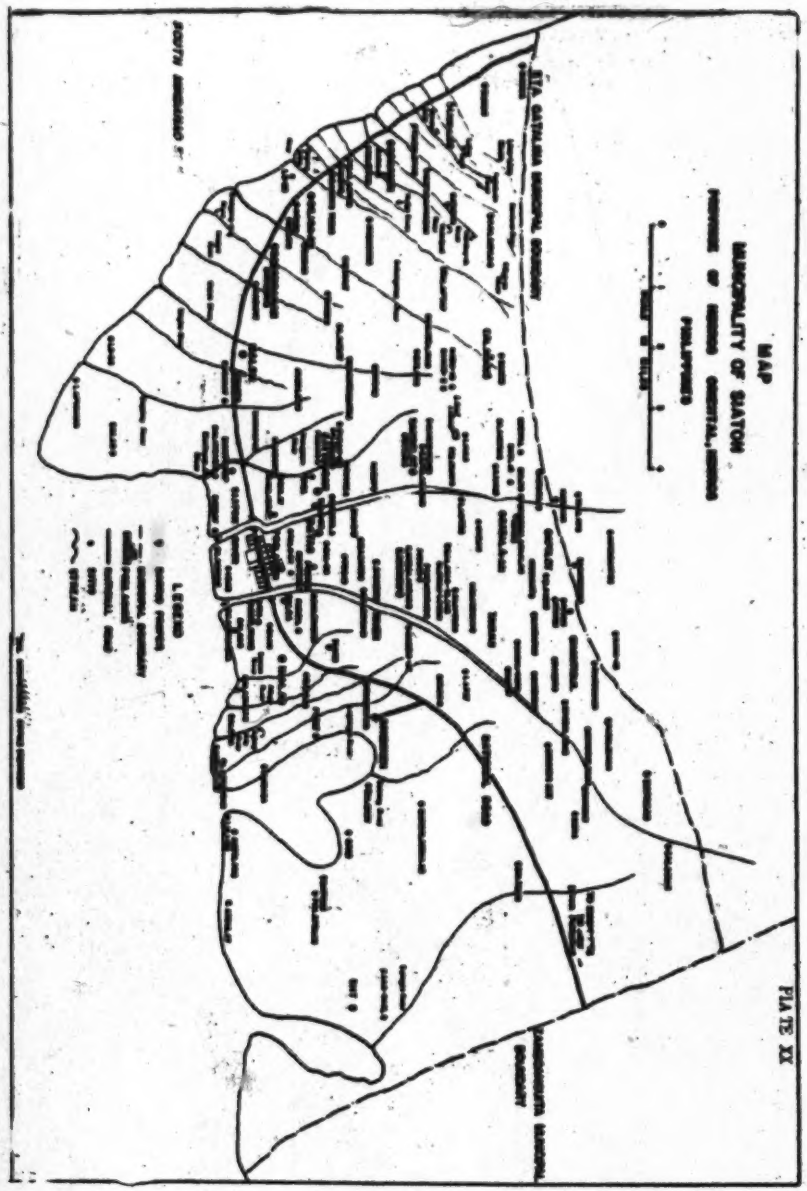
Central Bisayan OA14

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P. 157

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These stones were counted at the end of the day with all the people watching. The pile which had the greater number of stones won the election. The people who wanted the poblacion located east of the Canaway River piled their stones at the north. Those who wanted the poblacion located below Kalumpang piled their stones at the south. When the election day was over and the stones were counted in the two piles, the pile at the south had more stones. Everybody accepted the decision that the new poblacion's location was to be in the lowland below Kalumpang. This is the location of the present poblacion of Siaton.

The founding of the present poblacion of Siaton dates from this 1828 election.

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In this new location the people built their houses grouped together. They did not wish to arrange their houses in straight lines. If the Moros came it was easier to protect themselves if their houses were clustered. The people began to construct a new wooden church for now there were two priests living in Siaton, Fathers Arias and Presbitero Felix. In 1829 Etib was re-elected capitan and the erection of a new stone church was begun. The wooden church was later used as a stable by the Spaniards.

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There is no information in the Gadiane manuscript regarding the date that the Spaniards first came to Siaton. Gadiane writes that a Spanish lieutenant was first stationed at Bonbonon in 1819. The fact that capitans and cabezas were elected to direct community affairs, tributes were collected, and priests active in the region indicates, however, that Spanish authority had reached the locality before 1819.

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[847]

One incident was reported of a Chinese father who tried to drown his first child, a girl. The Siaton Chinese believed if their first child were a female their business would be unsuccessful. This Chinese was jailed and every Sunday, for one month, tied, whipped and driven around the poblacion by the Guardia Civil to be taunted by the populace. He later left the poblacion having "lost face."

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Every February (Chinese New Year) the Chinese merchants in Siaton poblacion would hold a gala celebration. They closed their stores and met to feast and frolic. Prominent poblacion officials were sent baskets of food and fruit and some were invited to Chinese homes for an elaborate dinner.

## Lucas Ege Founds Barrio Caticugan

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The first reference to Lucas Ege, founder of Barrio Caticugan, is his election as capitan in 1859.[66] His grandson, still living, said Lucas was born in the locality of Siaton but he did not know the birthplace of Ege's father. The land where Barrio Caticugan is now situated (not including Naga, Dangola, and Talo-ot) was owned by Father Celestino Romero, priest of Siaton parish. Romero succeeded Mezquita; the exact date is not known but it was before 1856.[67]

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[66] Capitan Kinkito was followed by Celestino Makagig (1841-42); Rosindo Kinamot (1843-44); Gabriel Kibotkibot, nicknamed "Antoy" (1845-46); Pedro Macolbacol, nicknamed "Padugo" (1847-48); Francisco Ege, nicknamed "Iton" (1853-54); Felipe Nacapanas, nicknamed "Anyag" (1855-56); Rosindo Kinamot, nicknamed "Balangka" (1857-58) and Lucas Ege (1859-60). These family names are still common in Siaton.

[67] Ruiz, op. cit., p. 151.

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Present day Barrio Caticugan's land was later purchased by Father Manuel Cabriada on Romero's transfer to Dumaguete. Later Cabriada was sent as the first missionary to Tolong. In 1872 Cabriada returned to Siaton. When Julio Adan replaced Cabriada he purchased the land and later sold it to Lucas Ege for fifteen dollars. Lucas Ege lived to be quite old; he died around 1898, according to his grandson. While the exact date is unknown, Ege's development of Caticugan must have begun after 1872 and before 1898. I estimate Ege began to drain the land and settle it with his relatives about 1885.

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Before its purchase by Ege, the pocket-size plain of Caticugan was a bog. Little of the land could be cultivated and planted with rice. The ground was so boggy that "carabaos could not walk on most of the land" and "a lighted cigar dropped on the earth would ignite it. The ground would burn, without smoke, just like ashes." Ege's friends warned him that the land was haunted for they saw mysterious torches there at night, the eerie handiwork of the encangtos (unseen spirits). Lucas Ege, however, purchased the land and began to build a series of drainage canals in order to increase the cultivable area.

[784]

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Before the 1896 Siaton River flood, the river ran at the base of the Dangola bluff and turned southward along the present course of Caticugan Creek. After this flood, the Siaton changed its course to its present bed.

Until this time Talo-ot was separated from Barrio Caticugan. Dangola and Naga were settled later than Barrio Caticugan. Naga was first owned by Pablo Radoc and was inhabited by only two families in 1899. A typhoon in 1912 flooded Barrio Caticugan, covering the land with water waist-deep that left a thick blanket of mud on subsilence.

How Some of the Barrios Received Their Names

Barrio Caticugan received its name from the ticug reed that once grew in abundance in the swampy area. This reed is used today to make mats in many parts of the Philippines. Ca is a Cebuano prefix which means "the place where." Caticugan translates as "The Place where the Ticug Grow." With the draining of the swamps, and the increasing number of carabao kept in the barrio, the ticugs disappeared. Naga, Talo-ot, Casala-an, Bantolinao, and Dangola all received their names from trees that once grew in their locality.[68]

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[68] Narra is also called naga. Luis J. Reyes, Philippine Woods. Technical Bulletin No. 7. Manila, Department of Agriculture and Commerce, Bureau of Printing, 1938, p. 143. Bantolinao trees (Diospyros sp.) that grew in this area were said to have a black heartwood that made them valuable for decorating furniture; they were also called ebony. Juan Felix de la Encarnacion, Diccionario Bisaya-Espanol: Compuesto por el R. P. Fr. Juan Felix de las Encarnacion, Provincial, que has sido dos veces de Agustinos Descalzos de la Provincia de S. Nicolos de Tolentino de Filipinas. Tercera Edicion. Manila, Tipografia de Amigos del Pais, 1885, p. 38. Vide Reyes, op. cit., pp. 407-11.

One could write a surprisingly adequate account of barrio life by describing only the activities that occur along Siaton River. The barriofolk take their morning baths at the river, while the children play games along the sandy banks. A man waters and washes his carabaos and horses; a small boy turns over stones, looking for fish to "shoot" with his "gun." Later the women come to fetch water in bamboo tubes, or to beat the family wash on flat stones as they gossip. A man comes to the bank to see if his line caught an eel during the night; a group of men clean a slaughtered pig or goat for a wedding or funeral. A raft of green bamboos, cut upstream, floats seaward. Where the banks are high there may be tiny gardens of green onions, eggplants and tomatoes.

In the afternoon a woman comes to the river to get a lagit stone, or moss for a lihi for a new house a family is building. Women return from the poblacion where they have sold their vegetables. Several men wade across the river, carrying a coffin to the poblacion church for the final rites. Children ford the river, as they return from the elementary school. In the evening, by the light of the moon, young girls search wet stones for snails. Later, men return from an evening of drinking and talking with friends in the poblacion guhang stalls. Siaton River, shallow and quiet during the dry season, turbulent and swift during the rainy season, is truly the "life stream" of Caticugan.

trees. The new unpainted wooden residence of the parish priest is near the church. The plaza of Siaton is unimproved except for a circle of cement used for fiesta dances, now covered with pungent copra, and a basketball court. Across the street from the plaza is a small wooden building which houses the telegraph and postoffice and offices of the municipal agricultural agent and the government midwife. To the rear of the postoffice building is a neat wooden Protestant church.

The new elementary school is the pride of the community and the center for social gatherings--functions usurped from the church. There are three painted wooden buildings, but the other structures are temporary classrooms of bamboo and nipa. The schoolyard is covered with a green lawn and there are cement paths lined with oleander and small shrubs. By the domestic science building is a struggling rose garden which every "progressive" school must have. Across the street from the school buildings are several sari-sari stores which cater to the appetites of the school children. Farther west a new concrete bridge spans the wide, shallow (in the dry season) Siaton River. Overlooking the bridge is Pangligiran hill where Don Antoy, a legendary supernatural, lives in a grand palace of marble and gold, invisible to ordinary humans.

The houses of the poblacion are similar to those seen along the National Road. However, there are some white wooden houses where local officials live. To the

south, about a 20-minute walk, is the sea, and fishermen have their boats, nets and their fish corrals in the offshore waters. To the west of the mouth of the Siaton River is Baybay, a small sitio in a coconut grove.

One could see Caticugan from the National Road were it not for the coconut palms. Caticugan, Naga, Talo-ot and Dangola are really one community, although known by different names and divided by low bluffs or shallow streams. Kinship ties, trading activities, land ownership, and friendships all bind the people in the different settlements into a functioning group. There are two main paths to Caticugan. One path skirts the cockpit which is empty except on Sundays or holidays, while the other path fords the river around a bend to the north. (See Plate XVIII.)[1] Taking the path by the cockpit one crosses the river, passes through a small willow-covered flood area and up a small rise to the fields of lower Caticugan, often called Pilapil (rice paddy) by the older residents. Northwest along the path one passes dead buri palms, killed by the process of making guhang, and the houses of the people. There is a little sari-sari on the porch of one house where cookies, pop, kerosene, lard, and matches are sold. Continuing, one comes to a tiny bamboo chapel and the only wooden residence, that of the richest man in Caticugan. The path finally ends at the bluffs of Dangola.

1 [plate XVII (p. 131) is missing -- ANALYST]

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constructed on the plaza to replace the building burnt by the Japanese. In 1948 a new concrete bridge was built (the pride of all the residents of the poblacion) over the Siaton River and a similar bridge over the Canaway River was finished in 1952. The Catholic church also was rebuilt in the same year. The former structure had been a temporary one since the 1925 earthquake. The fine two-story houses with ornate cement stairways that had been residences of the more affluent principalia and were burnt during the war have not been rebuilt. In parts of the poblacion one can see lonely cement stairways in weed-covered lots, leading upward to a house which no longer exists.

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Summary

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This historical survey of Caticugan and its larger milieu supports Kroeber's comments on stratificational aspects of Philippine culture.

> Layer after layer of culture is recognizable [in the Philippines], giving a complete transition from the most primitive condition to full participation in Western civilization...In the Philippines it is true that direct historical records...go back only four hundred years. But a constellation of circumstances has brought it about that the various ancient and modern influences that have reached the islands are often traceable to their sources...the contours

# CHAPTER VIII

## THE BARRIO DWELLING

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The dwelling typical of the Cateugan barriofolk, the materials used, household furnishings, methods of construction, and the various associated beliefs and practices with the home are described in this chapter. The materials and style of the typical Philippine rural dwelling have not changed radically for centuries. In the early 17th century one observer wrote: "Their houses are built on four posts; their walls are of bamboo and thatch, and are very small."[1]

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The typical barrio dwelling (balay) in Catiegan is a one- or two-room pile structure from one to five feet above the ground. Walls are of bamboo and nipa palm leaves; the roof is thatched with nipa shingles or cogon grass. Although nails and wire are used, rattan lashing [335] is the usual means of fastening the timbers and shingles. In 1939 Philippine Census states that nearly 69 per cent 362 of the Filipinos lived in "light material" houses; 78 per cent of the inhabitants of Negros Oriental and 70 per cent of the people of Negros Occidental occupied such residences.[2]

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[1] Pedro De Sant Pablo, O.S.F., "Compulsory Service by the Indians," Blair and Robertson, op. cit., XIX, p. 72. This account was written in 1620.

[2] The Yearbook of Philippine Statistics: 1946, pp. 190-1.

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The higher percentage of people living in "light material" dwellings in Negros Oriental, in contrast with Negros Occidental, is explained partly by fewer and smaller urban settlements in the former province. Another factor is the cement or wooden dwellings furnished for sugar cane workers in Negros Occidental. In Barrio Caticugan 99 per cent of the people lived in "light material" dwellings; in the poblacion I estimated that 85 per cent of the dwellings were of bamboo and nipa. Before the war, however, there were more wooden tin-roofed houses in the poblacion; this was not the case in Caticugan. All of the "heavy material" houses in the poblacion were burned during the last war; only a few of them had been rebuilt by 1952.

MOUNTAIN HOUSES AND THE MATERIALS USED

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The transitional point in Siaton River valley between dwellings with pounded bamboo walls (sasa) and cogon-grass-thatched roofs, and the more typical bamboo-nipa and nipa shingled house occurs in Sitios Lamtok and Balanan. (See Plate VI, Page 42.) North of this area most houses have pounded bamboo walls and cogon-thatched-roofs, although there are some houses of the lowland type. Pounded bamboo walls and cogon grass roofs are not regarded as superior to materials used in Caticugan or the poblacion. These materials are used because of the distance from the nipa palm swamps along the seacoast. It is difficult to carry the large bundles of nipa back from the coastal area; at

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bark now can be peeled easily from the trunk segments. This inner bark must be dried in the shade for several weeks before installation.

[335]

The bark is nailed to the house framework or lashed with rattan. Nails make a neater walling and save time; small wooden discs are used to prevent the nail head from tearing through the bark. People who live in bark-walled dwellings often prefer them to nipa walling; they report that bark walls are cheaper, more durable and take less time to prepare. Bark walls, however, are typical only of dwellings near the forests, usually in pioneering communities opening new areas of interior farm land.

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In Siaton poblacion a few houses are built of "strong material," i.e., timber beams, wooden walls and floors, and corrugated iron roofs. The 1939 Philippine Census states that 4.6 per cent of the Filipinos then lived in "strong material" dwellings. These homes are usually inhabited by the principalia in Siaton and cluster near the plaza; before the last war the most elaborate houses surrounded the plaza. In these houses the typical split bamboo slat floor often yields preference to plank flooring. More "strong material" dwellings were found in Siaton poblacion before the last war; present high prices of materials makes the reconstruction of such houses costly.

trees. The new unpainted wooden residence of the parish priest is near the church. The plaza of Siaton is unimproved except for a circle of cement used for fiesta dances, now covered with pungent copra, and a basketball court. Across the street from the plaza is a small wooden building which houses the telegraph and postoffice and offices of the municipal agricultural agent and the government midwife. To the rear of the postoffice building is a neat wooden Protestant church.

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Inalad, Bonbonon, Giliga-on and Bonawon. A new concrete bridge was built over the Canaway River; this improved the transportation facilities during the rainy season. 175* 653 494

In 1935 the Philippine Commonwealth was established. No elections were held this year for municipal officers; their terms were merely extended for an additional two years.[165] During this period the water system of Siaton was installed. The national, provincial, and municipal governments each contributed $5,000 for the construction of the new water system. A concrete reservoir was built at Sitio Talio, west of Naga, and the water brought to the poblacion by gravity. The water was piped only to the residences of the more prominent people of the poblacion. Public faucets were also installed at the plaza and a few other places. The system is inadequate for during the dry season the pressure becomes so low that the water runs only for short periods during the day. 175* 653 365 565

In October 1937 clouds of locusts came to Siaton. The insects covered the plaza and climbed into the church, houses, and stores. Nearly all of the unharvested rice was destroyed. In the same year Fidel Tayko was re-elected as Siaton's mayor, the new name substituted for presidente. His defeated opponent protested the election as fraudulent and won his case in Dumaguete. The victor became mayor 175* 731 175* 666

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165"The first elections under the Commonwealth were held December, 14, 1938, for local offices." Tolentino and Zaide, op. cit., p. 151.

passengers get off and empty wooden boxes are left by the roadside for the fishermen of Malabuhan. On the return trip the boxes will be filled with fresh fish for sale in Dumaguete. About a quarter of a mile south is Sitio Malabuhan, a fishing village with houses lining a sandy shore and many beached boats covered with coconut fronds.

The bus continues, past Inalad school and is ferried over the placid Canaway River, to arrive at Siaton poblacion. (See Plate XVII.)[1] The business center of Siaton poblacion is strung for several blocks along the National Road here named George Washington Road. There are general stores, a corn mill, and a marketplace. A card game may be in progress in a small store while the guhang "bar" already has patrons, lounging on bamboo benches. A bus from Tolong poblacion may be waiting for its passengers to finish their breakfast at the several cafes in the marketplace while the driver helps a woman to load a squealing pig for Dumaguete market. Other thin pigs root at the roadside or around the marketplace while lazy dogs sleep on the warm asphalt road, moving only when the bus is nearly upon them.

On the plaza's north side is the termite-ridden municipio with offices for the mayor and other officials and a tiny jail with bamboo bars. The church was rebuilt in 1952 but the old stone walls of the former church are seen vine-covered and shaded by giant acacia trees

[1] this plate (p. 128) is missing -- ANALYST]

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The houses of the poblacion are similar to those seen along the National Road. However, there are some white wooden houses where local officials live. To the

south, about a 20-minute walk, is the sea, To the and fisher- 361
men have their boats, nets and their fish corrals in the offshore waters. To the west of the mouth of the Siaton River is Baybay, a small sitio in a coconut grove.

One could see Caticugan from the National Road were it not for the coconut palms. Caticugan, Naga, Talo-ot and Dangola are really one community, although known by different names and divided by low bluffs or shallow streams. Kinship ties, trading activities, 621
land ownership, and friendships all bind the people in the different settlements into a functioning group. There are two main paths to Caticugan. One path skirts 363
the cockpit which is empty except on Sundays or holidays, while the other path fords the river around a bend to the north. (See Plate XVIII.)[1] Taking the path by the cockpit one crosses the river, passes through a small willow-covered flood area and up a small rise to the fields of lower Caticugan, often called Pilapil (rice paddy) by the older residents. Northwest along 273
the path one passes dead buri palms, killed by the process of making guhang, and the houses of the people. There is a little sari-sari on the porch of one house 366
where cookies, pop, kerosene, lard, and matches are sold. Continuing, one comes to a tiny bamboo chapel 368
and the only wooden residence, that of the richest man 362
in Caticugan. The path finally ends at the bluffs of Dangola.

1 [plate XVII (p. 131) is missing -- ANALYST]

The northwest part of Caticugan is still quite boggy. Along the base of the bluff runs a shallow stream which eventually joins the Caticugan Creek. To the west is the low bluff of Caticugan; Lucas Ege, founder of Caticugan, built canals here to drain the many springs. The hills are covered with bamboo groves, shrubs, and some coconuts. Taking the path up the bluff one emerges at Upper Naga. To the north a hill undulates down to a grassy shelf on which stand the houses of Upper Naga. Following the crest of the bluff southward one comes to the main settlement of Naga where a small bamboo school is located. The nearest house has several jars of bright-colored candies in the window sill to attract the few pennies of the children. To the west is Mantuyop River, a rockier and shallower stream than the Siaton River. Across the Mantuyop River the hills are covered with low-growing trees and shrubs.

If the opposite direction had been taken on leaving Caticugan one would have ascended the small plateau of Dangola, rocky, grass-covered and with scattered fields. The southwestern part of Dangola is covered with grass and large wallow holes where carabaos roll happily in thick mud. To the northwest is the level riverine plain of Sandolot with fenced fields and residences. Descending toward the east from Dangola one arrives at Talo-ot, separated from Caticugan

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These stones were counted at the end of the day with all the people watching. The pile which had the greater number of stones won the election. The people who wanted the poblacion located east of the Canaway River piled their stones at the north. Those who wanted the poblacion located below Kalumpang piled their stones at the south. When the election day was over and the stones were counted in the two piles, the pile at the south had more stones. Everybody accepted the decision that the new poblacion's location was to be in the lowland below Kalumpang. This is the location of the present poblacion of Siaton.

The founding of the present poblacion of Siaton dates from this 1828 election.

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In this new location the people built their houses grouped together. They did not wish to arrange their houses in straight lines. If the Moros came it was easier to protect themselves if their houses were clustered. The people began to construct a new wooden church for now there were two priests living in Siaton, Fathers Arias and Presbitero Felix. In 1829 Etib was re-elected capitan and the erection of a new stone church was begun. The wooden church was later used as a stable by the Spaniards.

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There is no information in the Cadiane manuscript regarding the date that the Spaniards first came to Siaton. Cadiane writes that a Spanish lieutenant was first stationed at Bonbonon in 1819. The fact that capitans and cabezas were elected to direct community affairs, tributes were collected, and priests active in the region indicates, however, that Spanish authority had reached the locality before 1819.

In 1927 Nacionalista Gadiane ran against the brother of Fidel Tayko, a member of the Liberal party. Gadiane gives a brief description of some aspects of his campaign. 175* 666

> I ordered from Silliman University 4000 pieces of propaganda [printed pamphlets]. I sent to my leaders (in the barrios) 2000 pamphlets. I gave some of the people in the marketplace and at the komberas [feasts] and kaliwasans [funeral memorial services] I attended. We also distributed our propaganda in front of the church after mass.

The election was dishonest. When they arrived at the polls many voters were told that the election was over. So they went home without voting. The ballot boxes were also said to be stuffed. The Nacionalista group sent a telegram to the Governor-General in Manila and an American colonel soon appeared in Siaton to investigate the election irregularities.

On the advice of the colonel the election complaint was carried to Dumaguete. Similar complaints had been lodged with the provincial government by Nacionalista groups in Bais, Bacong, and Siquijor. The Nacionalista party spent ₱3,000 for the fees of their lawyers and Gadiane spent ₱800 personally. The Liberal party was said to have spent even more money to win the case. As a result several of the poll inspectors in Siaton were found guilty and imprisoned.

In 1928 Bautista Tayko was elected presidente and four years later his brother, Fidel, was re-elected to the same office. It was during Fidel's office that semi-permanent school buildings were constructed at Barrios Inalad, Bonbonon, Giligaon and Bonawon. 175* 653 [368]

The Philippines Air Lines (PAL),[85] the largest domestic operator, carries between 240,000 and 300,000 passengers per year in its domestic service.[60] Interisland vessels stop daily at Dumaguete where ocean-going ships also load copra. Bais and San Carlos have facilities for ocean liners. The most important port in Negros Occidental is Pulupandan where the ships plying between Manila and Iloilo usually dock. Ocean-going steamers call at Pulupandan and Escalante to load sugar. Sailboats carry goods and passengers between Manapla and Ajuy, Iloilo.[61] Foreign vessels load lumber from Fabrica at Sagay and medium-size interisland steamers dock at Banago pier in Bacolod.[62]

The roads of Negros are vital arteries of cultural change. In Negros, Dumaguete and Bacolod are the major mobilization centers of western culture. In these cities are concentrated the hospitals, high schools and universities, the magic of the cinema, magazine and book shops, stores crowded with merchandise unavailable in rural areas. South of Dumaguete in 1951 there was only one physician and no dentist. In the provincial capital barriofolk may see new automobiles, and crews from French or Norwegian ships, listen

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[60] Spencer, op. cit., p.254.

[61] Carlos L. Locsin and Filomeno T. Tabayoyong, Soils of the Victorias Milling District: A Handbook for the Planters of the District. Bacolod, Negros, Nalco Press, 1953, p.14.

[62] Alicante and others, op. cit., p.12.

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to the latest news on the radio or jukebox records, visit the United States Information Services library where free pictures are shown, hear the newest political rumors, or visit their children who have begun a new life with electricity, flush toilets and monthly salaries. The closer to Dumaguete, the better are a child's chances of longer life and a more adequate education. Children in the vicinity of the capital cities, for example, have no problem of paying for room and board while they attend high school.

One major problem in the Philippines is to extend beyond these few urban centers the nation's medical facilities, educational opportunities, and mass communication media which normally are not available to barriofolk. As one leaves Dumaguete and travels toward Caticugan, high school education and the basic medicines of the drugstore become more remote, electricity and medical services disappear, newspapers and magazines become rarer, and different outlooks and desires widen the gap between the barriofolk and their urban cousins. This limited spread of Twentieth-century technology and attitudes decreases arithmetical for the barrios along the National Road from Dumaguete to Siaton. The diminution is geometrical as one goes north of the National Road toward the barrios in the Siaton River valley. New roads open new land and new cultural horizons.

20: Hart E-5 (195.) 1954 OA1 Philippines
Central Bisayan OA 14



in 1950-51 or nearly 64 per cent of the total Negros crop.

Wernstedt aptly describes the general landscape of western Negros:

> The sugar lands of Negros present much the same landscape picture wherever they are encountered. In many respects they are more reminiscent of the wheat lands of Midwestern United States, than those characteristic of the Orient. Extensive rolling fields are covered with waving cane, looking not unlike waving wheat from a distance. Modern farm machinery can be seen at work in the fields, small cross-road villages house the agricultural workers, and large gleaming factories dot the landscape like Midwestern grain elevators. All look somewhat incongruous amidst the intensively cultivated rice paddies dotted with lumbering carabaos pulling wooden plows through the fields.[103]

This chapter has aimed to survey the general features of Negros' cultural landscape with emphasis on those factors that highlight the position of Siaton municipality and Caticugan. Caticugan is one of more than 300 *barrios* of Negros Oriental, located in a relatively sparsely settled part of the Southeastern Coastal lowlands. The barriofolk are subsistence farmers whose major crop is corn, although some rice is raised. The western province of Negros is primarily a sugar cane and rice area, with more people, urban settlements, transportation facilities, and modern agricultural methods. The people of Caticugan live outside the cash economy of Negros' sugar *haciendas* and *centrals*. Besides

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[103] Wernstedt, *op. cit.*, p.186.

these differences the barriofolk of Caticugan, and Negros Oriental, are mainly Cebuanos with dialect and customs different from those of Panayanos of Negros Occidental.

Recent improvements in transportation have brought most of the barriofolk of Caticugan closer to Dumaguete, the provincial capitol where American cultural patterns are most heavily concentrated. Yet they live on the periphery of the major traffic flow of this province. With their undeveloped technology and crude implements, the Caticugan barriofolk have adjusted their economy to the seasonal rhythms of the southwest and northeast monsoons, the former beginning their agricultural cycle. This chapter has described the general scenery of the "stage" where the barriofolk of Caticugan act out their lives.

An American visitor in Dumaguete would find much in the city to remind him of the United States. New Fords, modern buildings, the mode of dress, Hollywood cinemas and Silliman University with its American professors and English-speaking students would be visible signs of American influence. As he left Dumaguete for the rural areas of Negros, he would quickly enter a new milieu and the farther south he travelled the fewer clues he would find to suggest familiar scenes of his country.

Today one can catch an early morning bus from Dumaguete to Siaton poblacion. The faded green bus

been living as common-law couples, to baptize and confess the unbaptized and unconfessed, rarely reach as many people in the more isolated barrios as in Caticugan. At least, in one specific case the mission was partly responsible for abandonment of the dulot by a Naga family.

Children of Caticugan can more readily get a formal education than the children of Casala-an or Apoloy. In these northern communities the parents who wish a complete elementary education for their children must make arrangements to room and board them in the poblacion. For the children of Caticugan school is only a short walk from home. The young people of Caticugan have greater access to newspapers and magazines, to the poblacion reading center, and the radio, than the youngfolk of the northern barrios where illiteracy is prevalent.

The barriofolk, particularly the younger generation, are very sensitive about being called "country hicks" by their more sophisticated poblacion friends. For example, one reason why most young people of Caticugan dislike abaca clothing is that the homewoven material is a symbol of a rustic. To the better educated residents of the poblacion the dulot is a "pagan practice" and most of them have no scruples about ridiculing those who practice it. As a result many of the barriofolk are ashamed of the dulot yet not convinced that it is safe to abandon it. Stories of those who have stopped the dulot without any serious consequences are matched by tales of persons who have fallen ill for the same reason.

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The higher percentage of people living in "light material" dwellings in Negros Oriental, in contrast with Negros Occidental, is explained partly by fewer and smaller urban settlements in the former province. Another factor is the cement or wooden dwellings furnished for sugar cane workers in Negros Occidental. In Barrio Caticugan 99 per cent of the people lived in "light material" dwellings; in the poblacion I estimated that 85 per cent of the dwellings were of bamboo and nipa. Before the war, however, there were more wooden tin-roofed houses in the poblacion; this was not the case in Caticugan. All of the "heavy material" houses in the poblacion were burned during the last war; only a few of them had been rebuilt by 1952.

MOUNTAIN HOUSES AND THE MATERIALS USED

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The transitional point in Siaton River valley between dwellings with pounded bamboo walls (sasa) and cogon-grass-thatched roofs, and the more typical bamboo-nipa and nipa shingled house occurs in Sitios Lamtok and Balanan. (See Plate VI, Page 42.) North of this area most houses have pounded bamboo walls and cogon-thatched-roofs, although there are some houses of the lowland type. Pounded bamboo walls and cogon grass roofs are not regarded as superior to materials used in Caticugan or the poblacion. These materials are used because of the distance from the nipa palm swamps along the seacoast. It is difficult to carry the large bundles of nipa back from the coastal area; at

flowers put in the vases. When a religious service is held at the altar, the coconut oil lamp and a few candles are lighted.[6] 778

Domestic altars of Caticugan are quite similar to those described by Robert Redfield for Tepoztlan. 353 778

> A domestic shrine is found in most houses. This may be no more than a printed or painted picture of a saint, but more commonly it is a carved and painted wooden figure, usually a Virgin or a Christ ...In front of this figure an incense burner...is placed...In it copal gum is burned. [No incense is used for altar services in Caticugan]. Flowers are also placed before the figure, in bottles or vases, and pictures of other saints are hung near the image. This shrine is the center of domestic worship and ritual. Candles are burned before it on feast days...[7]

A few wooden-carved saints can still be seen in Caticugan but, for the most part, they have been replaced by the bright-colored plaster figures sold in Dumaguete or purchased from peddlars who come to the barrios or poblacion during the fiestas.

The frequency of these domestic barrio altars decreases in the poblacion. Some of the more sophisticated think that the barriofolk's altars are primitive; none of the altars seen in the poblacion approached the elaborateness of the two brothers' altar in Barrio Caticugan. Since many principalia of Siaton are Protestants this may explain, in part, the fewer domestic altars that occur in the poblacion. 369 353 778 795

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[6]The life history of one man included a statement that he could escape punishment for a childhood misdeed if he reached the family altar before his father caught him.

[7]Redfield, op. cit., p. 38.

A general pattern does appear, however; the barriofolk more often have domestic altars in their dwellings, of various degrees of elaborateness. These altars are less popular among many of the poblacion principalia (who are Catholics); their popularity and frequency increase in homes of the urban wealthy. Some city homes I visited had a separate room that was a place of worship, a sanctuary with expensive religious pictures and elaborate figures of saints and the Holy Family. The nearness of the local church may account for the decline in number of altars in Siaton poblacion.

Kitchen equipment normally includes the large clay water jar and a dirt and ash-floored cooking platform or hearth (dapok). The small clay pot rests (hornos) cost fifteen cents and are put on the hearth; they resemble the Japanese shichirin. While most barriofolk now use the horno some still cook by setting pots on three stones placed in a triangular position and known as sug-sug.[8] This was the old way of cooking before the horno's introduction. Every kitchen has a few cooking pots. More people are buying iron kettles for cooking. Pot rests (balanka) are made of rattan or corn cobs. (See Plate LVIII.)[1]

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[8] There are a number of riddles concerning the sug-sug.
"Three brothers have but one name." (Bicol)
"What are those three houses facing each other that cannot be burned?" (Igorot)
The answer to both is sug-sug. Buaken, op. cit., pp. 348-50.

1 [See p. 658, cat. 417 -- Analyst]

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assumption of certain skills by local specialists who are paid a cash wage.

Table XXXVIII[1] illustrates the itemized costs of three different dwellings built in Caticugan in 1951.[10] House C's cost probably comes closer to the cost of the typical Caticugan dwelling than the other two dwellings. This house had two rooms--sala and kitchen--lacked wooden shutters, cement post supports, and little lumber was used. Table XXXIX[1] lists the items and cost of building a poblacion dwelling inhabited by a Siaton municipal official. No bamboo or nipa were used; the cost of the two dwellings illustrate the difference in dwellings between Caticugan barriofolk and Siaton principalia.

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The owner of House C did not hire any carpenters; he held a palihog that cost eight dollars. The work accomplished by palihog assistants could have been done in half a day by two laborers. The palihog, in this case, is an example of how "... the prestige factor inherent in the giving of a feast compensates for the lessened efficiency and the lower return."[11] While precise figures cannot be

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1 [See p. 667ff, cat. 435 or 342--Analyst]

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[10] Some men of Caticugan make extra money by working for lumber firms in Dumaguete. For example, a father and son in Barrio Caticugan were hired by one firm to cut first-class timber (salay, gisok, sambulawan, yakal, and amoning) in the mountains a day's walk from their home. They were paid eight cents per board foot with an additional two cents per board foot for bringing the lumber from Pinac-an (where they worked a permit issued to the Dumaguete lumber firm) to the poblacion. Another group of four men in Barrio Caticugan worked four days cutting lumber from felled trees in the nearby mountains; they earned a total of twenty-five dollars, or a daily wage of about one dollar and fifty-five cents. These were the only two groups hired to cut timber in Caticugan.

[11] Melville F. Herskovits, Economic Anthropology: A Study in Comparative Economics. New York, Alfred A. Knopf, 1952, p. 107.

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underemployment of the barriofolk.[2] Most of these cottage industries aim at producing export handicrafts or luxury items. Perhaps most important is the changing attitudes of the barriofolk toward their own handicrafts. Abaca clothing is felt, by many young folk, to be a symbol of a rustic. The barriofolk claim that they can buy better and cheaper pottery than they can make. With the expanding role of money in the general economy, fewer people make handicrafts for bartering. As a result, in Caticugan, the younger generation, particularly women, grows up without training in basic handicrafts of their forefathers, and with an attitude that such training is neither desirable nor important.

[291 369] [437] [868]

This chapter deals with the following handicrafts that still exist in Caticugan and vicinity: (1) pottery; (2) buri weaving and basketry; (3) abaca weaving; and (4) woodwork, i.e., making wooden saddles and carved wooden bolo handles.

## POTTERY

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There are an estimated 20,000 potters in the Philippines. Much of the work is done by women who sit beneath

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[2]Recently a crafts team was sent to the Philippines under the auspices of the Economic Cooperation Administration and the United Nations. It consisted of a furniture designer, a wood products designer, and a textile expert, Marianne Hammarstrom. The unpublished Hammarstrom report has been briefly, and somewhat inaccurately, summarized by Will Savoy, "Philippine Weavers Learn New Techniques," Department of State Field Reporter, I, No. 2 (September-October, 1952), pp. 13-4. I was able to secure a typescript copy of the original report.

owing to firing difficulties. Most of my material on techniques of pottery was obtained from this cooperative Datag potter. 323 178

Most clay cooking pots now used in Caticugan are made in Dumaguete city. In this city there is a district, Daro, that specializes in the manufacture of cooking pots, clay stoves and large waterjars for drinking purpose. Some pots sold in Siaton poblacion are made in Mayabon, Zamboanguita, but are regarded as inferior to Daro's products. Mayabon is situated in a small enclave of Dauin clay that may explain the small pottery industry. (See Plate X, page 64.) A family came to Siaton from Daro in 1951 and started to make clay pots for sale in the poblacion; the business did not succeed and after several months they left. 323 369 438 [134]

The decline of pottery in Caticugan and environs is due largely to improvement of transportation facilities in southern Negros. The superior clay wares of Dumaguete became easier to buy in Siaton poblacion. Better transportation facilities increased both the number and frequency of visits to the city. The pots became so cheap that the barriofolk preferred to buy rather than make them. One old woman of Caticugan explained: "I stopped making pots because it is hard work. I would get sick always having my hands in the cold clay, squeezing it. And they are very cheap to buy." 323 369 438 178 489

As older women ceased their pottery activities, their daughters were not taught the technique. With a 323 [868] 178

discouraged most women who knew how to weave. Since no abaca is grown near Caticugan, it is necessary to make a long, tiring trip to the mountain cainggins of the north. Weavers of Caticugan probably would have woven more if abaca had been cheaper and easier to obtain.

Second, abaca fabric is stiff and scratchy; soaking and pounding the material helps but it remains uncomfortable to wear. Third, the younger generation, for the most part, is prejudiced against abaca clothing that they regard as a symbol of rusticity. This attitude, with improved educational facilities and increased contacts with Dumaguete, may not be expected to decline. Most young people said they were ashamed to wear abaca clothing to church or to festive events such as the fiesta. As one informant explained:

> Some people will tease you if you wear abaca clothing. 'Why are you wearing abaca? You look like the old people in the ancient times'--this is what they may say.

Only the children of the poor wore abaca clothing to school in Siaton poblacion.

With the decline in the number of Caticugan weavers, young girls are not being taught to weave. I never saw a young woman weaving in the barrio; the weavers were always older women. Some young people said they did not wear abaca clothing because no one in their family could weave. Mothers explained their daughters were not interested in learning to weave for they preferred to wear clothing purchased in the poblacion stores. In the past a mature woman

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The barriofolk are quite unaware of the possibility that their Garuda-like carved bolo handles may symbolize Hindu influence in their cultural heritage. It is curious that only bolo handles are selected; none of the other weapons or personal equipment is carved for decorative purposes. Perhaps the explanation lies in the importance attached to a man's bolo in pre-Hispanic Philippines.

Various household articles are made by the barriofolk of Caticugan. Long pieces of bamboo are hollowed and used to carry water from the springs and river to the houses. Spoons and dippers of coconut shell are fixed with rattan to bamboo handles. A few young men made ukeleles from local woods, buying only the gut strings. I never saw parents make toys for their children.

SUMMARY

The meager barrio handicrafts in Caticugan are in a state of decline. Abaca cloth is woven less frequently than in the immediate past and certain types of weaving and fabrics have disappeared. Most barriofolk consider abaca a poor substitute for cotton garments; imported used American clothing is changing the people's mode of dress. Self-sufficiency of the barriofolk in pottery has been lost; today nearly all of them depend on pottery wares produced in Dumaguete. Bamboo drinking cups, plates and eating

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[23] Benitez, op. cit., pp. 21-2.

[24] Oracion, op. cit., p. 40.

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utensils (still used by the Magahats) have been replaced with glass- and tinware. However, in all of these examples the new products are functionally superior to those formerly made.

In each case the handicraft products have been replaced by items made outside the local community. Most cotton cloth, tinware, etc., sold in the Philippines (and Caticugan) are imported. Pottery comes largely from Dumaguete. With the development of the infant Philippine jute industry it is possible that buri weaving will decline. Gunny sacks make better bags than does buri.

These various changes have led to a diminution of the former independence and self-sufficiency of Caticugan's rural community. This trend has been described in other aspects of barrio life, fishing, agriculture, etc. The material products of the city are reaching the barrio as well as new attitudes and modified appreciations from the city folk.

In my opinion, only inexcusable sentimentality laments the passing of handicrafts that use obsolete equipment and time-consuming techniques to make inferior products. The barriofolk of Caticugan are enmeshed in the Machine Age; this is inevitable, desirable and long-delayed. Their growing dependence on the urban machine economy will not be reduced by revival of cumbersome, unproductive handicrafts. For revival or stimulation of weaving and pottery in Caticugan, for example, necessitates more than improved equipment and better designs. The pride and sense of achievement

in handicrafts, an attitude usually transmitted by craftsmen to their children, have largely disappeared. Often inferior articles made in the United States are preferred to Philippine-made articles, even when the latter are of better materials and more careful workmanship. The most promising long-range program needed to raise barrio living standards is to increase the productivity of their major activity--more and better farmed land with more abundant harvests.

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[556]
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51:Hart E-3 (1950-1952)1954 OA1 Philippines
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or their supporters which represent a certain number of votes. The candidate selling the most tickets wins the honor of being the "Queen" of the fiesta, the runners-up are the "Princesses" or the "Queen's 'damas.'" In the larger *poblacions* and cities these contests became elaborate affairs and the candidates' parents or relatives may spend thousands of pesos to make their daughter the "Queen". In these areas, the contest is more often a struggle within the small elite than within the community as a whole.

The organization of each fiesta is done by various committees, a method which gives Filipinos, particularly those living in *barrios*, some valuable experience in committee work—one basic aspect of democracy in action.[7] Committee organization increases in size and complexity as one moves from the small *barrio* fiesta to large urban fiestas. There are usually the following committees in most fiestas: executive or board of directors; arches (to build the bamboo-paper decorated arches under which the patron saint is carried during the procession); athletics (to arrange for various competitive sports); auditorium and decoration (to build a temporary dancing area, especially in the *barrios*, or prepare and decorate the plaza or schoolhouse); beauty or popularity contest; dance; decorations (often listed as "all lady teachers" whose responsibility is to decorate the church and altar); finance and audit (usually chaired by the municipal treasurer); invitation and reception; lights (sometimes such a committee must arrange to rent a generator to supply electricity during the fiesta period); music; parade; publicity; program; and patrons and donors (to obtain prizes for the various contests held during the fiesta).

The membership of the *barrio*, and particularly the *poblacion*, fiesta committees is largely composed of the *principalia*—the more prominent people of the community. In the *barrio*, social and economic stratification is not as visible or complex as in the *poblacion*; but it exists, nevertheless, in a milder form. The importance of the *principalia* in organizing the Philippine fiesta is a distinct difference between most of the fiesta of Mexico where the organizational and administrative aspects of the event are disdained by the more prominent citizens. If the fiesta is to be more effectively used as a way of giving the people increased experience in committee work, the organizational aspects need to be broadened to include more individuals outside the *principalia*. Whether this can be accomplished, however, under the present systems of social stratification in the Philippines is somewhat dubious.

[7] In a penetrating and provocative article, Lansang states the lack of experience of most Filipinos with "so elementary a democratic tool as the committee of conference." Jose Lansang, "The Philippine-American Experiment, a Filipino View," *Pacific Affairs*, 25:233, September, 1952.

51:Hart E-3 (1950-1952)1954 OA1 Philippines
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*Kahologan* begins around four or five in the morning with the *diana* or reveille. After this event some *poblacions* may have a small fireworks display or shoot off a few booming rockets. Then, from about six to nine, masses are held. The church is usually jammed and more men are present than at the regular weekly services. (In the *barrios* only one mass is performed on *kahologan*, often the only mass of the year in the small chapel owing to the shortage of priests in the Philippines.)[9] After the masses there is a light breakfast (*pa-init*) of various types of rice cakes (*puto, bodbod*, or *bingka*), bread, hot chocolate, fruit, etc. The remainder of the morning is devoted to sports— basketball, volleyball, and softball games, horse, bicycle, and "crab" races, carabao fights, eating contests, or billiard competition. Often teams vie for prizes or trophies which have been donated by patrons, and are awarded *kahologan* evening.

At twelve noon the church bells are rung, often three times, and the orchestra marches around the *poblacion*, playing loudly and enthusiastically. This is the *jornada*. Rockets may be fired into the air and the *luthangs* (home-made bamboo cannons) shot. This is when the "big feast" of the fiesta is served. There is often much competition among the *principalia* to attract to their dwelling for this dinner the most prominent visitors to the fiesta. Since food is synonymous with hospitality for most Filipinos, the tables groan under the weight of different meat courses, rice and noodle dishes, *lechon* (roast pig), drinks (coke, beer, and perhaps whisky and brandy), etc. A number of Filipino hostesses told the writer, when he attended fiestas in in the larger *poblacions* or in Dumaguete, that they admired the American custom of serving a meal consisting of only several courses. However, to do so during a *kahologan* dinner, they said, would be considered unfavorably by their guests. Meals are served in relays, the tables being cleared after one setting and reset for the next group of guests. Visiting friends during *kahologan* is often most painful, since one must eat, at least the delicacies prepared by one's hosts, although one's capacity to consume more food is absolutely non-existent.

After dinner, which may continue for several hours, with guests coming

[9] In 1952 there were 2492 Catholic priests in the Philippines for an estimated 15,810,024 Catholics, or one priest for 6340 Catholics. The average of the Philippines is lower than the average of Latin America (one priest for 5104 Catholics) and much lower than the average for the United States (one priest for 620 Catholics). Leo A. Cullum, S.J., "Distribution of Priests", *Philippine Studies*, 1:169-173, September, 1953. A review of an article written by J. Luzzi, S. J., "L'appel de l' Amerique latine", *Nouvelle Revue Theologique*.

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In 1950 the Dumaguete provincial agricultural office began a project to cut down the standing dead buris in the poblacion to control the bakokang;[1] the campaign lasted for six weeks. Table XXII indicates not only the extent of bakokang infestation but also the popularity of guhang since nearly all of the palms were killed by the process of making this drink.

TABLE XXII

Bakokang Infestation of Buri Palms[69]
Siaton Poblacion - 1951

| Number of Dead Buri Palms Cut | Number of Bakokang Beetles Found in Cut Palms | Number of Bakokang Grubs Found in Cut Palms |
|---|---|---|
| 576 | 738 | 32,299 |

In Caticugan the barriofolk make no attempt to control the bakokang. In fact, some people said they first learned the grub lived in the buri when the provincial agricultural office cut the dead palms in the poblacion. An abundant supply of firewood, the difficult job of cutting the large palms, and limited losses due to the beetle are major reasons why the barriofolk do not destroy dead buri palms. As one old man explained: "When the buri stops giving guhang, it is no longer loved."

Coconut trees have a number of uses in Caticugan. The nuts' husks are burned as fuel while the shells are used to make charcoal for the women's irons.

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[69] Figures obtained from the Provincial Agricultural Office, Dumaguete, Negros Oriental, 1950. Typescript. No pagination.

1 [i.e., the coconut beetle (Oryctes rhinoceros) -- Ans.]

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When the fronds are dry the stiff mid-rib is stripped from each individual leaf. The leaves then are smoothed by running them over the back of a knife or seashell. Buri leaves are cut into fairly regular widths by use of a rattan guide (bataean). (See Plate LXXI.)[1] The bataean is hooked around a leaf and a small knife inserted just above the notch facing the worker; it penetrates the leaf to a second notch on the back of the bataean. By moving the bataean and the knife down the leaf together an even strip is cut. Buri strips, ready for weaving, are called lila.

After a sufficient supply of lilas is prepared, the plaiting of the bag or mat is begun. The only type of plaiting used is illustrated in Plate LXX. Strands used to plait mats and baskets are fairly broad and flat, producing a checkerboard type of design; actually little can be done in plaiting such strands except to pass them alternately over and under. Sleeping mats, unlike bags, are usually plaited with a double thickness. Only one woman in Caticugan made any attempt to decorate her buri bags. The sibokao tree's heartwood makes a brown dye; sometimes, though rarely, she used tanbark as a dye "because I do not have to buy the sibokao to make a dye." She dyed a few buri strips, plaiting them into the bag, making a simple geometric design. Plate LXX, C, illustrates the design made in some placemats she plaited for me.

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The decreasing number of buri palms in the vicinity of Caticugan may pose a problem for the barriofolk in the

1 [See p. 705, cat. 285 -- Analyst]

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[437]

Most abaca used for weaving is bought in the northern barrios of Bantolinao and Nasig-id. Several women were furnished abaca by the owner who later received one-half of the cloth.

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Fiber to be woven must be stripped from the abaca plant with special care; for example, no pulp should remain on the fiber. Often growers who sell abaca to the Chinese in Siaton poblacion purposely leave pulp on the fibers so the bundles will weigh more.

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Dyes

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Three vegetable dyes, tagun, taloto, and antipolo, were once used to dye colored weft thread for abaca cloth. Tagun (Indigofera suffruticosa Mill) grows wild in the nearby hills; once in the past it was cultivated as a source of black dye. Domesticated tagun, according to the barriofolk, made a better dye than the wild variety. Water was heated and tagun leaves were added; a little lime was then sprinkled into this mixture and care taken lest the water boil. "If the water boiled," one woman explained, "the dye was not any good because the leaves became tender right away." Bark of the taloto and antipolo trees was powdered to make a red dye. Red fibers were sometimes re-dyed with tagun "so they would be reddish and very shiny." Today these vegetable dyes are rarely, if ever, used. Weavers buy chemical dyes in the poblacion; a package of four different dyes costs ten cents.

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BOATS

Sakayan is the general term for all types of dug-out boats; there are two main classes. The banca (normally the bokaran and panahiran) is the larger group of boats, whereas the baroto, a smaller group, includes the begiw, tango, kayagkagan, and solongan. The sailing boat, usually much larger than the banca, is called parkahan or pareo. There were no pareos in Siaton although I saw some in Tolong poblacion. None of the boats in Siaton had inboard or outboard motors. 501

Many boats are made in Barrio Mangoto, Pamplona municipality; fishermen in Siaton rarely make their own boats because of lack of suitable timber in the vicinity. Sketches were made of the most frequently seen boats in Siaton; the panahiran, bokaran and begiw are the most numerous.[71] (See Plate LVII.)[1] 396 438 501

Barrio Mangoto is an hour's walk west of Pamplona coconut plantation, in Pamplona municipality. The community is situated in the hilly piedmont region of the Central Mountain range at the edge of a forest beset by caingins, 101

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[71] I am grateful to Pedro Solde, a prominent fisherman of Siaton poblacion, for his assistance in introductions to his friends in Tanjay. Acknowledgement is also made to Antonio Torres, a Tanjay boat contractor of several decades, who made a special trip to Mangoto with me and my assistant to introduce us to the people. Two days were spent in Mangoto gathering most of the information presented in this section on boat construction. The data were augmented by Siaton informants who had purchased boats in Mangoto.

1 [See p. 623, cat. 501 or 116 -- Analyst]

boat-builders and a nearby sawmill. Large areas, *cain-gins* of the past, are covered with cogon grass; corn is the principal crop. The region is full of stumps and charred or decaying tree trunks. Many house walls are made of bark peeled from trees in the nearby forest. Mangoto is a community of Christian farmers many of whom have specialized in boat construction. 101

Arranging for the Purchase of a Boat

It is customary for a Siaton fisherman who wishes to buy a boat to contact a Tanjay contractor. One boat contractor, who had been in the business for nearly 30 years, reported there were three "old-timers in Tanjay besides the newcomers." Usually the buyer tells the contractor the type of boat desired and what he will pay. The buyer depends on the contractor to see that the boat is properly built and delivered within the agreed period. 437 396 472 675

Some buyers, however, go to the *barrio* with the contractor to discuss the boat with the workers and even to select the tree. Often the buyer pays down one-half of the price; the remainder of the fee is paid upon delivery. However, one Siaton informant stated:

> This is not often done. Many workers cannot be trusted. This is why you need a contractor who will see that the work is done properly and the workers do not loaf.

When the contractor is paid one-half of the boat's full price he may share part of this money with his workers. Other buyers refuse to give either the contractor or the

workers an advance on an order. One Siaton fisherman paid some workers in this community one-half of the contracted price for a boat that never was delivered. 437 396 472 675

The contractor usually discusses the order with the workers he plans to employ. As one contractor said; "I talk with them to see if they feel the arrangements I made are reasonable." The contractor receives no fixed percentage for his middleman activities; "what he gets depends upon the generosity of the buyer and the workers." Actually the contractor's bargaining position is excellent; he can contract with another group to build the boat if he does not anticipate a fair share of the profit. The boat-makers in Mangoto are farmers who earn money by building boats during slack periods.

The contractor's percentage appears to vary from 10 to 20 per cent of the total contracted price of a baroto, and from 10 to 15 per cent for a banca. In 1950 one contractor arranged for the construction of more than twenty boats; he received from $1.75 to $2.50 on a baroto and from $10 to $20 on a banca. Boat prices vary with their size. Before the last war a baroto sold for as little as three dollars whereas a banca brought between $25 to $30. Today's prices are inflated. A baroto costs $10 to $15 and a banca $75 to $200.

Some good-sized boats are built in Mangoto; I saw a large parao being pulled to the Tanjay River. This parao had been built for a Cebu fisherman who stayed in the barrio during its construction. Thirty carabao were 396 501 483

tugging the boat up a steep hill. The boat measured 63 feet in length and the widest part of the hull exceeded 3 feet.[72] For three days the group had been struggling to get the parao to the river from their destination. Each man received one dollar a day for both their labor and carabao.

Boat Construction

When the contractor has made all necessary arrangements the workers select a tree for the boat's hull. Trees used most frequently to make boats in Mangoto are magsinolog (white lauan), balangobang and lanitga (both species of red lauan). These woods are preferred by boat-builders for their lightness and durability.[73] In the past bay-ang trees were cut but today so few exist that they are not used. In the "old days," according to Siaton informants, many lanitga trees grew near Barrio Cabangahan

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[72] The bottom of the boat was 10 inches thick; the solid stern, where the motor was to be mounted, was 6 feet long.

[73] Magsinolog is probably Shorea eximia (Miquel) Scheffer, that is widely distributed in the Philippines. Reyes, op. cit., pp. 313-5. Reyes states S. eximia is sold in the local market as white lauan or almon "...and is an excellent wood for boat planking..." Lanitga is possibly Toona calantas Merrill and Rolfe, Reyes, op. cit., pp. 183-184. T. calantas is commonly known as kalantas but is called lanipga in Samar, Leyte and Cebu and grows in Negros; Reyes reports T. calantas is used to make boats. Balangobang is not listed by Reyes but was said to be a species of red lauan by the forestry officials in Tanjay. White and red lauan, according to Tamesis and Aguilar, is widely used in the Philippines for barato construction. Tamesis and Aguilar, op. cit., p. 64.

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and boats were made from them. Now lanitga trees have almost disappeared. The only boat I saw under construction in Siaton was in Barrio Sumalaring; the hull was being carved from a kapok tree.

People who cut red lauan are required by law to pay a tax of sixty-five cents per cubic meter to the municipality and a twenty-five-cent reforestration fee; for white lauan the charges are thirty cents per cubic meter and a twenty-cent reforestration fee. Wide violation of these forestry regulations occur in Mangoto; as one boatmaker told me: "Well, the forest is wide. Some foresters do not refuse a bribe, maybe as much as five dollars. But we only give them the money if caught."[74]

A method called pandita ("to-know") is used by some boat-builders to determine a tree's soundness. Any kind of a vine is obtained, one end bitten off, and then wrapped around a tree. The vine is then taken from the trunk and wrapped around one's head. If the bitten end of the vine ends at one's mouth, ear, nose or eye the tree is rotten and should not be cut. (Possibly the point is that if the vine ends at any of the "holes" of the human head the tree will also have holes inside?) It is obvious, as the workers admitted, that the pandita did not always work. In the locality of Mangoto one sees a

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[74] I talked with two foresters I met in the forest above Mangoto who assured me few boats were being built in the area. When they left I was shown two boats under construction less than 100 yards from where I talked with the foresters.

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number of cut trees that are partially hollowed and then abandoned because the bole was discovered to be rotten.

Some believe it best to cut a tree for a boat when the moon is "a thin slice in the sky," for trees cut then resist attack by wood-borers; I was unable to find out why. Ceremonies prior to cutting a tree are more frequently held in isolated unsettled areas. Some Mangoto workers flatly denied that such ceremonies were practiced; others explained them to me.

Pandita also denotes one ceremony to placate spirits. If a desired tree is believed to harbor spirits, a piece of wood, about 12 feet long, is leaned against its trunk. The cutter invites any spirits who live in this tree to move the piece of wood. If the wood is not removed when the cutter returns the following day, the tree is felled. Often the cutters plead with the spirits: "Please excuse me for cutting this tree. It is not my fault. Mr. --- [the name of the contractor or buyer] wishes to have a boat made and I must eat. So do not blame me for cutting your tree." Such a speech may be made even if the pandita were favorable.

A Siaton buyer witnessed the panditas. They are so similar to the caingin ceremonies previously described, that it is unnecessary to describe them in detail. A food offering is placed on a table at the base of the tree and the spirits are invited to dine. The food is made in sevens and consists of the rice cakes, taka, etc. One informant reported that Don Antoy, the legendary spirit of Pangligiran hill in Siaton, is invited to attend Mangoto panditas.

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Once felled the tree's top is severed, a process called babha; the axe used is called palakol. If the tree has buttresses a platform is built above them in order to cut the trunk. The trunk is carefully inspected to see it is lying flat on the ground. Then the trunk's top is leveled and marks are made for the tamboko; these are braces made to strengthen the boat. To mark the braces' positions a string is stretched the length of the log. The center of the string is used to mark the place for one set of braces on each side of the hull. The center of the first two halves of the string is used to mark the next set of braces, etc., until all are marked. Then the trunk is hollowed; in the past the trunk was burned but not today "because it takes too long."

The trunk is hollowed with a sharp adze (wasay). For trimming the outer sides a longer handle is fitted to the same adze head; this latter implement is called bingkong. Wooden wedges (konia) and a wooden mallet (maso) are used to split small pieces of wood from the hull's exterior and interior. No women are permitted to come near the unfinished boats for "the wood might crack." If a worker becomes ill while making a boat, some people believe that his sickness is caused by angry spirits struck when the tree fell. Only after a food offering (dolotan) is made to the vengeful spirits will the person recover, for a "real doctor cannot help in this sickness."

When the hull's interior is finished the boat is tipped to one side then to the other, while the bottom is

trimmed. Sometimes the wood cracks. To fill cracks, the dried sap of the bolitik tree is pounded, winnowed until very fine, and then mixed with kerosene. When this mixture dries it is hard and waterproof. 396

Smaller barotos are carried by hand to the Tanjay River and paddled down to the poblacion. Large boats are pulled to the river by carabaos. Some individuals conduct another pandita when the boat is launched; they kill a pig and offer food to the spirits. They mark a charcoal cross on the boat's bottom "so it will be easier to pull to the river and will not be damaged." A buyer may come to Tanjay poblacion to receive his boat, or the boat may be taken to the purchaser; this depends on the original contract. Larger boats are finished in Tanjay, and the mast, strakes, and motor mountings are added. Boats are made in Mangoto for owners who live in Panay, Cebu and Siquijor. 438 483

Types of Boats in Siaton

Bancas may be classified into three groups according to their length: the small class averages from 18 to 30 feet; medium class, from 30 to 35 feet; and the large class 35 feet or more. Names, however, are usually given according to their use. The bokaran is used mainly to net fish inside the bonsod. Bokarans do not have the outrigger (kateg); this makes them easier to handle inside a fish corral. For the same reason bokarans are usually used to retrieve bobos although the panahiran also is so 501

called Riadillo while others dressed in priest-like robes with belts or ropes of a red cloth called Condiman. Every man wore a red and white ribbon across his breast; they carried flags of the same colors. If the Babailanes met Filipinos with their shirts outside their pants they were punished. This habit was considered by the Babailanes a symbol of subservience to the Spaniards. They were armed with spears, bolos, daggers and bows and arrows.

When the Babailanes reached Barrio Mantuyop they encamped and sent two messengers to Siaton to tell the people that they wished to be met at the municipio. Food was ordered to be prepared for them. The people of Siaton, frightened and confused, did as they were told. When the Babailanes approached the poblacion plaza they knelt on the ground, lapping their hands. The people in the poblacion also knelt on the ground until the Babailanes reached the church.

The Babailanes had many amulets. Gadiane writes that they pasted a piece of paper to their forehead as an anting-anting (amulet) to make them invulnerable to bullets. Norris said some had an amulet (design unknown) which did not work if the individual cried out when shot! For the amulet to be effective the person had to remain silent when shot.[154] Anting-antings were common among such bands in the Philippines. Amulets were common before the Spaniards' arrival, with the spread of Catholicism in the Philippines.

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[154]Norris, op. cit., p. 25.

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For the hunt, iron spear points (_ohas_ or _silab_) are purchased in the _poblacion_ for about one dollar and fifty cents. The points are eleven to twelve inches long and about two to three inches wide. They are attached to wooden handles (_tugdanan_) four or five feet long. The spear point is fixed to the handle with rattan wrapping; the base of the point has a sharp prong that is driven into the handle's top. Sometimes brass tubing (_pekit_) is put around the handle where the spear point is attached; a sharp iron point (_alimayo_) may be fixed to the handle's base. Usually a scabbard (_sakob_) is made to cover the point when the spear (_bankaw_) is stored; two thin pieces of wood, the general shape of the point, are bound together with rattan or small strips of tin. (See Plate XXXII.)[1]

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Frequently wild pigs are hunted by groups of three to five men. Some like to hunt alone; this means, normally, that there is no sharing of the kill. The dogs go ahead of the hunters, sniffing the ground until the scent of a wild pig is discovered. Then they run after the pig wildly barking. The hunters trot behind the dogs, yelling words of encouragement. If the hunters fail to shout constantly, or stay close enough to the dogs so their voices can be heard, the dogs become discouraged and abandon the chase. Such a chase may continue for several hours until a pig is cornered and killed or the scent lost.

1 [See p. 509, Cat 411 & 116 -- Anal/c]

20: Hart E-5 (1951) 1954 OA1 Philippines OA.
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smeared on branches where the birds often light. I doubt if any Caticugan barriofolk trap birds in this manner. 223

Birds are sometimes, but rarely, hunted with the blow-gun (supot) and fairly frequently by young boys with sling-shots (tirador). Lake Linao ("calm"; also called danao, i.e., "pool"), above Barrio Balanan, was created by the 1925 earthquake. This small lake attracts flocks of wild ducks. While Caticugan residents rarely hunt the ducks here men from Dumaguete come to hunt them with guns.

The blow-gun is made from the thornless bamboo, bagakay. This bamboo's long internodes make it excellent for blow-guns. Few blow-guns were seen in Caticugan; the weapon, however, becomes more common in the northern barrios of the Siaton River valley. One blow-gun measured was 6-1/2 feet long, made of several pieces of bagakay glued with a substance obtained from the kiwot insect. The darts (ganagan) are made from thin sticks of bamboo about 2-1/2 feet long, including a 10 inch iron tip; no poison is used. The dart's end is wrapped with kapok to hold compression in the blow-gun barrel. The blow-gun is employed only to hunt wild birds and, more rarely, to shoot river fish.[9] It is my opinion that blow-guns in the Siaton River valley will disappear in a few generations; at least, they seem to have very few useful functions today. 411 • [178]

[9]The Magahats also have a blow-gun (sopot) that is made from bagakay bamboo or reeds. The darts also are wrapped with kapok and the main use appears to be for shooting river fish. No poison is used on the darts. Orasion, op. cit., pp. 75-6.

The caingin clearing is a man's job. Sometimes the women may be weeding an old caingin nearby. During the clearing and burning the cultivators from the lowland barrios live at their caingins in temporary shelters. Often they go to their caingins on Monday bringing sufficient food to last till Saturday when they return to the barrio. 241 [462]

Caingin Crops

Caingins are planted at the start of the rainy season in April or May and continuing to July. One caingin above Dolog was planted with rice as early as February while other nearby caingins were planted as late as August. Rice and corn are planted in hills with a dibble stick (gahok). A hole is made in the ground with the point of the dibble stick and as much rice as one can hold between the thumb and first or second finger is put in the hills that are separated about the distance of one handspan. Seed corn is planted four or five kernels to a hill and is mainly a woman's job, although the men may help. Several caingins were observed, however, in which the rice had been sowed broadcast. [462] [463]

The two major caingin crops are rice and corn; abaca is probably the most important associated plant. Other minor crops are camotes, ubi (Dioscorea esculenta Linn.); balanghoy (cassava: Manihot utilissima Pohl); bananas and tahores beans (tapilan phaseolus multiflorus Wild). The rice varieties planted are: Capayo (Capayong);

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After the paddies are flooded, they are permitted to dry for one or two days. Any standing water is drained for the farmers state if the paddies are sowed when flooded a beetle (amawikan) eats the seed corn. The first plowing of the paddies, bongkag, is followed by their harrowing. The second plowing, okay, is done in the opposite direction the field was first plowed. The paddy is again harrowed. The third and final plowing, todling, makes the furrows in which the seed corn is planted. The furrows are about 2 feet apart. Furrows are made closer together than in the regular non-irrigated cornfields because the corn stalks do not grow so large in the paddies.

In some of the paddies which have a very clayey soil the land is not plowed and harrowed before the seed corn is planted. Furrows are made only where corn is to be planted; the rest of the paddy remains uncultivated. In Dolog the pay for a day's plowing is one basket of unhusked corn or three guntas of seed corn, specially selected for planting. [465]

412 •
171

The Philippine plow is a rather crude implement made entirely of wood except for the iron share--the so-called "square" type with a horizontal foot, curved handle, short sheath, strongly curved beam, and single mould board. (See Plate XXIV.)[1] Both Jagor and Kroeber suggest that the Philippine plow is of Spanish origin. However, the same plow type is found in Java, Bali, and the Celebes as well as in China and Japan while there is

1 [See p 329 cat. 412 or 116 -- Analyst]

20: Hart E-5 (1951) 1954 OA1 Philippines
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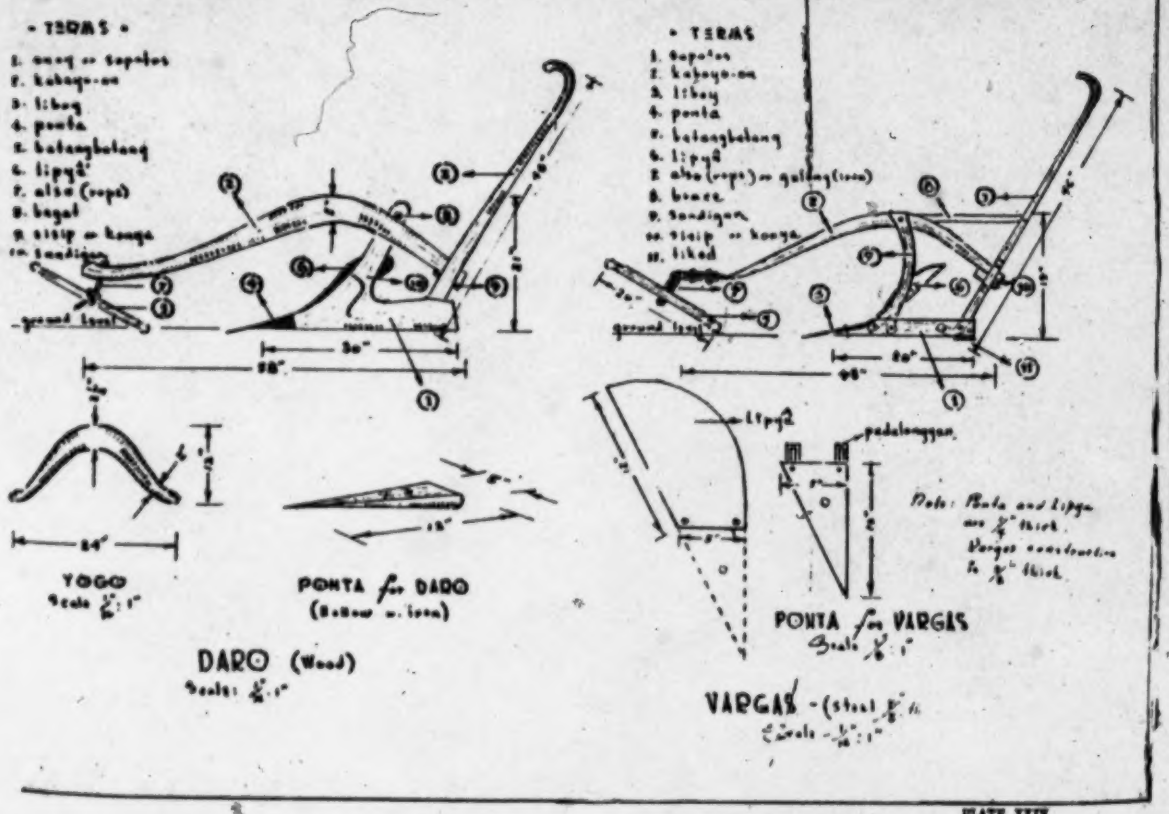


PLATE XXIV

P 329

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171

nothing like it in Spain. Birket-Smith thinks that Leser is "probably right when he ascribes it [plow] to Chinese influence."[37]

The plow in Caticugan is called daro, less frequently tokod. Except for the iron share (punta or lita) the plow is made by the farmer. Molave wood (Vitex parviflora Juss.) is the most desirable since it neither rots as quickly as other woods on exposure nor splinters easily.[38] The share for the plow is purchased in the poblacion and the top portion is hollow so it can be wedged onto the wooden support (onay or sapates) of the plow. An occasional farmer had an all-iron plow called Vargas. The Vargas plow was not sold in Siaton poblacion stores and only a few were seen in Caticugan.

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A wooden yoke (yogo) for the carabao is made from a yoke-shaped limb that takes considerable time to find in the forests. The yoke is placed over the carabao's neck and its two ends are attached by ropes to the plow. The farmer guides the carabao by a rope tied to a small coconut-shell button or rattan ring in the animal's septum.

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[37]Kaj Birket-Smith, The Rice Cultivation and Rice-Harvest Feast of the Bontoc Igorot. København, Dan. Hist. Filol. Medd. 32, No. 8, 1952, p. 12.

[38]Molave timber is well-known in the Philippines for its excellent qualities and is of the same family (Verbenaceae) as teak. Molave is said "Rather difficult to split...extremely durable even when in contact with the ground..." Tamesis and Aguilar, op. cit., p. 40.

412

The harrow (pakalas) is a simple but cleverly made bamboo implement. (See Plate XXV.)[1] A number of short bamboo poles (go-od) are joined together by two sticks (tohog). The go-od are cut so the branches growing from them become the harrow's teeth (sapsap). When the paddies are harrowed the farmer may stand on the harrow or weight it down with large clods and stones.

Corn Planting and Associated Practices

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Methods of selecting seed corn (tingas) in Caticugan are quite backward. Instead of selecting corn ears from hills having strong vigorous stalks with a greater number of ears than other plants, neither broken, leaning, nor weak, the barriofolk select their seed corn from their household store. "Selection [of seed corn] can never be done effectively in a pile of corn ears or grains."[39] Various criteria, however, are used by the barriofolk in selecting seed corn. Large, healthy-appearing ears that have not been eaten by the weevil (bokbok) are chosen. The "eye" (the end of the kernel embedded in the cob) of the grain is examined. If the "eye" is black the kernel is not used for planting; kernels with "glittery" tops are considered good seed corn. Usually the kernels are taken from the middle portion of the cob only. If corn is to be planted in soil that is not considered sufficiently moist the seed may be soaked first overnight. However, this is not a common practice.

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[39]Uichanco and Sacay, op. cit., I, pp. 120-3.

1[See p. 332, cat. 412—Analyst]

20: Hart E-5 (1951) 1954 OA1 Philippines
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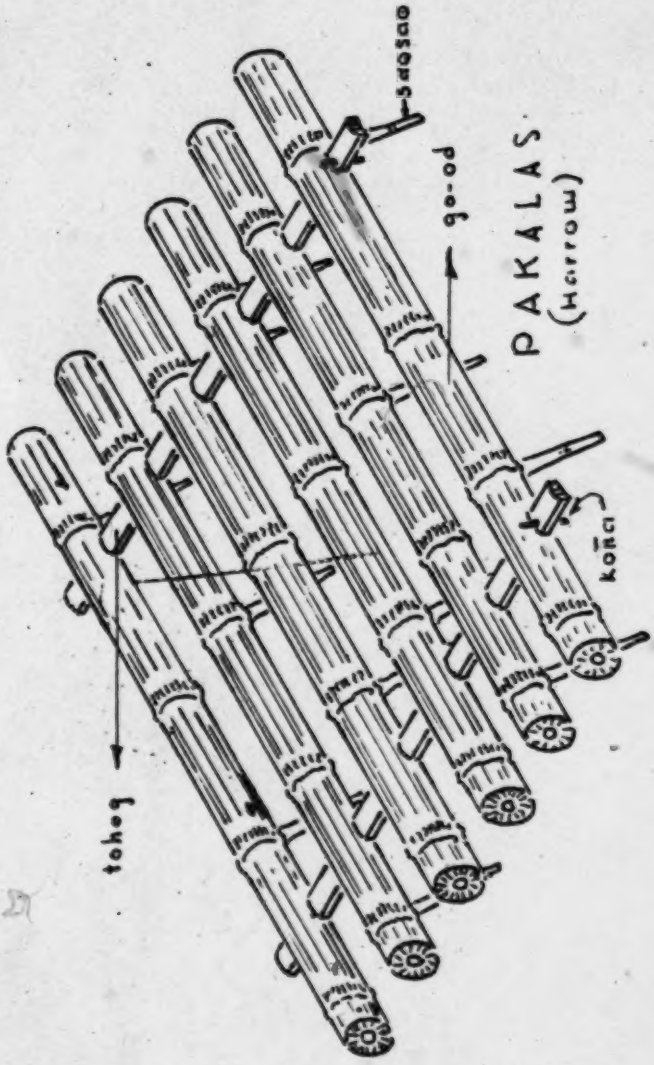
PLATE XV



and the roots deep, as with balyakag and bolot, the men usually obtain the corms. Now and then one sees two or three men with broad-pointed iron-tipped digging sticks (sakal) set off for the hills. 222 [412].

In digging for igao one looks for a place where a plant has withered and died. The sakal is pushed gently into the opening in the earth at the base of the plant to see if there is a root; since the roots are shallow, they are easily obtained. Once the root has been uncovered, it is stuck through with a stick that serves as a handle; juice from the leaves and the corm makes the skin itch if contact occurs. There are no associated beliefs connected with igao because "it is easy to dig, always shallow in the earth."

Preparation of the igao corm takes considerable time; this is one reason why it is utilized only during food shortages. The root is first sliced into chips that are dried until they become brittle. The dried chips are pounded to powder in the rice mortar. This flour is strained through abaca cloth, dampened and repounded until it "is like wet cotton." One woman said the damp igao flour should be "pounded continuously for two hours"; if not adequately processed one becomes dizzy from eating igao porridge. A few women in Caticugan had stored small amounts of igao flour. 252 [251]

tied to the house posts and the pig's trough is usually in the silong. In a few cases the silong was enclosed with a loosely woven bamboo grill. Many houses have small porches, most of them roofed, with bamboo benches; a few potted plants grow on the porch and the corn or rice grinders (galingan) are often kept there. (See Plates LIX and LX.)[1]

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[352
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Two types of grinders are made from a grey granite. One is used to grind corn into meal (bugos mais) and the other to make flour rice for rice cakes (hinka).[9] Corn or rice kernels are dropped into the hole at the top of the grinder and ground between the teeth of the lower part of the mill. These grinders are gradually disappearing; most barriofolk take their corn (rarely rice) to the kerosene machine mills in the poblacion. I saw one corn grinder abandoned near a residence; the owner said she discarded it because their corn was ground in the poblacion.

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Another device often seen in barrio dwellings is the kagoran that is used to shred coconut. The meat is rubbed against the iron shredder and collected below in a dish. Shredded coconut is mixed with a little water and squeezed by hand to make "coconut milk" used in preparing rice cakes and other foods. (See Plate LXI.)[2]

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[9] The same type of corn grinder is used by the Magahats. Oracion, op. cit., p. 85, Plate 56, illustrates the galingan (as also called by Magahats) for grinding corn. The Magahats evidently do not have the rice grinder used in Caticugan

1 (See p. 661 ff, cat. 412 or 116 -- Analyst)
2 (this plate is missing -- Analyst)

20: Hart E-5 (1951) 1954 OA1 Philippines [redacted]
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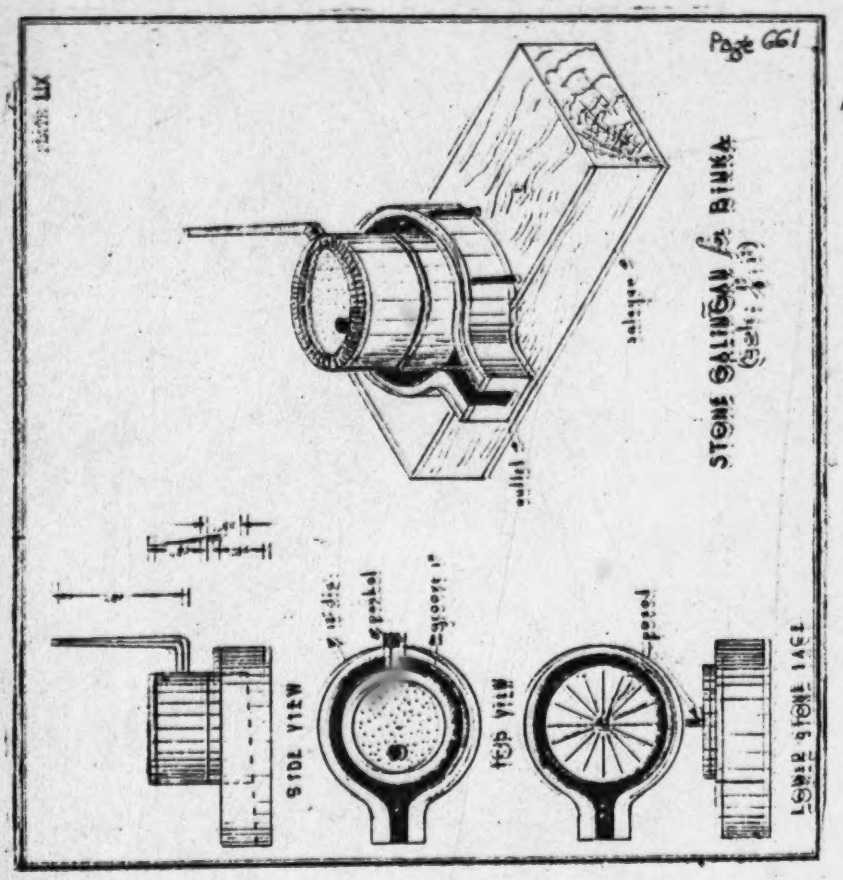


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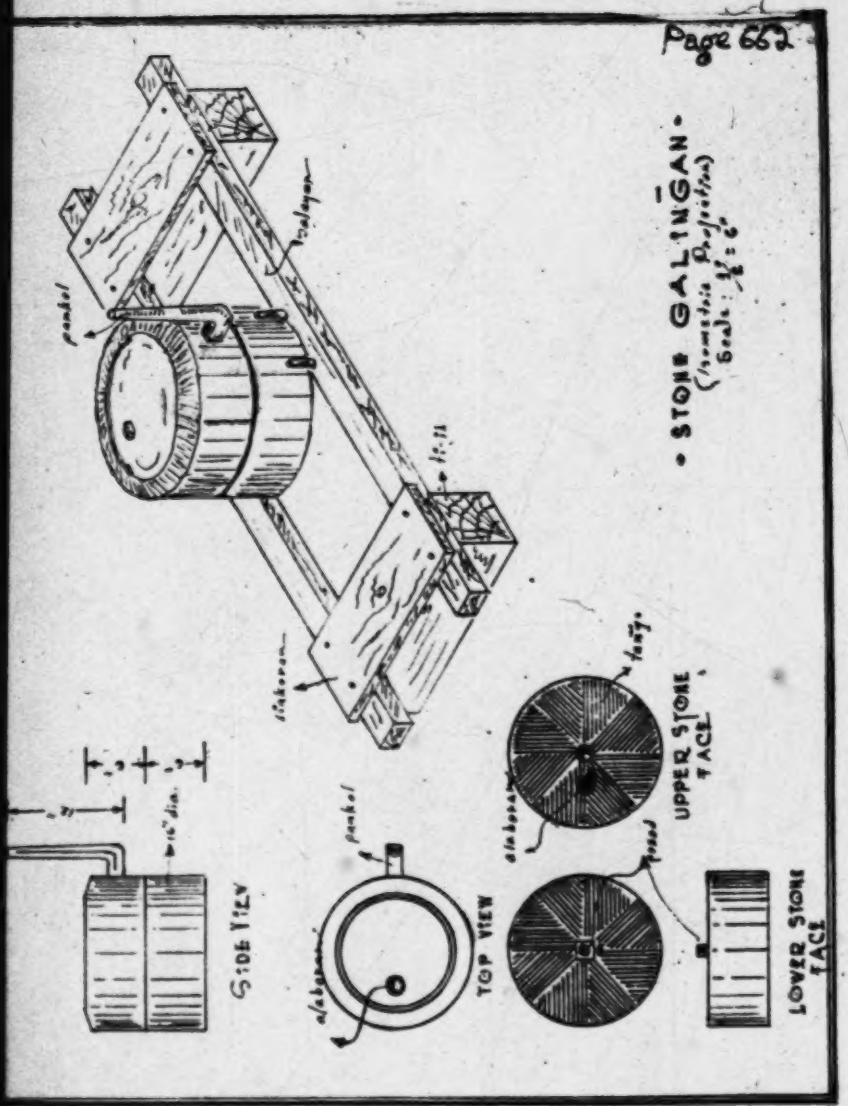

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on it; two days later the owner returns. If he is able to separate the vine, without a break, in two parts the site is a favorable one.[20]

Another method of selecting a house site is to mark a square on the ground on the proposed site. A cross and as many stones as there are members in the family are put inside this square. If some of the stones are missing the next morning this is an unfavorable omen. One family in Talo-ot repeated this method three times until finally the same number of stones were at the base of the cross as were put there the evening before. The spirits appear to be amenable to persistence and doggedness on the part of humans.

CONSTRUCTION OF THE DWELLING

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The first step in the actual construction of a new dwelling is to dig the post holes. A blunt iron-pointed digging stick (gabok) is used to loosen the dirt that is scooped out of the hole with one's hands or a coconut shell. When the hole becomes so deep that it is difficult to reach the bottom the songsong is employed. The songsong is a sturdy bamboo whose end is split in many places; when pounded into the loose dirt these ends flare outward and the earth is packed inside. The songsong is then withdrawn from the hole and the dirt shaken out.

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[20] Oracion, op. cit., pp. 21-2. The same method of locating the four post holes, as described by the balisa, is also used by the Magahats; however, it does not appear to have any supernatural purpose.

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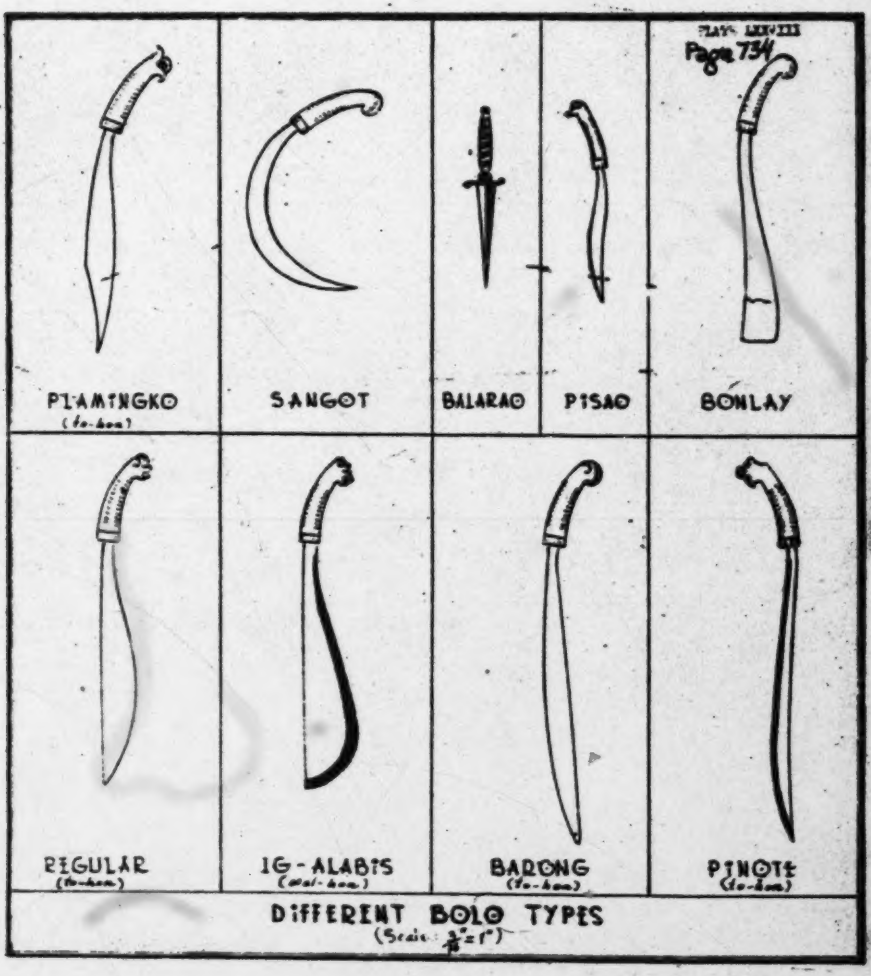
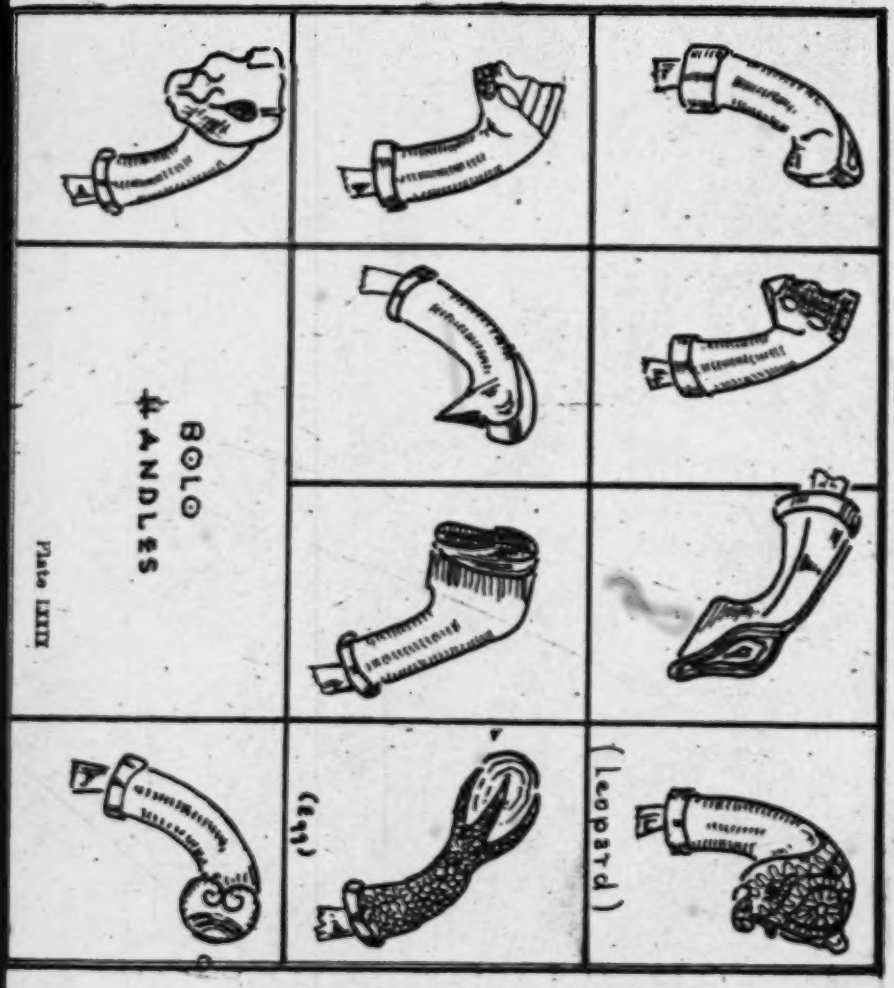
PLATE LXXVIII
Page 734




DIFFERENT BOLO TYPES
(Scale: $\frac{1}{8}$"=1")

P. 734

20: Hart E-5 (1951) 1954 OA1 Philippines
Central Bisayan OA14

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P. 735

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20: Hart E-5 (1951) 1954 OA1 Philippines
Central Bisayan OA14

P. 736

Men buy iron bolo blades in the poblacion or Dumaguete and make their own wooden handles. The only decorative wood carving found in Caticugan occurs on the ends of bolo handles. When the owners were asked what animal the carved head on the handle represented, they usually did not know. Most of the carved figures are quite similar in style. (See Plates LXXIXand LXXX.)[1]

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These carved heads on bolo handles in Caticugan may possibly derive from a modified version of the mythical Garuda of ancient Indian folklore and art. The Garuda figure probably was diffused to the Philippines from Indo-China or Indonesia during the ascendancy of Hindu empires in this area, e.g., Champa and Sri-Vishaya.

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Krieger writes:

> The art of metal work, as well as decorative motifs based on the lotus flower and other Hindu cult representations, are characteristic of influence from India [in the Philippines].[21]

Dwellings still exist in Panay that have carved exterior decorations showing Hindu influence.[22] Beyer writes: "The most cultured Philippine languages contain many Sanskrit words, and the native art a noticeable sprinkling of Indian design."[23] Magahats also carve heads of animals on their bolo handles that are quite similar to those of Caticugan.[24] It is my impression that carved bolo handles are found in most parts of the Philippines.

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[21] Herbert W. Krieger, Peoples of the Philippines. War Background Studies No. 4. Washington, Smithsonian Institute, November 13, 1942, p. 30.

[22] A number of archaeological finds in the Visayas indicate Hindu influence in the area. For example, a small bronze image of the Hindu god Siva was found in Mactan, off Cebu, that probably dates from the time of the Madjapahit empire. Beyer, op. cit., p. 361.

1 [See p. 735 ff, cat. 531 or 412 -- Analyst]

[pp. 738 + 739 are missing -- Analyst]

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The barriofolk are quite unaware of the possibility that their Garuda-like carved bolo handles may symbolize Hindu influence in their cultural heritage. It is curious that only bolo handles are selected; none of the other weapons or personal equipment is carved for decorative purposes. Perhaps the explanation lies in the importance attached to a man's bolo in pre-Hispanic Philippines.

Various household articles are made by the barriofolk of Caticugan. Long pieces of bamboo are hollowed and used to carry water from the springs and river to the houses. Spoons and dippers of coconut shell are fixed with rattan to bamboo handles. A few young men made ukeleles from local woods, buying only the gut strings. I never saw parents make toys for their children.

SUMMARY

The meager barrio handicrafts in Caticugan are in a state of decline. Abaca cloth is woven less frequently than in the immediate past and certain types of weaving and fabrics have disappeared. Most barriofolk consider abaca a poor substitute for cotton garments; imported used American clothing is changing the people's mode of dress. Self-sufficiency of the barriofolk in pottery has been lost; today nearly all of them depend on pottery wares produced in Dumaguete. Bamboo drinking cups, plates and eating

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[23] Benitez, op. cit., pp. 21-2.

[24] Oracion, op. cit., p. 40.

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but practically no commercial activities are connected with the fiber. Before the last war a few people were said to gather kapok, either domestic or wild, and sell it to Chinese stores in the poblacion. Children would go to the forests to get pods from wild trees, to sell to Chinese for about five cents a pound. Today, however, no one in Caticugan sells kapok; the ground under most trees is littered with rotting pods. Many trees had died recently. Another reason the people said no one sold kapok was that most men dislike climbing the trees because the limbs break easily. Kapok is used by the barriofolk to stuff sleeping pillows. A device called lokogan is whirled between the palms of the hands in a basket of kapok to remove the seeds. (See Plate XXIX.) However, only one was seen in Caticugan.

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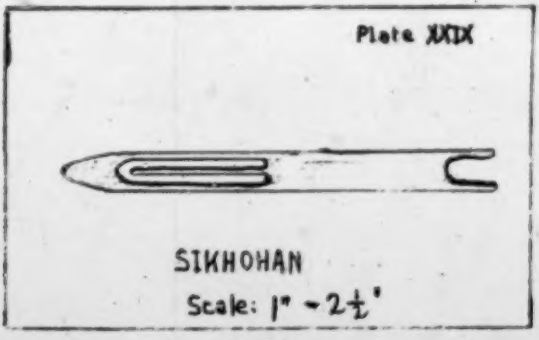

A general pattern does appear, however; the barriofolk more often have domestic altars in their dwellings, of various degrees of elaborateness. These altars are less popular mong many of the poblacion principalia (who are Catholics); their popularity and frequency increase in homes of the urban wealthy. Some city homes I visited had a separate room that was a place of worship, a sanctuary with expensive religious pictures and elaborate figures of saints and the Holy Family. The nearness of the local church may account for the decline in number of altars in Siaton poblacion.

Kitchen equipment normally includes the large clay water jar and a dirt and ash-floored cooking platform or hearth (dapog). The small clay pot rests (hornos) cost fifteen cents and are put on the hearth; they resemble the Japanese shichirin. While most barriofolk now use the horno some still cook by setting pots on three stones placed in a triangular position and known as sug-ang.[8] This was the old way of cooking before the horno's introduction. Every kitchen has a few cooking pots. More people are buying iron kettles for cooking. Pot rests (balanka) are made of rattan or corn cobs. (See Plate LVIII.)[1]

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[8] There are a number of riddles concerning the sug-ang.
"Three brothers have but one name." (Bicol)
"What are those three houses facing each other that cannot be burned?" (Igorot)
The answer to both is sug-ang. Buaken, op. cit., pp. 348-50.

1 [See p. 658, Cat. 417 -- Analyst]

Nearly all cooking pottery is purchased; most of it is made in Dumaguete for none of the local womenfolk make their own pottery. In the near vicinity of Caticugan only one woman regularly made pottery that she bartered for food. Weaving of fine fabrics from banana fibers has ceased completely in the barrio; the weaving of abaca cloth is rapidly declining, though a few women still weave abaca for skirts, men's shirts, and a few other purposes. Abaca clothing, however, is quite unpopular with the younger generation and the barriofolk's style of dress is being changed by the post-war traffic in used American clothing.

Few baskets are made today in Caticugan. The winnowing basket that is used daily is normally purchased in the poblacion or in Dumaguete. I never saw a woman making such a basket, though several Naga women were said to weave them. Tin basins have taken the place of wooden basins and metal spoons and forks are rapidly replacing those made of coconut shell. The most widespread handicraft in Caticugan is the weaving of sleeping mats and bags from buri fronds; this handicraft appears to be threatened by a decrease in palms.

The decline of barrio handicrafts has been recognized by the Philippine government. School programs attempt to perpetuate and revive certain handicrafts; however, the school programs I observed do not promise to be very successful. Advice on the development or modernization of cottage industries has been given by American experts as one means of reducing the chronic

gradual increase of money circulating in the barrios over the years, funds were available for the purchase of pots. Another reason that may have had some influence on the decline of pottery in this locality was the Japanese occupation of Negros. A number of women who before the war made pots to barter during the harvest, stopped because of their fear of meeting Japanese patrols; they never resumed this activity after liberation.

Four popular sizes of clay cooking pots are sold in Siaton poblacion; Table XLI indicates their capacity and cost.

TABLE XLI

CLAY COOKING POTS SOLD IN SIATON POBLACION

| Capacity (pounds of clean rice) | Cost (U. S.) |
|---|---|
| 1.5 | 5¢ |
| 2.25 | 8¢ |
| 4.5 | 10¢ |
| 10.0 | 15¢ |

Pots holding as much as 25 pounds of clean rice are made in Daro but they are rarely sold in Siaton. The local merchants will not risk bringing these large, expensive, and rather fragile pots from Dumaguete since breakage would mean a considerable loss. Larger pots are used when one cooks for a fiesta or wedding feast. Today, however, the 5-gallon kerosene can is replacing this large size pot. The smallest clay pots are called anlet in Siaton and anglet in Masbate Island.

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The last step is to smooth the pot's exterior by gently scraping with a bolalo shell; in Masbate the smoother (bulalo) is an operculum from the marine shell of the same name. Unfired clay pots are put under the potter's house to dry; if placed in the sun they usually crack. No slip is used by this potter and she makes no attempt to decorate her pots. Bright-colored flowers are painted on one side of the large waterjars made in Daro.

After the pots have dried for several days they are fired. A pile of buri fronds is put on the ground, the pots placed on top, and covered with more fronds. Before the pots are fired, three charcoal crosses are scratched on each one to prevent them "from breaking or exploding when burned." The fuel is lighted and burns for about an hour. While the fire is burning, pieces of bendita palm are thrown into the blaze--a precaution in case any spirits are living in the vicinity.[8] Fired pots have a reddish-brown color due to the iron oxide.

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The potter of Datag usually made only pots that had been ordered. Larger pots are bartered for the amount of grain or dried camote or cassava chips they hold, whereas smaller pots bring twice their capacity. None of the pots made by this woman were sold for cash. Several times I saw her bartering her pots in Caticugan. The smallest pot she made was 4-1/2 inches at the mouth and 4-1/2 inches

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[8] Bendita leaves are leaves of the patikan palm, better known as the "Fish-Tail palm" (Carrota cumingii Lodd.) Brown, op. cit., I, p. 256. Bendita leaves are a popular decoration for church and chapel during fiestas.

high, with a capacity of about 2-1/4 pounds of clean rice; the largest was 9 inches high with a capacity of 4-1/2 pounds. It took her about two days to make the large pot; four or five of the smaller ones could be made in the same time--of course, after the clay had been gathered and prepared for working. 437 415 323

BURI WEAVING

Weaving of buri (Cebuano: buli) palm bags and sleeping mats is the most widespread of all handicrafts in the Siaton River valley. Large buri bags (baluyut), four or five feet high, serve to store rice or shelled corn. Smaller bags (bolugasan) are used to carry shelled corn to the poblacion mills for grinding for storage. Sleeping mats (banig) are about three to five feet in width and four to six feet in length. Plate LXX,[1] A and B, shows the type of weave used for making both the bags and sleeping mats. Drawing B (Plate LXX) shows how the edges of the sleeping mats are finished. Weaving buri bags and mats is strictly a woman's job, although men cut the fronds. 285 415 352 285 462

Preparing the Buri for Weaving

Unopened immature buri fronds are cut from the tree's crown. The best time to cut the fronds was said to be the period of the new moon; if gathered at any other time the fronds are very brittle and difficult to weave. After the unopened fronds are cut, they are pulled apart and placed, fan-like, on the ground to dry for two or three days. 285 314

1 [See p. 703, cat. 285, or 116 - - Analyst]

barriofolk. Possibly the developing jute industry of the Philippines will replace buri plaiting in the future.

BARRIO BASKETS

Three major types of baskets used by the barriofolk of Caticugan are: (1) the harvest basket, bukag; (2) the winnowing basket, niggo or ayagang; (3) and the shallow kalalaw used in abaca weaving. Several other types of baskets were made by schoolchildren in the poblacion but never used in the barrio; they are taught to make small bags and baskets that can be sold as curios. Basket-making is said to be predominately a woman's job, although some men make bukags. Baskets were made so rarely in Caticugan that I never saw any of these three types being plaited.

The bukag, previously mentioned in connection with the corn harvests, is a loosely plaited basket of thin strips of bamboo and rattan about 2 feet in height with an 18-inch opening. The bukag is roughly made and does not take much time to plait. This type of basket, to my knowledge, is always made by the barriofolk; I never saw any for sale in either the poblacion or Dumaguete. They are used, almost entirely, to carry unhusked corn from the fields to the house or storehouse.

The wide shallow basket used for winnowing the chaff from pounded rice or ground corn is called the niggo or ayagang. This basket also is plaited from rattan and thin pieces of bamboo. An increasing number of them are

CB 285 438

purchased by the barriofolk in the poblacion or Dumaguete; I often saw women, sometimes from Caticugan, returning home on the bus with winnowing baskets purchased in Dumaguete. Dumaguete's public marketplace had many stores that sold this type of basket. Two women who lived in Naga were said to plait and barter niggo baskets during harvest-time but I never observed them doing so. Unlike the bukag, the niggo is made sturdily and lasts for years with proper care.

CB 285 415

Kalalaw are small baskets used to coil abaca thread during the weaving process. Since so few women plait in Caticugan, I never saw kalalaw being plaited. They are made, like the niggo, from thin strips of bamboo and rattan. They usually come in sets of three or four since each size is used for a specific type of abaca thread. I measured one set of kalalaw baskets; the figures are in Table XLII.

TABLE XLII

KALALAW BASKET MEASUREMENTS (Inches)

| Height | Width |
|---|---|
| 16-1/2 | 11 |
| 14-1/2 | 10-1/2 |
| 12-1/2 | 8-1/2 |
| 10-1/2 | 7 |

P-CB 286 101

ABACA WEAVING

The three major areas of hand-weaving in the Philippines are: (1) northern Luzon (Ilocos region and the Mountain Province); (2) southern Luzon (Rizal and Bicol

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The barriofolk are quite unaware of the possibility that their Garuda-like carved bolo handles may symbolize Hindu influence in their cultural heritage. It is curious that only bolo handles are selected; none of the other weapons or personal equipment is carved for decorative purposes. Perhaps the explanation lies in the importance attached to a man's bolo in pre-Hispanic Philippines.

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Various household articles are made by the barriofolk of Caticugan. Long pieces of bamboo are hollowed and used to carry water from the springs and river to the houses. Spoons and dippers of coconut shell are fixed with rattan to bamboo handles. A few young men made ukeleles from local woods, buying only the gut strings. I never saw parents make toys for their children.

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[23] Benitez, op. cit., pp. 21-2.

[24] Oracion, op. cit., p. 40.

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The windows of the dwellings usually have shutters. There were no glass windows in the barrio; very few houses of the principalia in the poblacion had attractive translucent shell-paned windows. Shutters in both the barrio and poblacion are normally made of woven palm leaves and attached at the top to a bamboo pole, either with rattan or tin loops (made from a tin can) so they can slide open or shut. There was no electricity in the barrio; a few people owned Coleman lanterns. The most common method of illumination was the kerosene lamparilla that are made in Dumaguete. The wick, a spare rag, gives a weak and sooty light. (See Plate LXII.)

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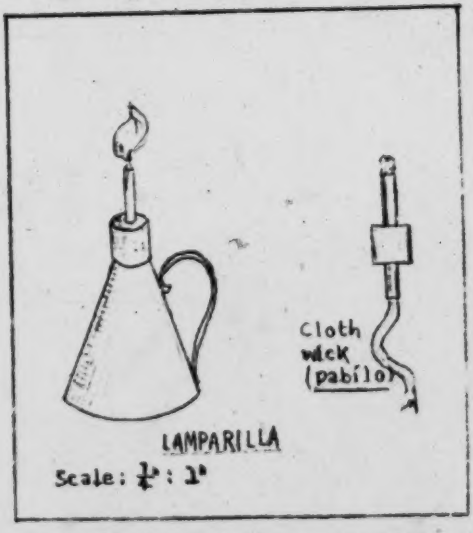


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After several years it is a constant job to keep a barrio dwelling in repair. New nipa shingles must be added, rents in the walls closed, and props placed to prevent a leaning dwelling from tumbling down. Rattan lashings of floor slats are replaced when they break and

decreases the harvests decline. However, these are secondary factors in abandonment of caingins, according to the people. The average caingin is not cultivated long enough to permit the soil to deteriorate to the point where yields are uneconomic. 241

The associated rites of caingin planting are like those used in the lowland rice and corn fields and will be discussed later. One caingin farmer said he never had held a planting ceremony until one year his corn was ruined by dalabdab, a disease that turns the corn leaves variegated colors. He harvested no corn, so the following year he began a planting rite suggested by friends.

Caingin Pests

Wild pigs and monkeys are a serious problem for most caingin farmers. Many caingins are surrounded with sturdy bamboo fences that take considerable time to build to keep out the marauding pigs. Flimsy "watch houses" frequently are built in the caingins; the cultivator or a member of his family then stays to protect the crop from the pigs and monkeys. There are no magical rites to protect a caingin from wild pigs. One informant laughingly replied when questioned about this matter that the "best way to protect your caingin from wild pigs is to use a shot-gun." Unfortunately, few farmers own guns. [417]

Some caingins have a wild pig trap called balatki. A small opening is made in the fence surrounding the caingin and a taut vine is stretched across the entrance. 241 224

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An old male informant from Tanjay poblacion said here many people put charcoal from the stove, red pepper and kalamongay leaves in the first three corn hills. This mixture is placed in the hills with closed eyes while the three hills are covered with a coconut shell. Such a lihi prevents stray chickens from finding the hills and scratching for the seeds. Charcoal and red peppers prevent insects from eating the seed corn while kalamongay makes the corn easy to husk. Kalamongay is a small tree whose leaves are eaten as greens, and easily stripped from their branches. While some items of the Tanjay lihi are different, the same principle of imitative magic exists.

Caring for the Corn Fields

[417] •

Sometimes new fences are built before the corn fields are planted; however, it is difficult to push the sharpened poles into the ground before the rains. For this reason most of the people wait until after the planting to repair or build new fences. The old fences are repaired by adding newly split bamboos that are tied to the bamboo posts with rattan or sig-id. Building a new fence is time-consuming; the materials must be obtained from the hills and brought back to the barrio. Each year the people must travel farther to get rattan and sig-id.

The construction of fences depends on the risk of animals getting into the planted fields. Fields located along the base of Barrio Caticugan's bluff are invariably

its better roads to Siaton, would seem to indicate that guhang-making diffusion came from the east not the west. Yet many of the older people insisted that Siatonites first learned to make guhang from residents of Tolong.

There is little folklore concerning the buri. Some barriofolk tell a story that explains how they first learned to make guhang. One day a tall buri was felled by a typhoon. While cutting the tree to remove it from the field the men noticed sap running from the fresh cuts. They drank some of the sap, discovered its pleasant taste, and reasoned how much more sap they could collect from a living buri. So they started to make guhang.

In selecting a buri, the mananguete prefers a palm which is 25 to 30 feet tall. Buri palms that are either too short, young or old do not give as much sap as those that are "just right." When the stems of the fronds of a buri radiate counter-clockwise around the bole and the fronds droop downward, the palm is thought to be especially well-suited for producing large quantities of fine-flavored sap.

Once the tree has been chosen the mananguete climbs to the top on a bamboo ladder. This ladder is a long bamboo with the branches trimmed so short stubs remain as steps. Often the upper third of the ladder has removable pegs; when the owner is not obtaining guhang he removes the pegs as he descends. This makes it difficult for others to take any guhang during his absence.

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A general pattern does appear, however; the barriofolk more often have domestic altars in their dwellings, of various degrees of elaborateness. These altars are less popular among many of the poblacion principalia (who are Catholics); their popularity and frequency increase in homes of the urban wealthy. Some city homes I visited had a separate room that was a place of worship, a sanctuary with expensive religious pictures and elaborate figures of saints and the Holy Family. The nearness of the local church may account for the decline in number of altars in Siaton poblacion.

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Kitchen equipment normally includes the large clay water jar and a dirt and ash-floored cooking platform or hearth (dapog). The small clay pot rests (hornos) cost fifteen cents and are put on the hearth; they resemble the Japanese shichirin. While most barriofolk now use the horno some still cook by setting pots on three stones placed in a triangular position and known as sug-ang.[8] This was the old way of cooking before the horno's introduction. Every kitchen has a few cooking pots. More people are buying iron kettles for cooking. Pot rests (balanka) are made of rattan or corn cobs. (See Plate LVIII.)[1]

[417]

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[8] There are a number of riddles concerning the sug-ang.
"Three brothers have but one name." (Bicol)
"What are those three houses facing each other that cannot be burned?" (Igorot)
The answer to both is sug-ang. Buaken, op. cit., pp. 348-50.

1 [See p. 658, cat. 417 -- Analyst]

Plate LVIII




KOLON RESTS (BALANKA)
Scale: 1" = 1"

20: Hart E-5 (1951) 1954 OA1 Philippines Cat.
Central Bisayan OA14

p. 658

[47]

River valley, Caticugan's paddies looked the best. There is little doubt in my mind that the rice yield per acre for Siaton municipality in 1952, as estimated by the local agricultural agent, was too liberal. For example, the average rice yield in 1952 for the southern municipalities of Negros (Valencia to Tolong) was 774 pounds per acre.[34]

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According to Siaton's municipal land records, 122 acres of land are planted with lowland rice in Caticugan. This acreage is owned by 136 different individuals of whom 49 per cent live in Caticugan. Of the remaining owners 16 per cent live in Siaton poblacion, 10 per cent in Mantuyop, 8 per cent in Sandolot, and 6 per cent in Datag with several owners living in Inalad, Salag, and Maloh. More than half of the owners of ricefields in Caticugan do not live in the barrio, although they cannot be called absentee landlords in the strict sense. Many of these owners cultivate fields in Caticugan, bringing their plants from seed beds in their barrios.

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While the records indicate that the 122 acres of paddy in Caticugan are owned by 136 different individuals, the actual number of owners is much larger. Many a paddy is owned jointly by brothers and sisters. Sometimes the land records indicate this fact by stating that

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[34] These figures were obtained from an unpublished report of the Provincial Agricultural Office, Dumaguete, Negros Oriental, 1952.

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the land is owned by the person listed and his or her "heirs" or "brothers." For example, one paddy in Caticugan, inherited on the death of a parent, is owned jointly by seven brothers and sisters. The land records often do not indicate these facts of ownership because the land continues to be registered under the name of an owner dead many years. Heirs often fail to change the land registration records at the municipio due to the small fee charged for the service.

Of the individuals interviewed during the survey in Caticugan, 50 per cent owned their ricefields, 37 per cent were tenants and 13 per cent owned some paddy and tilled others as tenants. In Sandolot-Datag area, of the thirty-one families interviewed, 74 per cent owned their ~~paddies while 26 per~~ cent were tenants. In order to obtain as wide a sample as possible, I did not request these families to give data on all of the ricefields they cultivated, but obtained figures for just one paddy. Therefore, some owners may have been also cultivating paddies as tenants. Three of the tenants in Caticugan were farming paddies owned by either a wife's brother or mother; another worked a paddy owned by a mother's brother. In Sandolot-Datag three tenants had as landlords a sister's husband, father's brother, and a third cousin, respectively.[35]

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[35] A recent survey of thirteen barrios states that 31 per cent of the landlords of tenants were related by blood or marriage to their renters. Rivera and McMillan, op. cit., p. 43.

reason little corn is planted here and that which is sowed does not grow well. 243 312

There are no cooperative efforts to maintain the canals. Each farmer cares for the canals which run by or through his paddy. The distribution of the water is done without rancor because there is sufficient water for all. During my residence some older men in Barrio Caticugan talked about digging a new canal to irrigate more land. The owner of the spring that the proposed canal was to tap, however, requested ten gantas of shelled corn annually from every farmer through whose field the canal would pass. This price was considered excessive and the canal project was dropped. There was also talk about purchasing a second-hand pump to bring water from the Siaton River to Barrio Caticugan's fields. The largest landowner in Barrio Caticugan had the capital to purchase the pump but the project had not passed the discussion stage in 1953.[36] [423 427]

By irrigating some of their paddies the barriofolk can plant corn without waiting for the southwest monsoon. In 1951 the first irrigated paddy corn in Caticugan was planted in March, continuing into April. The sowing occurred immediately after the rice harvest so these 243

[36] In 1952 the Mutual Security Agency allocated three million dollars for the purchase of irrigation pumps in the Philippines. James A. Storer, "Philippine Economic Progress," Far Eastern Survey, XXII, No. 8, (July, 1953) pp. 91-2. Ortigas states that both the Canaway and Sacsac rivers in Siaton were under consideration as possible irrigation sources. Ortigas, op. cit., p. 140.

palm's sap started to flow April 14 and stopped June 22. The gross income of the owner was $54 of which $12 was spent for tan-bark, leaving a net profit of $42. The money from guhang sales, deposited in a "bamboo bank" (a pole of the house wall), was not counted until the buri died so the figures are probably accurate.

The price of a mature buri in Siaton ranges from $10 to $25. In the municipal tax records buri owners are assessed one dollar for each palm. If the mananguete is not the tree's owner, profits are divided in several ways. Sometimes the profits are split 50-50 after the owner has deducted what he considers the buri's value. In another case the mananguete received one-fourth of the profits plus all the free guhang his family could consume. The money from the sale of guhang from this buri was deposited in a bamboo bank kept in the palm. The owner said he did not want to keep the cash in his near-by dwelling "because I might be tempted to gamble with it."

The buri's value is also reflected in the number of disputes that often result concerning its ownership and use. Three court cases occurred during my residence concerning the illegal use of another person's buri. In one case the defendant was accused by the plaintiff of illegally using two of his buris to make guhang and asked $100 damage. There are many quarrels over buri palms that do not reach the local court. An example of such a quarrel that happened in Naga is given on the next page.

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One time Ingoy [informant's first cousin] came to my place and started to make guhang from my buri. I was gathering coconuts for a Chinese in the poblacion. My wife and children were left alone in the house. My children were playing in the space under the house. Suddenly Lucia [informant's wife] heard buri palm leaves falling and she shouted to the children not to go near the tree. But Ingoy was in the tree and he answered: 'I'm the one here cutting leaves. What do you want? Where is your husband? I want to fight him because I want to go to San Ramon [penal colony in Mindanao].' So my wife immediately got me and I came home but he was gone. For three or four days I stayed in the house but Ingoy did not return to the buri.

One day he passed near my house carrying a sack of corn to be ground. I called him: 'You come here.' Ingoy said: 'Why?' I said: 'I want to talk with you.' He said: 'You come here if you want to talk to me.' So I went to him and asked him: 'Are you the one who cut my buri?' Ingoy said: 'Yes. I did it.' I said: 'Is it true you said you wanted to fight with me and go to San Ramon?' Ingoy said: 'Yes. It is true.' So I hit him three times. But he did not try to fight back. Nicara was weaving in a house near-by and she laughed. Ingoy's sister who saw us fighting cried: 'Please do not kill Ingoy.' [Informant imitated female voice of Ingoy's sister.] So Ingoy went on his way and his wife was crying but he left my buri alone.

Ingoy complained to the barrio lieutenant. He told him that I and my children ganged up on him. But I said I have witnesses and if he wanted to bring the matter to the court I was willing. But he never did. It was Ingoy's wife who brought Ingoy back to his house because after this quarrel he did not go home directly. I told Ingoy: 'It is not like before when I was small and whatever you and my relatives said I had to follow blindly. Now I have to take care of what is my own. Our parents usually quarreled and now that our parents are dead, their children will be the ones to quarrel.

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If the flow of the sap decreases or stops there are various remedies for the situation. A gash may be cut in the side of the palm's trunk at its base and a small fire built near the incision. The sap may resume its flow but the fire gives it a smoky taste. Others repeat the lihi previously described each day adding the fluid from the bottle until

20: Hart E-5 (1951) 1954 OA1 Philippines
Central Bisayan OA14

# CHAPTER V

## INHERITANCE, TENANCY AND CREDIT

### INTRODUCTION

Land is almost synonymous with life in Caticugan. 423. Without their paddies and cornfields, owned or rented, the barriofolk are dispossessed people. In Caticugan there are very few ways to live without farming. From the fields comes most of the food. When harvests are poor, many must search for wild roots. The land furnishes relative independence and security; they are limited, however, by such variable factors as climate, weddings, pests and death. Land gives the individual family solidarity, a cohesiveness that binds them into a functioning unit. Yet land disputes are perhaps a major source of conflict in the community, and often rend the strong web of kinship.

Land gives the people a meager promise of a better future--"maybe the crops will be better next year." Land brings prestige, in the barrio, a position in the community that few other possessions can achieve. Land gives the people a sense of belonging to their community, a connection with the past and their forebearers, a link with the future through their children. Through the harvest ceremonies the souls of one's parents may be honored and

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remembered. Land is the barriofolk's bank. It offers greater security than any other investment. Before the people there was the land and after the people there will be land. While fire, storm, flood and war may destroy other possessions, land is the most indestructible. Without land most barriofolk could live in the community only as dependents of their family or relatives--a situation more accepted than encouraged. Few writers describe the land with such warm sentimentality and endearment as do Filipinos.

Behold the bountiful land,
The young hills and the corn;
In the green river's womb
Children are born.

Honey's in the forest,
Blue fish in the sea;
The ash-grey of the clearings
Grown grain for me.
N. V. M. Gonzalez

Chapter IV was focused on the land use patterns and agricultural practices in Caticugan. This chapter[1] is concerned with social patterns that regulate land use in the barrio: inheritance, heirs, succession, and methods of division of real estate and movable property. The patterns of tenancy in Caticugan, and regulations that govern the relationships between tenant and landlord; different ways of borrowing and loaning money--credit arrangements--will be presented. This topic deals with some of the most sensitive and disruptive forces within Caticugan.

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[1] [i.e. Ch. V -- Analyst]

A brief summary of general patterns of land ownership in the Philippines will place present-day practices in Caticugan within a historical framework.[1] 423

Historical Summary of Land Ownership Patterns in the Philippines

A survey of the concepts of property law, or a study of inheritance rules, reflects the "total ideology of a society."[2] Many concepts of present-day Filipinos in regard to hereditary property, property acquired by personal efforts, inheritance shares and movable property reflect an ancient heritage. Among the pre-Hispanic Filipinos individual property rights existed, often more joint than individual, and, in regard to immovable property, they rested on the belief that effective use was the basis of possession.

Several types of land ownership patterns occurred among the Filipinos before the arrival of the Spaniards. Those who practiced caingin agriculture "had a temporary system of land control--all lands not cultivated being public domain, whether recently abandoned or not yet cropped."[3] These rights pertained to cultivation and

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[1]This summary is based largely on Spencer, op. cit., pp. 112-38.

[2]Robert H. Lowie, Social Organization. New York, Rinehart and Company, 1948, p. 146.

[3]Spencer, op. cit., p. 112.

harvests rather than to the land itself, among people who practiced caingin agriculture not merely as a land use technique but as a way of life. Some groups with a more complex culture had developed the concept of private ownership of land but they lacked the embellishments of property deeds or titles.

Filipino tribal chiefs, and to a lesser extent the nobles, had special land rights regarding labor contributions or sharing in the harvest of their subjects. The freedmen, while allowed to hold land, were required to make certain contributions to the chief. In the Philippines, serfs, the next class below the freedmen, were limited tenants who usually paid part of the harvest to the chief for the privilege of cultivating the land. Slaves, the lowest class in the pre-Hispanic Filipino social hierarchy, were the personal property of tribal chiefs or freedmen and could be sold by their masters.

The Spaniards introduced into the Philippines the encomienda system of land ownership (described in Chapter III). The underlying concept was that all land belonged to the King of Spain. The granting of encomiendas in the Philippines was not halted effectively until the middle of the 17th century. "In a sense these grants made no sharp break with the past, but merely added another super-layer to the levels of social and economic strata."[4]

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[4]Spencer, op. cit., p. 114.

The Spanish administrative system established provinces, municipalities and towns with their various officials. The policy of the priests was to bring the people "under the bells" in order more effectively to supervise their administration. The pre-Hispanic districts (barangays) foreshadowed the barrios and the former local chiefs were forerunners of the barrio officials under the Spaniards. These new Spanish political arrangements placed various restrictions on the Filipinos' mobility. During the Spanish period people in Siaton could not go from one poblacion to another without a written permit from local officials; it was impossible for barriofolk to move from a "Christian barrio" to a "non-Christian barrio." As a result many caingineros were transformed into sedentary cultivators. "In effect, therefore, the concept of permanent land holdings became the dominant one, whether it referred to crop lands or to village and town residential lands."[5] The chief source of Spanish revenue in the Philippines was the cedula as previously noted. Land taxes were never a vital part of the Spanish revenue system so the issuance of land deeds and titles was not emphasized. Land titles were obtained by the wealthy or by individuals influential with the government and the Church. Barriofolk rarely received title to the land they had farmed for generations.

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[5]Spencer, op. cit., pp. 114-5.

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Land disputes appear not to have been an important source of conflict within the pre-Hispanic communities. With the innovations in the life of the barriofolk consequent upon Spanish governmental structure, and the desire of many Spaniards and Filipinos to obtain great tracts of land, the number and types of conflicts increased rapidly. The lack of an effective survey and record system intensified these land disputes. Yet land disputes were not a major reason for the rebellion of the Filipinos against their Spanish rulers since there was available plenty of vacant land.[6] Other factors were deemed more intolerable--enforced labor, head taxes, restrictions on personal mobility, required donations to the Church and the superior attitude most Spaniards took toward the "Indios."

With American control of the Philippines after the Spanish-American war the application of the system of land ownership was so ineffective that the new laws were more honored in the breach than in the observance. As a result the people who suffered the most were the ignorant barriofolk. In 1902 the United States Congress approved a land policy that was aimed at giving small parcels of land to the average farmer and preventing the development of large plantations and agricultural corporations. The

[6]One exception to this statement is that in central Luzon the usurption of land by various Church and government officials was an important factor in stirring the people to revolt.

law stated that 16 hectares (about 39 acres) would be the maximum public land sold to an individual while 1,024 hectares (about 2,530 acres) was the limit to be sold to corporations. "While this policy has been circumvented in a good many individual cases it has never been replaced or intrinsically liberalized" to the present.[7]

Today there are three methods by which Filipinos (and Americans) can obtain public lands. First, the free issue of land to an individual under a program resembling the homestead regulations in the United States. Second, purchase of public land through the Bureau of Lands. Third, obtaining a lease on a parcel of land, the charge depending on the land's appraised value. Under certain conditions these leases may be renewed every twenty-five years. The last two methods are normally beyond the economic means of the average Filipinos and only a small amount of land has been granted in these ways.

American policy in the Philippines abolished the Spanish head tax, enforced labor, restrictions upon personal movement and the requirements of the Church and officialdom. However, the tax on land, in contrast with the Spanish system, became an important source of revenue for the American administration in the Philippines. The

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[7]Spencer, op. cit., p. 117.

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tax on land is a basic tax of the Philippine Republic while tax receipts are normally recognized as proof of occupation.

> Occupation increasingly is being considered as the best legal basis for claims to land, but things do not work smoothly at all times or in all parts of the islands. Tax receipts, as proof of occupation, however, do not constitute titles or proofs of title, and do not prevent claim jumping and unscrupulous legal action to displace uninformed rural occupants.[8]

American land policy in the Philippines failed, for the most part, to accomplish its desired objectives. Many Filipinos have taken every possible opportunity to circumvent the law through bribery, technical but not moral legal means, dummy corporations (a favorite device of the Chinese) and claim jumping. American land policy never was adequately administered or enforced due to lack of funds and personnel. If the arable lands had been properly surveyed and titles issued to the barriofolk many contemporary internal disorders centering in land might have been prevented.

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[8]Spencer, op. cit., p. 119. Pelzer states that there are three major bottlenecks to improvement of the Philippine land problem: (1) lack of land classification, (2) lack of land subdivision, and (3) lack of roads--problems that have been recognized by both the MSA (now Foreign Operations Agency) and the Philippine government. For those wishing a brief and recent survey of activities of the Philippine government in this field, reference is made to Karl J. Pelzer, "Rural Problems and Plans for Rural Development in the Republic of the Philippines," 28th Study Session of the International Institute of Differing Civilization, The Hague, September 7-10, 1953, 14 pages. Working paper.

loaned her the money to purchase the fields. No decision had been reached on this case during my residence. 428

If some heirs are too young to farm the land they inherit, an elder sibling or relative may cultivate the fields until the heirs marry or are capable of tilling the land. Conflicts sometimes occur from these arrangements. In Barrio Canaway the parents of several small children died; their uncle (FaBr) cared for them and farmed their parents' fields. Later some of the children married and the unmarried children moved from their uncle's house to live with their brothers. They began to farm their parents' fields but the uncle refused to part with two parcels of land. He claimed one field as payment for the care he had given his nieces and nephews, and that the other field had been sold to him by their deceased parents when the children were young. The heirs claimed that their uncle had no legal documents to show for this alleged sale and that his family had lived off the harvests--which was full payment for their care. Their case was informally settled at Siaton municipio, in favor of the children. Often these disputes, when brought to the municipio, are not formally taken to court but are informally settled by the mayor or the chief of police. 423 518

Land records in Siaton municipio usually are not changed when children or relatives inherit property. Sometimes the records remain in the heirs' parents' name "out of respect to their memories." There is also a 423 428

$2.50 fee connected with such title transfers; this discourages many heirs from making the title changes. Land records in the municipio are usually changed only when the land is sold and the title legally transferred.

The constant subdivision of land in the Philippines among heirs has been condemned as one reason for the small size of farms. The Hardie report recommends that the "inheritance law respecting succession to agricultural properties should be modified" in order to prevent "fragmentation of farm units through succession."[13] This recommendation would be more appealing if the report had suggested means for achieving such a drastic innovation. If a field is too small to be economically divided among the heirs, Caticugan barriofolk have a number of solutions. First, the land may be sold to another person and the receipts divided equally among all heirs. Second, one heir may purchase the land and the money divided equally among the remaining heirs. Third, fields may be rotated among the heirs. For example, four brothers in Naga inherited a small field from their father. Instead of dividing or selling the field one brother tills the land each year and receives all the harvest. The next year another brother farms the land and so forth until each has had his turn.

In Barrio Caticugan there were individual paddies that were owned by as many as ten heirs. In Naga eight

[13] Hardie, op. cit., p. x. Vide Pelzer, op. cit., p. 11.

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siblings owned one cornfield while seven owned still another field. It is for such reasons that the municipio land records do not accurately reflect the actual division of agricultural land in Caticugan. Usually such fields are listed under the names of parents or grandparents of the cultivators. Sometimes the land record merely states "Juan Cruz and heirs"; such fields are normally farmed under the arrangement described in the section on temporary division of fields. (See Pages 467-472.)

Fields are rotated sometimes while the actual owner is alive. In Barrio Caticugan a nephew was farming a small field owned by his childless aunt; he had agreed to work the field one year and the following year it would revert to his aunt. At the end of each harvest, however, the nephew made various excuses for breaking the agreement--"I shall work the field next year because this year's harvest was poor." His aunt never filed a formal complaint in Siaton municipio "because it is a small field and I do not want any trouble."

Movable Property

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Animals may be rotated among the heirs like the fields. If there are three heirs and only one carabao, the animal may be sold to a stranger or to one of the heirs, and proceeds divided equally among all of them. An heir may keep a male carabao for one year, then pass the animal along to the other heirs; the carabao is

rare. In fact, the only example that could be cited was when Lucas Ege died, his large dwelling in the poblacion was torn down and the timber and posts were distributed among his heirs. The average house in Caticugan would hardly be worth the trouble of disassembling it. 428

The customs of Caticugan illustrate the central concept of Philippine inheritance law--equal distribution among the heirs. Also illustrated are the complexities of the system as practiced in Caticugan. Some siblings attempt to inherit more than a rightful share; there occur devious arrangements to disinherit legal heirs, secret agreements, delayed division of property, inaccurate land records, and other methods of transferring property on death without legal safeguards. Under such conditions it is not surprising to find that much tension and conflict in the barrio center around land, usually involving both consanguine and affinal relatives.

TYPES OF LAND DISPUTES

Nearly 20 per cent (sixteen cases) of eighty-four civil and criminal suits analysed from the available court records of Siaton municipio resulted from illegal cultivation of another's land, boundary disputes, or attempts to obtain more than one's rightful inheritance.[14] The chief 423 578 685

[14] A court of the First Instance is located in Siaton poblacion; each month, on certain days, a judge comes to the municipio to reside over the court. There is a judge in residence in Tolong poblacion who hears cases for this municipality and Sta. Catalina.

of police and the mayor are often consulted informally and disputes are settled outside the court without formal record of the disagreement. The chief of police said that most informal settlements involved disputed land boundaries, unequal division of land among heirs or the value of shares. Equal division of the land by area often is not "equal" since some parcels are rockier or more fertile than others. Often the fields that border one's land belong to relatives and were once owned by common grandparents, parents or siblings.

Cadiane writes of land disputes he dealt with when serving as justice of the peace in Siaton from 1906-1914. For example, one case filed in his court in 1912 concerned the ownership of about 6[illegible] acres in Sitio Habay (Barrio Sandolot).

> Nearly 60 people claimed to own part of this land. I set a day for all the claimants to be at the land they claimed. I went to the land in question, on the last Saturday of August, 1912, at about 9 o'clock in the morning. When I reached Habay nearly 200 people had gathered there. I asked the people if their land in the barrio had been registered. All the people said no because they had to clear their land of big trees. They needed axes to cut the big casay trees that were abundant in this place. I asked the people how they happened to own the land they claimed. Most of the people said that they inherited the land from their parents and grandparents. I told them to divide the land equally among themselves and not to fight over their claims because if they did, I told them further, the government would confiscate their lands and distribute it to other people. I told them that the barrio lieutenants of Sandolot, Datag and Habay would be the ones to divide their land in question so each one would register their land. I advised them not to go against my decision because if they did, no land would be given to them. The land was divided and registered by each owner and the dispute was settled. There have been no disputes over this land in Habay until the present time.

Gadiane states that during the Spanish and early American periods many local disputes centered about the ownership of coconut or buri trees planted between the field boundaries--a type of dispute that is common today in Siaton. 423 578 685

The following excerpt from the life history of a middle-aged male resident of Naga illustrates vividly the troubles over land. This informant's problems, while not typical of every family, indicate the types of arguments in many families. Questions in () were asked by the writer during the interview. 423 578

> (Did you ever have any quarrels with your relatives?) Sometimes we would quarrel. (About what?) Boundaries of our land. One of my relatives removed the correct boundaries between our land. (What boundaries?) Like when one fixes a fence, one may move the new fence a little farther over on someone else's land.
>
> Some of my relatives moved his fence onto my land about a handspan every year. If I do not watch them hard a handspan of land is stolen from me every year. Like Domingo [his mother's brother's son] planted buri palms in the center of our field boundary. When the buris grew big he fenced the field. He put the fence on the outside of the buris instead of in the middle. [The point is as the palm trunks expand the fence would slowly move onto the informant's land]. So I told Domingo that his fence would have to pass through the middle of the buris but he said the buris are growing. But I said: 'Suppose the buris grow one fathom onto my land? You will take this land too?' (What did you do about it?) One time we brought the quarrel to the teniente de barrio and Domingo was advised to put the fence in the middle of the buris. He agreed to do this but when he repaired the fence he did not put the fence in the middle.
>
> One of my nephews, Antero (Your real nephew?)--no, he is my pagomangkon sa pagpagaowan because his mother is my first cousin. Well, Antero was plowing his field which is next to mine. He made a fence on part of my land. I told him not to plant anything near the fence because I was going to pull it up.

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People who are interested in cheating neighbors can gain by cheating this way. Like the older brother of Domingo [the informant's first cousin] whose land borders that of Escoy [a non-relative]. He [Mariano, Domingo's older brother] planted coconuts between the field of his and Escoy's. But Escoy does not visit his fields very often. He does not pay much attention to his boundaries. So Mariano put his fence so all the coconuts were on his side and made the fence out of tuba [a popular wood used to make fences for it grows easily when transplanted]. Escoy did not pay any attention to this. So everytime Mariano repaired his fence he put it so the coconuts were on his side. He also planted buri close to the fence. When they grew big, he built the fence so all the buris were inside the fence on his side. Until now Mariano has cheated Escoy out of almost a six foot strip of land.

(You did not finish your story about Antero, your first cousin.) Well, he did not move back his fence and it is still on my land. He did not plant anything there, however. (Why don't you move the fence back to its proper place?) Well, when the fence gets old I'm going to do that.

I fought with Mariano over a land quarrel. One time when Mariano was putting in posts for a fence he did not follow the boundaries exactly. Instead of following the boundaries he curved the fence a little to get some of my land. So I pulled up the posts and put them in the right place. He got mad so we fought. When I was fighting with Mariano he picked up a stone and hit me on the forehead near my eyelid. This matter was taken to the municipio. While we were in court Mariano tried to say this wound was caused by my falling. But the judge and the sanitary inspector said that type of wound could not be caused by falling but was due to a blow from a stone. So Mariano was sentenced to three day's work in the municipio. At this time Mariano was a man of the mayor and he whispered to the mayor at the trial. But the mayor just said: 'It is only three days, you just work it out.' If I don't watch my cousins they will cheat me out of some of my land.

When I was 10 years old--there were eight in my family--my mother quarreled with her brother and sister over land. One of my mother's brothers built a fence on part of my mother's land. I told my mother what Julio [the informant's maternal uncle] was doing. So my mother told Julio that the fence was on part of her land. Julio said: 'Never mind, it is only over a little on your side.' Julio's wife urged him to do this. She said: 'You try to get a

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little more land because we have plenty of children. This case was brought to the court and my mother was alone against her seven brothers and sisters. The case was not finished for a long time. (Who won?) My mother won the case.

My mother was the youngest in her family. During this time my mother's father was still living. My mother's brothers were already married, ahead of my mother. So my mother's father gave land to the married children. He said to his married children: 'I'm still alive and eating so I'll hold this piece of land myself. When I die you divide this land into two equal parts. One part goes to my daughter [informant's mother] and then you divide the other piece among yourselves.' When my mother's father died, the older brothers and sister did not want to give my mother any land.

(Do other people quarrel over land in Naga or Caticugan?) No, I'm the only one. Oh, I forgot, there is Day and Maria who are quarreling over land. (Tell me about this quarrel.) Day changed the boundaries of her land. (Who is Maria?) Day's husband is the first cousin of Maria's father. Maria's father had a brother and her father and his brother jointly owned a piece of land. Maria's father's brother sold his half of the land to Day. The other half belonged to his father. When this land was sold to Day it was divided equally and the boundaries established. When Day built a new fence she moved it over a little onto the land that belongs to Maria's father. When Maria found out she pulled up the posts and returned them to the correct boundary. She told Day to bring the matter to the court. But Day did not do this. Maria lives in Dangola. Everytime she visits her land she finds out the fence is not in the right place. So Maria has told the people she does not know why Day wants to cheat her out of her land when Day has no children. Maria offered to buy the land from Day but Day does not want to sell.

It is tiresome to have this type of person having land bordering your land. Good if I were the first one to build the fence. I would build it on the right boundary. These people who want to cheat you build the fence in the right place the first time. When they rebuild the fence they make it a little more over on your land. In three years, by this way, they can get enough land to plant coconuts.

Another woman explained, in her life history, the

of land disputes she knew about in Caticugan.

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middle-aged woman, born in the barrio, and respected by most of the people.

(Did your parents ever quarrel with their relatives over land?) No, just their offspring today. (What are the quarrels about?) The owner of land near our place is Juana, my father's sister's daughter. She had a clerk come from the municipio to measure her land. She wanted her land to extend into my land. So this is the question now. We do not want Juana to claim part of my land because it belonged to my father.

There is another case between Juana and Mang. The old declaration of Juana's land measured only 141 meters while Mang's measured 142 meters. Mang's declaration [land record] was old because it was made in 1914. Recently Juana claimed part of Mang's land because her 1951 declaration measured 280 meters. They have taken the quarrel to court.

Juana went to the chief of police to complain about a buri that was made into guhang by Mang. So the chief of police sent a policeman to measure the land to determine ownership of the buri. After measuring the land they found it was on Mang's land. So Juana lost this complaint. Not satisfied by the decision of the chief she complained to the judge. When the complaint was filed with the judge he called a preliminary trial between Juana and Mang. He asked Mang whether she could employ a lawyer; and she said no because the land rightfully belonged to her. I was sitting near Mang and whispered to her to ask the judge if Juana could also employ a lawyer. But Mang was shy and did not say anything. The judge urged Mang to have a lawyer because how could she answer his questions without one. If she could not answer his questions she would lose the case. So the case is still pending.

Clement, Mang's brother, cut some bamboo located on the land in question. So Juana again went to the judge. She asked him if she had lost the case because Clement cut bamboo without her permission. The judge said no and that he would subpoena Clement and Mang to come on October 31. But the subpoena was made out wrong because the judge came October 30. So the case is still pending. Juana has told others she would not talk to the judge because she had paid the chief of police ₱14 to talk for her; it will be he who will face the judge. Mang says if she is defeated she will see the Public Defender in Dumaguete.

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(When you were a young girl were land disputes taken to the municipio or the teniente de barrio?" Before the sulang old people were good because whenever they had a controversy over land they settled it by themselves--but today it is very different. I do not remember my parents ever making trouble regarding land boundaries. (What about your relatives when you were a young girl?) They never quarreled about land that I can remember. (In the old days were there many quarrels over land?) Before, in the old days, there was little land trouble but today there is much. After the war when people received money from war damage, land troubles flared up because they had money to spend for the court. Juana said: 'I have money for the expenses of my case.' She got $400 from the war damage committee according to others.

There are a number of reasons for the apparent increase of land disputes in contemporary Caticugan. During the Spanish period, Cadiane states, fewer arguments occurred over ownership of fields per se (in comparison with the present); however, many quarrels developed regarding correct field boundaries. Once more land was available to the barriofolk and fewer people lived in the locality. Parental authority was stronger in the past; children denied this authority less frequently than they do today. Increased mobility of the people, however, has brought many disputes to the poblacion court that once were settled by barrio lieutenants in the rural communities. Today few barriofolk have more land than they need to feed their families and there is little land for sale--even if one has the money to buy it. The real importance of land is not its sale value but its food-producing capacity.

One type of land conflict that frequently occurred in the past and seems to be the major source of contention today is quarrels over correct field boundaries. Field boundaries are usually marked with rickety bamboo fences, bamboo or

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banana clumps, coconut or buri palms--all relatively impermanent. No surveys have been made so no accurate records of boundaries exist in the municipio. Since land is rarely sold, boundary disputes often involve such quarrels.

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TENANCY ARRANGEMENTS: LOWLAND

Under the common paddy tenancy arrangement in Caticugan the tenant furnishes the work animal and farm implements, pays all costs of transplanting and cultivating while the landlord furnishes the seed and shares harvest expenses equally with his tenant. The net produce of the paddy is divided 50-50. In some tenancy arrangements, the tenant furnishes the carabao and the plow, the landlord the seed; both share equally all costs of production and divide the net produce 50-50. A few tenants furnish everything--animal, plow, seeds--and pay production costs except for the harvest which the landlord shares equally; the tenant receives 66-2/3 per cent of the net harvest. If this arrangement is reversed the tenant receives the smaller harvest share.

The Philippine Rice Tenancy Act (first passed in 1933 and amended in 1946) defines the legal relation of tenant and landlord. According to this Act, if a tenant furnishes the work animal and farm implements, the landlord the seeds, and both share equally the costs of transplanting and cultivation, the net harvest is to be divided 45-55 in favor of the tenant.[15] According to the Act, expenses of harvesting and threshing are to be deducted from the

[15] A personal letter to the writer from Mr. Deogracias E. Lerma, Chief, Tenancy Division, Court of Industrial Relations, Department of Justice, Manila, September 18, 1951.

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In Tanjay fish corrals are built in March and April and last until the northeast monsoon in November. In October, 1950, the fish corrals in this area were destroyed by early northeast winds. Sometimes, the people said, fish corrals are damaged even earlier by an east wind that they call timog.

The northeast monsoon destroys most of the fish corrals along Negros' eastern coast and fish supplies move from southern Negros to Dumaguete; during the southwest monsoon this situation is reversed. Little fresh fish, however, is brought to Siaton from Dumaguete for sale during the rainy season.

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Older informants in Siaton said that once the most common type of fish corral was the Binatural; today's bonsod did not exist. A Binatural was built off Barrio Mantuyop in 1950 but, for the most part, this type is no longer used in Siaton. The fish catch, in the Binatural, was driven into the "last pocket" or section where it was scooped out with small hand nets (salok). One informant explained this type of fish corral "was very expensive to build and hard to catch the fish inside." This may partially explain why the Binatural is rarely built.

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Siaton municipality's coastline is divided into three zones according to the abundance of fish normally caught in bonsods. The first class bonsod zone is from the Zamboanguita-Siaton municipality boundaries to Barrio Sumalaring "in front of the residence of Mr. ---- and the pandan tree." This zone is a most desirable location because

of the protection afforded by an extension of land east of Malabuhan. Fish corrals can be built earlier here than in the other zones. The second class zone extends from Barrio Sumalaring to Salag Point; the third class zone continues from Salag Point to Siaton-Sta. Catalina municipality boundaries. 228 423

In 1951 public auctions were held for the first time for bonsod sites in these three zones. However, the auction was due less to raise funds than to political maneuvering among municipal officials. The auction was held in order to permit one person to obtain the most desirable sites, previously held by an individual then out of favor with local politicians. No auctions were held in 1952 or 1953. 228 423 437 661 427

When no auctions are held, an operator in a first class bonsod zone pays Siaton municipal government $50 annually; second class bonsod zone, $35; third class bonsod zone, $23. An additional license is necessary according to the depths in which the bonsod is constructed; Table ~~XXXI~~ 1 lists these fees. 228 427 423

1 [See p. 579, cat. 228 or 116 -- Analyst]

Caticugan. This section will first describe the dulot and then explain the distribution and variations of the ceremony in the different barrios in comparison with Caticugan.

The dulot is held before the corn is harvested in either caingins or lowland fields. There appear to be three major purposes for holding the dulot. First, it is an act of recognition of unseen spirits who, if not properly honored, can make the cultivators ill. Second, the dulot is an act of respect and honor to the kalags (souls) of previous owners of the field. Since land is seldom sold in the lowlands these souls normally are the parents of the cultivators.[44] The dulot is "like rent for the land" or a "payment" to the souls of former owners. A widespread belief is that these souls, if angered, can make the field workers sick; fever and stomach troubles are the most frequent afflictions caused by the angry spirits or unhonored souls. Third, the dulot is a premicias sa baul ("Thanksgiving for the field," i.e., for the harvest) to God.

The dulot is an obvious blend of paganism and Catholicism. Animism and reverence for the souls of the dead are pre-Spanish beliefs. Catholicism certainly reinforced the honoring of the dead; this may have been one reason why Catholicism was disseminated so easily in the

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[44] In the caingins the offering is made to the souls of one's departed parents.

law stated that 16 hectares (about 39 acres) would be the maximum public land sold to an individual while 1,024 hectares (about 2,530 acres) was the limit to be sold to corporations. "While this policy has been circumvented in a good many individual cases it has never been replaced or intrinsically liberalized" to the present.[7] 423

Today there are three methods by which Filipinos (and Americans) can obtain public lands. First, the free issue of land to an individual under a program resembling the homestead regulations in the United States. Second, purchase of public land through the Bureau of Lands. Third, obtaining a lease on a parcel of land, the charge depending on the land's appraised value. Under certain conditions these leases may be renewed every twenty-five years. The last two methods are normally beyond the economic means of the average Filipinos and only a small amount of land has been granted in these ways. 423 425

American policy in the Philippines abolished the Spanish head tax, enforced labor, restrictions upon personal movement and the requirements of the Church and officialdom. However, the tax on land, in contrast with the Spanish system, became an important source of revenue for the American administration in the Philippines. The 423

[7] Spencer, op. cit., p. 117.

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Only two major institutions operate in the rural areas: the Philippine National Bank and the Rehabilitation Finance Corporation (RFC). The Philippine National Bank has a branch office in Dumaguete City; the only bank in the city in 1951.

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In Siaton, as is usual, the municipal treasurer is the sub-agent of the Dumaguete branch of the Philippine National Bank. To him the people come to arrange for loans. Although they could go to the city branch, they must have certain statements regarding their security from the municipal treasurer. The borrower pays 10 per cent interest; 4 per cent goes to the municipal treasurer as his personal profit and 6 per cent to the bank. If a Torrens title to the land is not available, then a tax receipt will be accepted if free from any adverse claim for ten years. In Siaton when land is offered as security, without a Torrens title, all adjoining landowners must sign an affidavit that the borrower is the undisputed owner. Since the Philippine National Bank operates on a commercial banking basis it is quite difficult to obtain agricultural loans. Only in rare cases can a tenant qualify for a loan since he normally lacks the required security. Movable property is not accepted as security by the government-controlled Philippine National Bank.

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The Rehabilitation Finance Corporation was established by the government in 1947. One major purpose of the RFC was "to provide long term credit for the rehabilitation and development of agriculture and industry." For

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a RFC loan a Torrens title for land is required. If a Torrens title is not available, then either a Torrens title to urban land of equal value or a pre-1894 Spanish title to the land for which the loan is requested is required; the interest on the loan is 6 per cent per annum.

There are no branches of the RFC in Negros; for the people of Negros Oriental the nearest branches are in Cebu City or Iloilo City. Between January 2, 1947 and September 30, 1951, fifty-six RFC agricultural loans were made in Negros Oriental, totaling $335,285; none were made to residents of Siaton municipality. For the same period agricultural loans in Negros Occidental totaled $6,835,077. Both sets of loans were mainly for rehabilitation of Negros' sugar industry. Of the twelve Visayan provinces, Negros Occidental received the largest amount of money (1947-1951) from the RFC; Negros Oriental was sixth.[24]

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Due to the stringent requirements of the Philippine National Bank and the RFC for agricultural loans the average farmer is forced to obtain agricultural credit from landlord, from private money lenders, local merchants, rice millers and other buyers of farm products. These loans often are made and repaid in kind. A farmer may obtain credit from a local merchant and later sell his palay to this merchant, who deducts the amount owed.

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[24] Ibid., p. 49.

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In Siaton the Chinese merchants loan rice or corn to the barriofolk before the harvest and the borrower is required to return twice the quantity borrowed. In the Philippines "interest paid by tenants on borrowed money is grossly onerous. Annual rates of 100 per cent are common and rates of 200 per cent and even higher are not unusual."[25]

Between 1907-1947 there were in the Philippines eleven attempts to establish agricultural credit facilities, cooperative credit or marketing organizations, special government corporations, or government-sponsored banking institutions. Of these eleven only two were successful, the RFC and the Philippine National Bank. There are a number of reasons for this dismal picture of agricultural credit. First, insufficient inducements were offered to encourage private investors to organize rural banks. Second, the cooperatives failed for lack of loaning capital, bad management, or non-support by their members. Third, none of the institutions established credit facilities available to the barriofolk who have to pay usurious interest rates to the private non-registered lenders. This includes the Philippine National Bank and the RFC. Fourth, these agencies approached agricultural credit problems with commercial banking procedures.

The need for agricultural credit has increased considerably since 1945. In many cases the farmer is worse off today than before the war because of the

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[25]Hardie, op. cit., p. v.

disparity between the prices he receives for the products produced and the goods he must purchase. There also are the lower level of agricultural production, and the war destruction of equipment and buildings. Most farmers were unable to liquidate their debts during the inflationary period which followed the war; many fell deeper into debt.

Siaton's municipal treasurer has been assigned the municipality for six years (1946-1951). During this period only twenty loans were arranged through the Philippine National Bank; the largest was $500 to one of the local government officials. The average loan was about $100 and 75 per cent were made to poblacion residents; other loans were made to residents of Malabuhan, Bonawon, and Giliga-on. All loans were for agricultural purposes.

During the "starvation months" some Caticugan barriofolk are forced to borrow money or supplies in order to live. As one woman said: "We live between one harvest and another on the supplies the Chinese advance us." Other occasions for borrowing are a death or wedding. For example, one man in Catiougan borrowed money from his elder brother's wife for the bride-price when his youngest son married. Fiestas also are occasions for borrowing. Not all "agricultural" loans are for agriculture. Sometimes parents borrow money to support a son or daughter in school in Dumaguete although the loan is said to be for

"agricultural purposes." Some of the sari-sari stores in the poblacion permit individuals to have "charge accounts" without charging interest. For the most part, however, these are residents of the poblacion--often government employees--and their accounts run between monthly pay-checks.

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One common method of borrowing money is called arendo. There are two types of arendo. First, the borrower permits the lender to cultivate the field offered as security for the loan for a stated period; the harvest belongs to the lender who farms it. When the set period of arendo is over, the loan is considered repaid by the harvests and the field reverts to the original owner; there is no interest on the loan. For example, a caingin farmer in Pinac-an loaned thirty-five dollars to the owner of a 1.7 acre field in Barrio Cesticugan. The owner ran a sari-sari store in Tanjay poblacion. The lender was to farm the land, receiving all crops until the loan was repaid. The Pinac-an farmer had been cultivating this field for several years for the owner never had made any payments on his loan.

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In the second type of arendo the lender loans money and the interest rate is one-third of the harvest of the field offered as security. If the lender furnishes the borrower with seeds and the latter cultivates the field, the harvest division is 50-50; the owner becomes a tenant on his own land. When the loan is paid, the harvest shares are considered as interest. One man in Naga had

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two fields under arendo. One field he cultivated, giving the lender one-third of the harvest as interest on his loan. The lender cultivated the other field himself under the first type of arendo.

Usually the lender will obtain a receipt for the loan and a description of the field offered as security. One woman said she also had witnesses whose fields bordered on the borrower's land. The land records in the municipio are not changed. The period of arendo depends upon the amount of money loaned, size and fertility of the field, and the time the borrower takes to repay the loan. In one case a paddy of about four-fifths of an acre was under arendo for one year for a five dollar loan. The lender cultivated the paddy for one year and retained the harvest; after the harvest the paddy reverted to its owner. Cornfields were said to bring less money than paddies.

Coconuts are also put under arendo, and the lender receives all the coconuts for the stated period of the loan. When this period is over the grove is returned to the borrower-owner and the debt is considered paid. Sometimes a person may borrow money, paying as interest part of his coconut crop. Being unable to repay the principal the field is placed under arendo to the lender until the loan is repaid. The lender may also state that if the principal is not repaid on a set date, the coconut grove (or trees) will be sold to meet the borrower's obligation.

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By putting the field under arendo the owner is able to forestall its sale.

Sometimes land slowly passes out of the hands of barriofolk who need money, often due to emergencies. One man who mortgaged his field was unable to repay the principal so he put the field under arendo to his creditor, receiving no share of the harvest. When the arendo period was over, he needed more money. He put a second mortgage on the field to the original creditor and finally sold him the land. Generally speaking, arendo did not appear to be widespread in Caticugan. However, this is not the easiest type of information to collect.

Some barriofolk loan small sums of money under a verbal agreement; the interest rate usually is 10 per cent. There are also loans in kind, repaid in kind. One woman in Naga frequently loaned money and received the assistance of the barrio school-teacher in drawing up the receipt since she was illiterate. The two persons most active in loaning money in Naga were women.

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Credit sources in Caticugan were meager and the barriofolk usually lacked the security for loans that would enable them to receive assistance without resorting to usurious sources. Most barriofolk were badly in need of sources of credit for subsistence loans and production requirements (fertilizer, seed, etc.), and the benefits of cooperatives. If such sources of credit had been available, they might have reached a higher standard of living.

Twine nets are repaired with a bamboo shuttle-like device called sikhohan; sikhohan are made in several different sizes. (See Plate L.)[1] In repairing twine nets all loose or "false" threads are cut; "false" threads are those that if unravelled sufficiently are not fixed to an untorn part of the net. New twine is woven into the holes with the sikhohan. Net mending is a man's job, "especially if we cannot go to the sea"; women rarely mend nets.

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Bobo Fish Traps

The bobo, a bamboo fish trap, is widely used in Siaton for obtaining pelagic fish; the trap is distributed throughout the Philippines. Victoria has written of the bobo of Cebu. He states that its fishermen bait the bobo;[68] however, Siaton bobos are not baited. Kangleon reported that Leyte fishermen put bobos in water as deep as 180 feet where they may stay for 3 months.

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[68] De la Victoria, op. cit., p. 46. Umali calls the bobo "a fish pot" and writes that recently they have been made of chicken wire. Umali, op. cit., p. 106.

[1] [this plate is missing -- Analyst]

51:Hart E-3 (1950-1952)1954 OA1 Philippines
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181 Third, the fiesta is an economic investment. One's guests will, in the future, be one's hosts during their fiesta. In fact, this is one of several reasons given for organizing new *barrio* fiestas in southern Negros. The people felt ashamed to attend fiestas in neighboring communities without having a fiesta of their own when they could reciprocate enjoyed hospitality. In the long run, the bread thrown on the water returns. In some cases doubled. From this point of view the fiesta may not be as wasteful as many Filipinos believe.

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181 *Fourth*, the fiesta serves a religious function, particularly in the *barrios* distant from the *poblacion* church. The fiesta is often the only time in the year the priest visits the local chapel and holds mass in the community for the barriofolk. Sometimes combining a baptismal or wedding celebration with the fiesta serves to reduce the family expenses by making a normal entertainment unnecessary by coordination with the fiesta. *Fifth*, the fiesta re-inforces the people's feeling of solidarity within the *barrio* or *poblacion*, although sometimes the event may enhance competitiveness between different communities. Most Filipinos take great pride in their *barrio* or *poblacion* fiesta. *Sixth*, the *barrio* and *poblacion* fiesta often reunite, for the only time of the year, members of the immediate families. The ideal pattern is for one always to return to one's home fiesta. It is not at all uncommon to meet relatives from Siquijor, Cebu, Panay, Leyte, or even more distant places, at Negros Oriental fiestas.

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181 *Seventh*, the fiesta furnishes the church with a sizeable annual income. The money collected for baptisms, masses, and the church's participation in the various religious activities of the fiestas is an important aspect of the financial support of the church by the people. The fiesta often renews the authority of the church in more isolated areas where this authority and responsibility lies dormant for most of the year. *Eight*, the fiesta in the larger *barrio* and *poblacion* is a commercial stimulant to the economic life of the community. Prices are often raised, purchases of food and clothing more frequent and larger than normal. The fiesta creates new wants and needs which do not exist during most of the year.

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181 *Ninth*, the fiesta is a means by which the indebtedness of many families is increased, by borrowing money to entertain their guests properly. Some families may mortgage their land for "agricultural" loans and others sell farmyard animals to raise a little cash for the fiesta. However, the waste may not be as great as imagined by many Filipinos. One's guests may next month be one's hosts. The fiesta also stimulates many people to work harder, and for others it is an oppotunity to augment the pitifully small family cash income by selling food and drink. *Tenth*, in the larger *barrio*

River valley. Several landlords, residents of the poblacion, have sizeable holdings in Dolog or Common, and part of their share of the corn, rice, or peanuts raised by their tenants is sold for cash. None of these landlords, could in any sense of the word be considered wealthy. The "cash crops" of Caticugan are coconuts, vegetables and guhang, an alcoholic beverage made from the sap of the buri palm. For the majority of the people, guhang is probably the most important of these few "cash crops."

The remainder of this chapter discusses (1) agricultural calendar; (2) caingins; (3) lowland rice and corn agriculture; (4) the manufacture of guhang; (5) minor single crops of Caticugan (coconuts, cassava, camotes, etc.); (6) vegetables and other garden crops (tangkong, tobacco, etc.); (7) farm animals; (carabao, cattle, chickens, etc.); (8) cooperative labor groups; and (9) local agricultural extension activities. Plate XXI shows the land use patterns of Caticugan.[1]

## THE AGRICULTURAL CALENDAR OF CATICUGAN

The agricultural calendar of the barriofolk of Caticugan is synchronized with the seasons of southern Negros. Except for a small irrigated area in Barrio Caticugan, the farmers are totally dependent on precipitation of the southwest monsoon. The agricultural calendar should be read with these climatic conditions in mind. (See Chapter II.) The calendar, of course, varies a

1 [See p. 272, cat. 116 -- Analyst]

River valley, Caticugan's paddies looked the best. There is little doubt in my mind that the rice yield per acre for Siaton municipality in 1952, as estimated by the local agricultural agent, was too liberal. For example, the average rice yield in 1952 for the southern municipalities of Negros (Valencia to Tolong) was 774 pounds per acre.[34]

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According to Siaton's municipal land records, 122 acres of land are planted with lowland rice in Caticugan. This acreage is owned by 136 different individuals of whom 49 per cent live in Caticugan. Of the remaining owners 16 per cent live in Siaton poblacion, 10 per cent in Mantuyop, 8 per cent in Sandolot, and 6 per cent in Datag with several owners living in Inalad, Salag, and Maloh. More than half of the owners of ricefields in Caticugan do not live in the barrio, although they cannot be called absentee landlords in the strict sense. Many of these owners cultivate fields in Caticugan, bringing their plants from seed beds in their barrios.

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While the records indicate that the 122 acres of paddy in Caticugan are owned by 136 different individuals, the actual number of owners is much larger. Many a paddy is owned jointly by brothers and sisters. Sometimes the land records indicate this fact by stating that

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[34] These figures were obtained from an unpublished report of the Provincial Agricultural Office, Dumaguete, Negros Oriental, 1952.

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the land is owned by the person listed and his or her "heirs" or "brothers." For example, one paddy in Caticugan, inherited on the death of a parent, is owned jointly by seven brothers and sisters. The land records often do not indicate these facts of ownership because the land continues to be registered under the name of an owner dead many years. Heirs often fail to change the land registration records at the municipio due to the small fee charged for the service.

Of the individuals interviewed during the survey in Caticugan, 50 per cent owned their ricefields, 37 per cent were tenants and 13 per cent owned some paddy and tilled others as tenants. In Sandolot-Datag area, of the thirty-one families interviewed, 74 per cent owned their ~~paddies while 26 per~~ cent were tenants. In order to obtain as wide a sample as possible, I did not request these families to give data on all of the ricefields they cultivated, but obtained figures for just one paddy. Therefore, some owners may have been also cultivating paddies as tenants. Three of the tenants in Caticugan were farming paddies owned by either a wife's brother or mother; another worked a paddy owned by a mother's brother. In Sandolot-Datag three tenants had as landlords a sister's husband, father's brother, and a third cousin, respectively.[35]

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[35] A recent survey of thirteen barrios states that 31 per cent of the landlords of tenants were related by blood or marriage to their renters. Rivera and McMillan, op. cit., p. 43.

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reason little corn is planted here and that which is sowed does not grow well.

There are no cooperative efforts to maintain the canals. Each farmer cares for the canals which run by or through his paddy. The distribution of the water is done without rancor because there is sufficient water for all. During my residence some older men in Barrio Caticugan talked about digging a new canal to irrigate more land. The owner of the spring that the proposed canal was to tap, however, requested ten gantas of shelled corn annually from every farmer through whose field the canal would pass. This price was considered excessive and the canal project was dropped. There was also talk about purchasing a second-hand pump to bring water from the Siaton River to Barrio Caticugan's fields. The largest landowner in Barrio Caticugan had the capital to purchase the pump but the project had not passed the discussion stage in 1953.[36]

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By irrigating some of their paddies the barriofolk can plant corn without waiting for the southwest monsoon. In 1951 the first irrigated paddy corn in Caticugan was planted in March, continuing into April. The sowing occurred immediately after the rice harvest so these

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[36] In 1952 the Mutual Security Agency allocated three million dollars for the purchase of irrigation pumps in the Philippines. James A. Storer, "Philippine Economic Progress," Far Eastern Survey, XXII, No. 8, (July, 1953) pp. 91-2. Ortigas states that both the Canaway and Sacsac rivers in Siaton were under consideration as possible irrigation sources. Ortigas, op. cit., p. 140.

owner was definitely annoyed that he had to sell part of his harvest. 243 476 432

The price of corn varied in the harvests. Two handsful of ears for two or three cents, fifteen ears for the same price and a centavo an ear are a few examples of the prices. Relatives are normally sold more corn and at a cheaper price than non-relatives. The other harvesters do not object. One woman gave the mother of her son's girl-friend a basketful of corn to win her favor. 243 476 435 People often eat the corn they harvest on the spot; the husked ears are roasted on hot coals. [264]

Another reason why the harvesters' assistance is normally not refused is the widespread belief in "envious people." "Envious people" can do harm to one's person or crops through magic. If the manalabangs' help were refused one of them might attempt revenge on the cultivator or his crops. Older manalabangs may silently pray as they work that the cultivator may enjoy good health and abundant harvests in coming years. As one woman said, "the manalabangs just wish good for the owner while they work." 243 476

Corn is harvested by pulling the ears from the stalks. Harvested ears are collected in a basket called bukag. Helpers never know what their share will be until the harvest is completed. If the farmer is a tenant the owner is usually present to assist in the division of the harvest. No arguments over the manalabangs' shares were ever witnessed; they may think their share is too small but they do not complain openly. [42]

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## Cornfield Sizes and Yields

According to Siaton's municipal land records there are 580 acres classified as maizal (cornfields) in Caticugan, owned by 291 different persons. The records list 321 individual fields since some own more than one field; the average size was 1.9 acres. Of the owners of corn land 64 per cent live in Caticugan, 14 per cent in Siaton poblacion, 7 per cent in Sandolot, 5 per cent in Datag and 4 per cent in Mantuyop. The remaining owners live in Dumaguete, Zamboanguita, Maloh, Cabangahan, Omanod and Sta. Catalina poblacion. While 36 per cent of the owners of cornfields do not live in Caticugan, 51 per cent of the owners of paddies live in other communities.[51]

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I made a survey in Caticugan to check the accuracy of the municipal land records and obtain additional data on tenancy. Ownership and tenancy figures obtained through this survey indicate that tenancy is higher for paddy than cornfields. Information gathered from this survey is given in Table XVIII.

TABLE XVIII

Percentages of Ownership and Tenancy of Caticugan's Paddy and Cornfields -- 1951

| | Paddies | Cornfields |
|---|---|---|
| Owner | 50 | 60 |
| Owner-Tenant | 13 | 27 |
| Tenant | 37 | 13 |

[51] These are approximate figures; field sizes may not be accurately recorded or may be in other sitios of Caticugan, a fact not always noted on the records. However, special care was taken to check as thoroughly as possible the actual residences and not to include fields in other sitios. I am grateful to the municipal treasurer, Ramon Regalado, and the chief clerk of the municipio, for assistance in this matter.

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I also made a survey of harvest yields and field sizes that included 51 acres of land--17 acres in Barrio Caticugan, 11 acres in Talo-ot and 23 acres in Naga. Caticugan's average yield for the first paddy and first non-irrigated crops was 6 bushels of corn per acre. The average size of the cornfields in Caticugan, based on this survey, was 1.2 acres while the average obtained from the land records was 1.9 acres. Several hundred husked cornears were measured from the second non-irrigated harvest of Barrio Caticugan; the average length of the ears was 2-1/2 inches. However, the second harvest from non-irrigated cornfields is usually smaller than the first harvest.

My survey included a small field in Barrio Caticugan where loose carabaos destroyed the crop and four fields in Naga, two in which the crop was damaged by wild pigs and two damaged by insects and floods. Total acreage of these fields was less than 5 acres; they were included in the averages for such incidents are fairly common. The survey's largest cornfield was 4-acre field in Talo-ot while the smallest was .3 of an acre. According to municipal land records the largest field in Caticugan was 27 acres (a field that had been divided among the heirs although the record was not changed) while the smallest field was .1 of an acre.

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In 1939 there were 47,440 farmers in Negros Oriental with 43.9 per cent owners, 12.1 per cent part owners, and 43.7 per cent tenants.[52] According to my surveys,

[52] Yearbook of Philippine Statistics: 1946, p. 138.

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the tenancy for both paddy and cornfield in Caticugan is 55 per cent owner, 20 per cent part owner, and 25 per cent tenant. These figures bear out my opinion and that of other informed observers that in Siaton the tenancy rates are lower than the average for the province.

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I made a similar survey to determine the average yield, field size, and the harvester's share in the Siaton River valley barrios. In Dolog only the two landlords (the present mayor of Siaton and the former deputy governor of the province, both brothers) were interviewed for they own most of the cultivated land. The figures, combined with those of Caticugan, are given in Table XIX.

TABLE XIX

Cornfields: Average Sizes and Yields and Harvesters' Shares in Siaton River Valley - 1951[53]

| Community | Average Size Of Fields (Acres) | Average Yield Per Acre (Bushels) | Harvesters Share of Total Harvest (Percentage) |
|---|---|---|---|
| CATICUGAN | 1.2 | 6 | 15.5 |
| Datag | 1.5 | 7 | 15.0 |
| Sandolot | 1.2 | 12 | 13.0 |
| Casala-an | 1.2 | 12 | 15.3 |
| Dolog | - | 20 | - |

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Table XIX indicates that corn yield per acre increases as one goes up in the Siaton River valley. Yields

[53]The survey included 71 acres in Casala-an, 44 acres in Sandolot and 47 acres in Datag. The two landlords of Dolog gave me information on their fields that totaled 35 acres. Data obtained from Datag, Sandolot and Casala-an were gathered by my assistant who took two days to collect the figures. Obtaining such information is often difficult when the barriofolk are not well acquainted with the field worker. For this reason I felt my assistant, a former school-teacher in Sandolot, well-known and respected by most of the people, could collect the data more accurately.

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banana clumps, cocohut or buri palms--all relatively impermanent. No surveys have been made so no accurate records of boundaries exist in the municipio. Since land is rarely sold, boundary disputes often involve such quarrels.

TENANCY ARRANGEMENTS: LOWLAND

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Under the common paddy tenancy arrangement in Caticugan the tenant furnishes the work animal and farm implements, pays all costs of transplanting and cultivating while the landlord furnishes the seed and shares harvest expenses equally with his tenant. The net produce of the paddy is divided 50-50. In some tenancy arrangements, the tenant furnishes the carabao and the plow, the landlord the seed; both share equally all costs of production and divide the net produce 50-50. A few tenants furnish everything--animal, plow, seeds--and pay production costs except for the harvest which the landlord shares equally; the tenant receives 66-2/3 per cent of the net harvest. If this arrangement is reversed the tenant receives the smaller harvest share.

The Philippine Rice Tenancy Act (first passed in 1933 and amended in 1946) defines the legal relation of tenant and landlord. According to this Act, if a tenant furnishes the work animal and farm implements, the landlord the seeds, and both share equally the costs of transplanting and cultivation, the net harvest is to be divided 45-55 in favor of the tenant.[15] According to the Act, expenses of harvesting and threshing are to be deducted from the

[15] A personal letter to the writer from Mr. Deogracias E. Lerma, Chief, Tenancy Division, Court of Industrial Relations, Department of Justice, Manila, September 18, 1951.

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gross produce of the paddy.[16] The common tenancy arrangement for rice fields in Caticugan, therefore, is illegal since the tenant must bear the cost of transplanting and care of the field yet receives 5 per cent less than his legal share. However, there may be no expenses for transplanting since the family does the work and little care is necessary once the rice is transplanted. One tenant in Sandolot, however, said he paid helpers five dollars to assist in transplanting his paddy.

Sometimes in Caticugan the tenant furnishes everything yet receives only 66-2/3 per cent of the net rice harvest. This arrangement also is illegal, for under such an arrangement the tenant should receive 75 per cent of the net produce of the paddy, since Caticugan fields produce less than 40 cavans per hectare. When paddies produce more than 40 cavans of palay per hectare the division is 70-30 in favor of the tenant.[17] Sometimes a Caticugan landlord will plant one rice seed bed and furnish the tenant with seedlings for transplanting.

The most common tenancy arrangement for cornfields is almost the same as for paddies. Tenants furnish the work animal and plow, the landlord the seed; both share

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[16] A copy of the Philippine Rice Share Tenancy Act is printed in Hardie, op. cit., pp. G24-G31 and its amendment, Republic Act No. 34, pp. G33-G35.

[17] David Wurfel, "The Philippine Rice Share Tenancy Act," Pacific Affairs, XXVII, No. 1 (March, 1954), p. 45. Wurfel's article is a brief yet penetrating analysis of this legislation.

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equally the cost of planting, cultivation, and harvest; the net produce of the field is divided 50-50. Some landlords require the tenant to furnish the seed corn yet the division is still 50-50. A few landlords furnished implements, animal and seed, requiring the tenant to bear all costs of planting, cultivating and harvesting, with a 50-50 division. Infrequently the tenant furnished everything, bore the costs of production and received 66-2/3 per cent of the net produce of the cornfield.

Corn is classified as an "auxiliary crop" in Section 9 of the Philippine Rice Share Tenancy Act.

> In the absence of any written agreement to the contrary in case the land is planted to a secondary crop of rice or other auxiliary crops, the tenant shall receive 80 per cent and the landlord 20 per cent of the net produce, provided all the expenses of production are borne by the tenant.[18]

"All expenses" are interpreted to include work animals, implements, seed, and all costs connected with planting, cultivating and harvesting the corn. There are no regu-

tions in the Philippine Rice Share Tenancy Act covering

e type of tenancy arrangements for cornfields that

ist in Caticugan.[19] Some arrangements are obviously

legal--where the tenant furnishes everything yet re-

ives only 66-2/3 per cent of the net produce. Yet this

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[18] Hardie, op. cit., p. G26.

[19] A personal letter to the writer from Mr. Deogracias Lerma, Chief, Tenancy Division, Court of Industrial ations, Department of Justice, Manila, October 2, 1951.

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is not the common tenancy arrangement between tenant and landlord for cornfields.

Most of the injustices to the tenant in Caticugan--that are not common--reflect an old story in the Philippines. A man who owns no land or whose fields are too small to support his family must work as a tenant. In order to feed his family he must accept arrangements which he knows are unjust; if he does not others will. Justice for the tenant under such illegal arrangements is a complicated, expensive process. Even if he won his case he would probably lose the field unless the law forced the landlord to retain him as a tenant. This explanation was given for some of the more unjust tenancy arrangements in Caticugan and the northern barrios of the Siaton River valley. While there are more tenants than available land in Caticugan, the relatively low rate of tenancy has not made the pressure to obtain and retain fields as great as elsewhere in the Philippines.

Table XXVI[1] gives the figures for national, Negros Oriental, and Caticugan tenancy in percentages for comparative purposes.

1 [See p. 489, cat. 427.. Analyst]

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TABLE XXVI

PERCENTAGE OF CULTIVATED AREA UNDER TENANCY[20]

| Type | Caticugan (1951) Rice | Caticugan (1951) Corn | Negros Oriental (1939) | Philippines (1939) |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Owner | 50 | 60 | 49 | 49.0 |
| Owner-Tenant | 13 | 27 | 13 | 15.0 |
| Tenant | 37 | 13 | 30 | 30.7 |
| Farm manager | -- | -- | 7.4 | 3.5 |

There is a remarkable similarity between the tenancy and ownership percentages for Negros Oriental province and the Philippines. For most of the Caticugan barriofolk, however, the cornfield percentages reflect the situation more accurately since only a minority in the barrio cultivate paddies. Caticugan's tenancy percentage is quite low when compared with the 67 per cent tenancy of Pampanga province, Luzon.

Relationships between tenants and landlords in Caticugan and the northern barrios of the Siaton River valley are generally harmonious. Few landlords require the "extra" services from their tenants that are typical in central Luzon. One man had his tenant repair his house and paid him ten dollars while the tenant thought twenty dollars would have been a fairer payment. An informant of Barrio Caticugan said he once was a tenant of a paddy in Barrio Canaway. He stopped farming the paddy because every year he had to build a new fence;

[20] Spencer, op. cit., pp. 122-3. In 1939 1.7 of the cultivated land was operated under mixed tenancy arrangements. Caticugan figures were obtained through a survey I made in 1951. 1948 Census figures for tenancy in the Philippines were not available at this time.

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the landlord always carted the fence away for his personal use. Normally tenants live in their own houses. Several landlords assisted tenants living in the more isolated barrios to build new homes by furnishing nipa shingles.

When the harvest is divided the landlord or one of his family, quite often the wife or a daughter, will go to the field to help in the division of the crop; this, however, is not always the case. Some landlords permit a tenant to bring his share to his own house. A tenant's family is allowed to eat all the green corn they wish; this increases their share. Restrictions in this matter, probably would be almost impossible to enforce. I neither witnessed nor heard of violent quarrels over the division of crops between tenant and landlord. The only argument I heard was a vicious verbal fight between a brother and sister in Siaton poblacion over the division of corn from a jointly-owned field that was farmed by the brother.

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Another reason for the generally friendly relationships between tenant and landlord may be that they often are relatives. While kinship does not necessarily prevent exploitation of one's tenant-relative, it often tempers the situation. Under barrio social organization, one is less likely to come into open conflict with an aunt, uncle or affinal relative than with a non-relative. Relatives often are more considerate in arranging farm tenure than non-relatives. The pitiful exploitation of

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many tenants by landlords in central Luzon, largely the basis for the agrarian unrest in that area, does not exist in Caticugan.

TENANCY ARRANGEMENTS: CAINGIN

Caingin agriculture has no recognized system of tenancy so there are no laws governing the relationships between tenant and landlord. The most common tenancy arrangement in Siaton municipality is for the tenant to furnish the seed (rice, corn or abaca cuttings), and to assume all costs of clearing the field, planting, cultivation and harvesting; the crops are divided two to one in the tenant's favor. Sometimes the tenant receives the entire harvest after the first year; or at the second corn planting and rice harvest the tenant and landlord change the two to one division to 50-50. Another arrangement is 60-40 in favor of the tenant as long as rice and corn are raised on the caingin; i.e., if no abaca is planted. If abaca is planted and the tenant furnishes the cuttings, he receives two-thirds of the fiber and the landlord one-third. Another arrangement is that the tenant receives all of the first corn crop on the first planting of the caingin; subsequent divisions two to one in favor of the tenant.

If abaca is intercropped with corn or rice and workers are employed to strip the stalks, they get 50 per cent of the profits from the sale of the fiber, while

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the landlord and tenant receive 25 per cent each. The workers have to carry the heavy bundles of fiber on their backs to the poblacion. If the landlord strips and processes the abaca planted and cared for by his tenant, he receives 75 per cent of the profits from its sale in the poblacion and the tenant 25 per cent. If the tenant processes the abaca the division of profits is reversed. One informant said the owners of the caingin often urge their tenants to plant abaca in order to prevent soil erosion and the spread of cogon. The tenant receives all vegetables planted in the caingin.

CREDIT FACILITIES AND ARRANGEMENTS

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Nearly every comprehensive study of Philippine economic structure has urged that credit facilities be improved. Both the Joint Philippine-American Finance Commission (1947) and the Bell Mission (1950) stressed the need for improving and expanding agricultural credit facilities. The latest study of agricultural credit is briefly summarized as background material for Catiougan.[21]

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There is no government control or support of agricultural products in the Philippines, with the exception of the activities of the National Rice and Corn Corporation. Though this corporation limits price rises of rice to the

[21] John L. Cooper, "Report and Recommendations Concerning Agricultural Credit in the Philippines." Manila, United States of America Special Technical and Economic Mission to the Philippines, January 8, 1952, 88 pages. Mimeographed.

of the protection afforded by an extension of land east of Malabuhan. Fish corrals can be built earlier here than in the other zones. The second class zone extends from Barrio Sumalaring to Salag Point; the third class zone continues from Salag Point to Siaton-Sta. Catalina municipality boundaries. 228 423

In 1951 public auctions were held for the first time for bonsod sites in these three zones. However, the auction was due less to raise funds than to political maneuvering among municipal officials. The auction was held in order to permit one person to obtain the most desirable sites, previously held by an individual then out of favor with local politicians. No auctions were held in 1952 or 1953. 228 423 437 661 427

When no auctions are held, an operator in a first class bonsod zone pays Siaton municipal government $50 annually; second class bonsod zone, $35; third class bonsod zone, $23. An additional license is necessary according to the depths in which the bonsod is constructed; Table ~~XXXX~~ 1 lists these fees. 228 427 423

1 [See p. 579, cat. 228 or 116 -- Analyst]

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## INHERITANCE PATTERNS

Philippine inheritance law is based on the principle of equal distribution among heirs. The Philippine Civil Code, approved in 1949, provides that in every inheritance the relative nearest in degree excludes the more distant relatives. Relatives in the same degree are to inherit in equal share. The Spanish Civil Code was made effective in the Philippines in 1889. Other Spanish laws were extended to the islands during the Spanish regime. During the American period laws of Anglo-American origin were enacted; the present revised Philippine Civil Code is a composite of laws of Spanish and American origin. The patterns of inheritance in Caticugan reflect this aspect of the legal system.

In Caticugan usufruct commonly applies to both immovable (real estate) and movable properties. When a husband (wife) dies, the fields of the deceased are usually held in usufruct by the surviving spouse until death. Often the survivor will retain the deceased mate's property, not dividing it among their children until they are married or she (he) dies. If the marriage was without issue the property is divided equally among the deceased's brothers and sisters, usually after the death of the surviving mate. If no siblings survive the property is inherited equally by the deceased's nieces and nephews. If there are no nieces and nephews then the property of the deceased reverts to first

cousins (the children of their parent's brothers and sisters). Normally one's parents, being one generation older, predecease their children. If a man (woman) dies and there are no heirs except first cousins, the property is inherited by paternal first cousins only, or in the case of a woman, by maternal first cousins.

This pattern of inheritance is largely pre-Hispanic. Loarca wrote that if a man died and left four children, his property (including slaves) was divided equally among his children. If he left a bastard the child would receive only what the brothers wished to give him. Robertson, who had examined such old Spanish sources as Morga, Plasencia and Colin, states that illegitimate children did not inherit, even those of the chiefs. "In general children inherited equally any property left by their parents, unless either parent desired to show some slight partiality by a small gift."[9] Among the Tagalogs conjugal property was divided equally among the heirs of the husband and wife but unmarried women could not own property in their own right.

If the man had no children, according to Loarca, his property reverted to his brothers in equal shares. If there were no children or brothers the man's property

[9] James A. Robertson, "The Social Structure of, and Ideas of Law Among, Early Philippine Peoples; and a Recently-Discovered Pre-Hispanic Criminal Code of the Philippine Islands. H. Morse Stephens and Herbert E. Bolton (ed.) Pacific Ocean in History: Papers and addresses presented at the Panama-Pacific Congress held at San Francisco, Berkeley, and Palo Alto, July 19-23, 1915. New York, Macmillan Company, 1917, pp. 172-4.

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was inherited by his cousins german (primos hermanos, i.e., first cousins). If there were no first cousins his property was inherited by his nearest kinsmen in equal shares.[10] This account of inheritance rights is identical with rights demanded by heirs in Catiegan today with some exceptions. First, Loarca omits the inheritance rights of nieces and nephews that precede the rights of first cousins. Second, the omission of equal inheritance rights of brothers and sisters. Third, unmarried women today may own property under their own names. Fourth, the rights of illegitimate children have been augmented.

When the husband (wife) dies without issue the surviving mate often enjoys usufruct of the property until her (his) death when the property reverts to the other legal heirs. However, in some cases the survivor is denied usufruct of a deceased mate's property. One childless woman, after the death of her husband, finally gave up her dead mate's fields in Catiegan because her husband's brothers and sisters were constantly annoying her by demanding their brother's land. In another incident the deceased husband's dead brother's children demanded that the widow turn over the land of their

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[10] Loarca, op. cit., Blair and Robertson, The Philippine Islands, 1493-1898, V, p. 153. Loarca states that most Visayans believed it was disgraceful to have many children because on their parents' death their property would be divided among so many heirs that all would be poor. Ibid., p. 119.

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paternal uncle. She took the quarrel to Siaton municipio and the chief of police advised her to retain the land during her lifetime. One informant's brother's wife died and her husband retained his deceased mate's fields in Datag. A Dumaguete lawyer informed the husband, however, that he could enjoy usufruct of the land only until his death. Then his wife's property would go to her brothers and sisters since she had no children. There were several cases in which heirs took to court in Siaton the attempt of a childless remarried sister- or brother-in-law to sell a deceased mate's property--an illegal procedure.

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Legitimate and Illegitimate Children as Heirs

The Philippine Civil Code of 1949 states that legitimate children and their descendants succeed to the parents and other ascendants, without distinction as to sex or age, even if they were derived from different marriages.[11] This Code was revised recently (1951); illegitimate children are now legally entitled to an equal share in a parent's property. However, before this revision in Caticugan the illegitimate children of fathers rarely inherited unless "they served their fathers," i.e., helped him with his work, cared for him

[11] Robert S. Hardie, Philippine Land Tenure Reform: Analysis and Recommendations. Manila, Special Technical and Economic Mission, Mutual Security Agency, 1952, p. 67.

during sickness, etc. On the other hand, children born out of wedlock always received the same share of their mother's properties as her legitimate children. 428 848

Some barriofolk in Caticugan explained that a mother's illegitimate child is always her child regardless of the circumstances of its birth whereas a father can always deny the child is his. Illegitimate children are normally raised by the mother; the bonds of affection and devotion are closer for the mother than the father. In Siaton poblacion I know of one unmarried woman, who purposely had a liaison with another man in order to have a child to care for her during her old age.

An illegitimate boy and girl lived in Barrio Caticugan with their deceased mother's two spinster sisters; their father resided a dozen houses away. Since they were not "serving" their unmarried father, on his death his property was to be inherited by his brothers and sisters. Another old man (an illegitimate child himself) died in Barrio Caticugan during my residence. On his death-bed he told his eldest son to see that his "pet" (favorite) illegitimate daughter, who lived with her unmarried mother in Siaton poblacion, inherited some of his land when his son died. Most barriofolk doubted that the son would remember his father's wish for he had several children. Sometimes it was reported that "a father may

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take pity on his illegitimate children" and leave them some of his property. Yet they rarely, if ever, received an equal share with other heirs.

There are a number of hazards for a father who wishes to leave his property to an illegitimate child. A man in Barrio Caticugan gave his illegitimate son (who, by the way, had not "served" him) a parcel of land. When he died the brother and sister who had cared for him during his last sickness took the land away from the illegitimate son. The son brought the dispute to Siaton municipio; since he had no legal documents to show that the land was given him it reverted to his father's brothers and sisters.

Another case of a property dispute involving illegitimate children was brought to the municipio from Barrio Canaway. A man and woman living as common-law husband and wife had a son and daughter. Later they separated and never were reconciled. On the man's death his brother and sister sold his land but refused to share the money with his two illegitimate children. The children presented their case in the Siaton court; the judge ruled against them since they were illegitimate children and the father had died before Philippine Civil Code revision.

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Adopted Children as Heirs

Children are rarely adopted by married couples who have children; when they are adopted they usually do not inherit under any circumstances (unless nieces or nephews) and never inherit equally with their parents' siblings. In Caticugan children are adopted by childless couples or unmarried adults. Exceptions are when one's brother's or sister's children become orphans or their parents are unable to support them. A brother or sister may then raise a niece or nephew who usually receive no share in their foster parents' property since the uterine children are the heirs.

Adoption in Caticugan is never legal in the sense that it is arranged through the courts. In Siaton poblacion only one case was reported where a childless couple legally adopted the wife's first cousin as their son. This couple also made a will leaving all their property to the adopted son. Thus adopted children are sometimes deprived of the property their foster parents may wish to leave them. For example, an adopted son of a barrio family was given a parcel of land by his foster father before his death. After the father died his children repossessed the land from the adopted son. He brought the dispute to the local court but lost his case because he could not produce legal evidence of adoption. On the other hand, there are incidents where foster parents left land to their adopted children and the uterine children respected the wishes of their deceased parents.

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Unmarried individuals or childless couples who adopt children have considerable difficulty in leaving property to them. One fairly common method was resorted to by a woman in Naga whose adopted son (her FaSiDaSo) was deeded his foster mother's property without any payment. The woman had raised the boy from infancy and wanted him to have her land but her brother and sister had protested. They had told friends that after their sister's death they would take away the land given the adopted son.

In Siaton poblacion one childless couple adopted the illegitimate child of their maid (the actual father was alleged to be the foster father's maternal uncle) and registered the child's birth in the municipio as their uterine daughter. The couple also deeded all their property to their adopted daughter, an arrangement that their brothers and sisters strongly disapproved. Often deeding land to adopted children is kept secret by foster parents "otherwise other relatives will always be pestering you not to leave your land to adopted children." Some barriofolk stated that foster parents would often like to leave property to adopted children but hesitate because they do not wish to start a quarrel among their relatives.

In a barrio near Caticugan a couple with children adopted the husband's brother's daughter. On their death, the uterine children did not give any of their parent's property to their adopted sister (i.e., first

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cousin). She complained that she had faithfully served and cared for her foster parents (her paternal uncle and aunt). If she had been a servant her "bill" would have been larger than the value of the land she requested. However, the children countered that this was her duty for her foster parents had fed and clothed her since infancy.

In Barrio Caticugan one informant's father had been adopted by his grandmother (his FaFaSi). On her death bed the woman requested that all her property be inherited by her adopted grandson (her BrSoSo), and urged that there be no dispute after her death. It was so done. When the same informant's second wife died, after a childless marriage, she made a will leaving all her property to two nieces (the daughters of a sister) she had raised from ~~childhood.~~ ~~The~~ barrio lieutenant (teniente de barrio) and all the women's other nieces and nephews (her brothers and sisters were dead) were called to the dying woman's side, and she explained her wishes. The will was witnessed and signed by the barrio lieutenant and no dispute occurred after her death.

In Naga a couple had adopted a boy unrelated to either the husband or the wife. When I asked if his adopted son would inherit equally with his uterine children, the husband replied: "I suspect my real children will object. But if my adopted son wants to get married, I will pay for all the costs, including the bride-price (batud)." Adopted children usually receive a share in

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the movable property of their foster parents, particularly the farm animals. The logic is that "they helped care for these animals" and earned their inheritance rights.

Many barriofolk in Caticugan adopt nieces and nephews. This is understandable since relations with the families of their brothers and sisters are very close under usual circumstances. If a childless couple adopts a niece or nephew their property would be inherited by legal heirs since on their death their lands would normally go to their nieces' and nephews' parents. However, non-related or godchildren are sometimes adopted. One woman's goddaughter's mother died "before the baby was finished with the nipple." The child was adopted and raised by her childless godmother. "She had no children so she made a will [in order that the adopted girl would inherit her property] so her nieces and nephews would not molest her adopted daughter."

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Wills are rarely made in Caticugan or Siaton <u>poblacion</u>. The barriofolk state that "only educated people in the <u>poblacion</u> make wills." One old informant said "if parents made a will in the old days [that would probably be due to their desire to leave their property to others than the natural heirs] they would just be looking for trouble." Wills were made by Filipinos during pre-Hispanic times. Robertson writes that oral and written wills made were carried out strictly and never contested.

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Conjugal Property

Conjugal property (magtini-ayonan or tini-ayonan for short), includes real estate or movable properties acquired by a married couple during their wedded life. If the couple is childless, conjugal properties revert to their brothers and sisters, half going to heirs of the husband and half to heirs of the wife. The mother's illegitimate and legitimate children share equally in her conjugal properties. The father's illegitimate children did not share in his conjugal properties unless legal arrangements were made until the revision of the Philippine Civil Code. Adopted children normally do not inherit conjugal property of their foster parents unless they make special arrangements. If there are no heirs except the couple's first cousins both the paternal and maternal cousins inherit conjugal properties. One-half of the conjugal property is divided equally among the paternal and one-half among the maternal cousins.

However, conjugal properties are rare in Caticuan and not very common in Siaton poblacion. For the most part, each mate brings to the marriage certain properties and during their lifetime little is added to their meager possessions, particularly real estate.

Temporary Division of Property

According to Cadiane:

> During the Spanish period the father was the head of the family. When the children were all married, the father, sometimes attended by poblacion officials, divided his property equally among his children--

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> land, animals, plants such as bamboo, coconut and buri palms, etc. Sometimes the father or mother selected one of their children to live with them and to take care of them when they got sick during their old age. When the father or mother was about to die, they called the poblacion officials to have them as witnesses that the son or daughter who stayed and took care of them would receive the rest of their properties. Sons and daughters in these times never went against the will of their parents.

This procedure--calling in poblacion officials as witnesses--was probably more typical of poblacion residents than the barriofolk.

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Parents, before their death, often temporarily partition lands among their children. This division may be made upon the children's request, particularly after they are married. Married brothers or sisters with children are often permitted to farm a larger field than childless or unmarried brothers and sisters, because the married couple "have more mouths to feed." This arrangement also minimizes quarrels among the children after their parents' death, according to the barriofolk. Yet these temporary partitions of land are often a source of conflict. Siblings who receive a larger parcel of land do not wish to have it reduced so their brothers and sisters will share equally.

While legally, and in most cases actually, property is equally distributed among the children, there is a tendency for the eldest sibling to try to get the "lion's share." A lawyer in Tanjay said that most of his civil cases result from the efforts of eldest siblings to get

or retain more than an equal share of their parents' property. One incident was said to have occurred in Barrio Datag when a younger brother poisoned his elder brother with botete fish because the latter refused to repartition equally their father's land after his death. The elder brother had been given temporarily a larger field than his brother by their father.

Again two brothers fought with bolos over a supposedly unequal division of their parents' property in Barrio Canaway. Several disputes over equal inheritance among brothers and sisters were brought to Siaton municipio and others were settled informally in the barrios. Elder siblings often have the advantage over younger brothers and sisters since they are usually married with children. As heads of the family they can wield considerable influence in such matters.

Another reason why land is usually not permanently divided among their children before the parents' death is that the hatud (bride-price) is normally paid by the son's parents, although he may contribute part of it.[12] If one's parents' property is permanently divided before all sons are married, then the unmarried sons would have to furnish their bride-price without aid from their

[12] The hatud is not a payment to acquire a wife as property of her husband or his family. In most cases the payment is small and the money, animals, and food furnished by the groom's family are used by his bride's family in entertaining guests after the wedding. In some cases, however, the hatud is so large that a sizable profit is made by the girl's family.

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parents' estate. The eldest son of one family whose parents were dead, when questioned why he had not divided their property among his younger siblings, replied:

> At present I cannot agree to the division of our parents' property for the reason that most of us are still unmarried and our youngest sister is still in school. She is not eighteen yet. The money spent by my parents to marry my brothers and sisters was taken from the income of our parents' property.

The eldest son and one of his younger brothers were bachelors.

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One mother's children were urging her to press for division of her deceased parents' property, that was being farmed by her eldest brother. This arrangement had been in force for many years. While the brother gave each of the heirs a share of the harvest, his nieces and nephews believed their mother's share would be larger if they farmed the land. However, the woman was reluctant to demand that her brother divide the land since several children were still unmarried.

In both these cases the individuals farming the fields received one-half of the harvest plus their share of the harvest as heirs. For example, if two of five brothers tilled the fields of their dead parents, furnishing the seed and animals, they receive 70 per cent of the harvest; 50 per cent for cultivating the fields and 10 per cent each as two of the five heirs. The land tax is divided equally among all heirs. It is to the

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disadvantage of such heirs to repartition the fields among their younger brothers and sisters. If they did, they would be unable to work all the fields or receive 50 per cent of the harvest; they would receive only the crops raised on their own fields.

Another case will illustrate how temporary division of the fields of the deceased (or living parents) in Caticugan caused rancor and dissension among the heirs. One father, while he was alive, divided his land between his two sons. Shortly after his death a flood ruined part of the elder son's field near the Mantuyop River. The division had been acceptable to both sons until the flood. After the flood the elder son demanded repartition of the land, arguing his field now was less valuable than that farmed by his younger brother. This quarrel smouldered during my entire residence.

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When parents become very old they often live with married children. Sometimes the children are given permission to farm their parents' fields but the latter continue to share in the harvest; the children are their parents' tenants. An old woman in Caticugan had divided her land between her daughter and spinster sister. She still received part of the harvest each year from her field that was cultivated by her son-in-law. It was understood that on her spinster sister's death the latter's property would revert to her niece (i.e., daughter of her elder sister). Other elderly persons retain part

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of their land as insurance against old age and sickness. They state that this property will be given to those who care for them during their last days--usually their children.

Permanent Division of Property

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The permanent division of property is usually made after the deceased parent's hobkas. A hobkas is a memorial service on the first anniversary of an adult's death that normally consists of a novena (prayers at the family altar for nine consecutive evenings) and maybe a memorial mass in the poblacion church. The tenth day of the novena a feast is held in honor of the deceased person. The hobkas costs money; a pig or goat must be slaughtered, food and drink purchased, and if a memorial mass is held a payment is made to the church. These expenses are deducted from the deceased's property before the permanent division is made. If the property were permanently divided before the hobkas, disputes might arise over sharing the cost of the memorial service.

Sometimes the permanent division of one's property is made after the kaliwasan, the tenth day after the deceased's funeral. (A kaliwasan is a novena that begins the day of one's death with a feast on the tenth day.) The kaliwasan is another expense connected with death in the barrio and the cost is deducted from the deceased's property. In one case in Caticugan a woman's property was permanently divided after her kaliwasan but her heirs

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set aside a cow for the hobkas to be held on the first anniversary of her death.

The temporary partition of one's fields in Caticugan is often the same as the permanent division. For example, one informant said that just before his father's death he told his children to transfer his land titles to their names. It was agreed among the children that the fields they were then farming were their fair shares, and the records were changed a few days before the father's death. This was an obvious and a successful attempt on the father's part to prevent disputes after his death.

Permanent division of properties is normally accomplished at a meeting of the heirs. They hold a conference and agree upon the division. This is where the eldest sibling, as "head of the family," may attempt to obtain more than an equal share. For example, in 1951 one case in the Siaton municipio court concerned the efforts of an elder brother to retain his mother's property. When the father died, the elder son managed the family fish corrals. "During the Japanese occupation their bonsods [fish corrals] sold ₱15,000 [$7,500] of fish in emergency notes. The eldest son was the right hand of his mother and took charge of this money." According to local informants, on his mother's death the elder son refused to share the bonsod profits with his younger siblings because "his mother was indebted to him." He also claimed that all of his mother's land belonged to him for he had

loaned her the money to purchase the fields. No decision had been reached on this case during my residence. 428

If some heirs are too young to farm the land they inherit, an elder sibling or relative may cultivate the fields until the heirs marry or are capable of tilling the land. Conflicts sometimes occur from these arrangements. In Barrio Canaway the parents of several small children died; their uncle (FaBr) cared for them and farmed their parents' fields. Later some of the children married and the unmarried children moved from their uncle's house to live with their brothers. They began to farm their parents' fields but the uncle refused to part with two parcels of land. He claimed one field as payment for the care he had given his nieces and nephews, and that the other field had been sold to him by their deceased parents when the children were young. The heirs claimed that their uncle had no legal documents to show for this alleged sale and that his family had lived off the harvests--which was full payment for their care. Their case was informally settled at Siaton municipio, in favor of the children. Often these disputes, when brought to the municipio, are not formally taken to court but are informally settled by the mayor or the chief of police. 428 518

Land records in Siaton municipio usually are not changed when children or relatives inherit property. Sometimes the records remain in the heirs' parents' name "out of respect to their memories." There is also a 423 428

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$2.50 fee connected with such title transfers; this discourages many heirs from making the title changes. Land records in the municipio are usually changed only when the land is sold and the title legally transferred.

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The constant subdivision of land in the Philippines among heirs has been condemned as one reason for the small size of farms. The Hardie report recommends that the "inheritance law respecting succession to agricultural properties should be modified" in order to prevent "fragmentation of farm units through succession."[13] This recommendation would be more appealing if the report had suggested means for achieving such a drastic innovation. If a field is too small to be economically divided among the heirs, Caticugan barriofolk have a number of solutions. First, the land may be sold to another person and the receipts divided equally among all heirs. Second, one heir may purchase the land and the money divided equally among the remaining heirs. Third, fields may be rotated among the heirs. For example, four brothers in Naga inherited a small field from their father. Instead of dividing or selling the field one brother tills the land each year and receives all the harvest. The next year another brother farms the land and so forth until each has had his turn.

In Barrio Caticugan there were individual paddies that were owned by as many as ten heirs. In Naga eight

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[13] Hardie, op. cit., p. x. Vide Pelzer, op. cit., p. 11.

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siblings owned one cornfield while seven owned still another field. It is for such reasons that the municipio land records do not accurately reflect the actual division of agricultural land in Caticugan. Usually such fields are listed under the names of parents or grandparents of the cultivators. Sometimes the land record merely states "Juan Cruz and heirs"; such fields are normally farmed under the arrangement described in the section on temporary division of fields. (See Pages 467-472.)

Fields are rotated sometimes while the actual owner is alive. In Barrio Caticugan a nephew was farming a small field owned by his childless aunt; he had agreed to work the field one year and the following year it would revert to his aunt. At the end of each harvest, however, the nephew made various excuses for breaking the agreement--"I shall work the field next year because this year's harvest was poor." His aunt never filed a formal complaint in Siaton municipio "because it is a small field and I do not want any trouble."

Movable Property

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Animals may be rotated among the heirs like the fields. If there are three heirs and only one carabao, the animal may be sold to a stranger or to one of the heirs, and proceeds divided equally among all of them. An heir may keep a male carabao for one year, then pass the animal along to the other heirs; the carabao is

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rotated in this manner until it is too old to work or dies. If the animal is killed the meat is divided equally among the heirs. In the case of a female carabao one heir may retain the animal until a calf is born and weaned; then the carabao is rotated to another heir. Such carabaos, like the fields, are actually joint property; no heir can sell the animal or the field without the permission of the group.

In regard to houses, farm equipment, looms, jewelry, clothing, utensils and other personal possessions there is no clear-cut pattern of inheritance based on sex. Persons may give their personal belongings to a non-relative if that individual cared for them during a period of prolonged illness prior to their death. Movable property is usually divided according to the mutual agreement of the ~~heirs.~~ A daughter may wish to obtain her father's plow for her husband or a son his mother's loom for his wife. One man said his plow would go to his son because his daughter was married, her husband had a plow and they lived in a distant barrio.

The parents' house is said sometimes to go to the youngest child since often he or she is living with the parents when they die. The older children are married and have their own homes. However, one informant said the house of one's parents goes to the eldest son; he cited himself as an example. Some barriofolk report that the house may be dismantled and the timbers and posts divided among the various heirs. This latter procedure is very

rare. In fact, the only example that could be cited was when Lucas Ege died, his large dwelling in the poblacion was torn down and the timber and posts were distributed among his heirs. The average house in Caticugan would hardly be worth the trouble of disassembling it.

The customs of Caticugan illustrate the central concept of Philippine inheritance law--equal distribution among the heirs. Also illustrated are the complexities of the system as practiced in Caticugan. Some siblings attempt to inherit more than a rightful share; there occur devious arrangements to disinherit legal heirs, secret agreements, delayed division of property, inaccurate land records, and other methods of transferring property on death without legal safeguards. Under such conditions it is not surprising to find that much tension and conflict in the barrio center around land, usually involving both consanguine and affinal relatives.

TYPES OF LAND DISPUTES

Nearly 20 per cent (sixteen cases) of eighty-four civil and criminal suits analysed from the available court records of Siaton municipio resulted from illegal cultivation of another's land, boundary disputes, or attempts to obtain more than one's rightful inheritance.[14] The chief

[14] A court of the First Instance is located in Siaton poblacion; each month, on certain days, a judge comes to the municipio to reside over the court. There is a judge in residence in Tolong poblacion who hears cases for this municipality and Sta. Catalina.

for consolation. Manalabangs who have fairly large cornfields are often given free corn even though they offer to purchase it. In the end, however, the giver loses nothing since his "gift" will be returned when the recipient's field is harvested. The manalabang harvest shares range from several ears of corn to as many as twenty ears. 243 476

When the paddy corn is harvested corn prices are at their peak in Siaton poblacion for this is the "starvation period"--the period when many family's last harvest corn supply is running low and the new crop is still immature. The harvesters also try to buy corn from the owner; some women come just to buy or barter fish or tuba for corn. Usually the owners are not eager to sell since most of them will have to buy cornmeal before the next harvest. Yet few refuse to sell or barter some of their harvest, although they often limit the amount a person may buy. To refuse to sell some of their corn harvest would mean some barriofolk would call them "greedy." 243 433 476 435 432

Manalabangs collect a small pile of corn ears they have harvested and sit down with a definite air of possession. This is the corn they insist on buying. In one case the owner refused to sell the manalabangs the amount of corn they had requested. Collecting all the individual corn piles, he resorted them into new piles, eliminating about a third of the corn. He asked fifteen cents for each pile of corn but settled for ten cents after the women bargained. These female manalabangs had already received their share for helping in the harvest; the 243 476 432

owner was definitely annoyed that he had to sell part of his harvest. 243 476 432

The price of corn varied in the harvests. Two handsful of ears for two or three cents, fifteen ears for the same price and a centavo an ear are a few examples of the prices. Relatives are normally sold more corn and at a cheaper price than non-relatives. The other harvesters do not object. One woman gave the mother of her son's girl-friend a basketful of corn to win her favor. 243 476 435
People often eat the corn they harvest on the spot; the husked ears are roasted on hot coals. [264]

Another reason why the harvesters' assistance is normally not refused is the widespread belief in "envious people." "Envious people" can do harm to one's person or crops through magic. If the manalabangs' help were refused one of them might attempt revenge on the cultivator or his crops. Older manalabangs may silently pray as they work that the cultivator may enjoy good health and abundant harvests in coming years. As one woman said, "the manalabangs just wish good for the owner while they work." 243 476

Corn is harvested by pulling the ears from the stalks. Harvested ears are collected in a basket called bukag. Helpers never know what their share will be until the harvest is completed. If the farmer is a tenant the owner is usually present to assist in the division of the harvest. No arguments over the manalabangs' shares were ever witnessed; they may think their share is too small but they do not complain openly. [427]

have a daily output ranging from 20,000 to several thousand board-feet daily. There were six saw mills in Tolong in 1951; recently a plywood factory and another large saw mill (the latter owned by the American Rubber Company) have been established in this municipality. Most saw mills in Tolong are located in the mountains; the cut timber is hauled out by trucks during the dry season.

The trees most frequently cut for these mills are white lauan (Pentacme contorta Merr. & Rolfe), red lauan (Shorea negrosensis Foxw.) and tangile (Shorea polysperma Merr.) The latter two trees are known as Philippine red mahoganies in the timber trade, although they are not true mahoganies.[34] The lumber cut in Tolong is trucked to Dumaguete or shipped in small boats to Cebu, Bacolod and Iloilo. Just prior to my visit to Tolong one boat-load of lumber had been sent to Japan. While Negros has abundant timber resources, the barriofolk use only small quantities in building their houses. Inadequate development of Negros' timber resources, high prices, and poor transportation facilities are a few reasons why so little lumber is used by the rural people.

Brush, shrubs, and immature forest growth compose the secondary forest areas of Negros, resulting from the destruction of the primary or tropical rain forest by kaingin or lumbering activities. The secondary forests are, for the most part, in the municipalities of Cadiz,

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[34] Tamesis and Aguilar, op. cit., pp. 45, 47, and 49.

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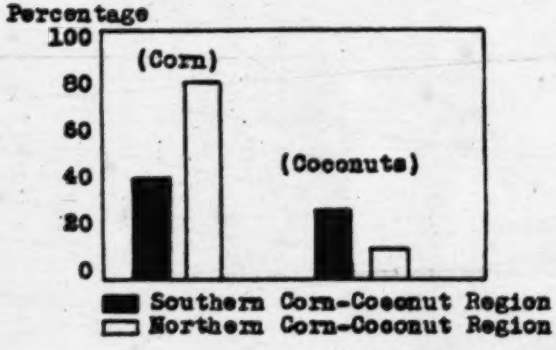
square mile,(in the south, 196 persons). The heavy pressure on the land has resulted in a constant westward push of the people, who cleared the steep slopes of their natural vegetation and planted the cleared land. This has resulted in a larger proportion of submarginal agricultural land than in the southern region. A greater proportion of the cultivated land is devoted to corn and a much smaller area is occupied by the principal cash crop, coconuts. Lacking an easy access to outside food sources and adequate transportation facilities for selling copra, the barriofolk of this region rely upon subsistence agriculture.

The difference between the Southern and Northern Corn-Coconut regions in regard to land occupied by both corn and coconuts is illustrated in Graph II.

GRAPH II

Percentage of Cultivated Land
Devoted to Corn and Coconuts
1950 -- 51




Percentage of cultivated land in the northern region devoted to various crops is shown in Table XII.[1]

1 [See p. 113, cat. 311 -- Analyst]

devoted to rice. About 12 per cent of the total cultivated land in Negros Oriental is devoted to rice while in Negros Occidental three times this amount (36 per cent) is occupied by rice. 311 243

Today Negros imports rice from Panay and Mindanao to feed its people. Spencer states: "The main sugar-producing area of Negros Island [Occidental province] and the whole island of Cebu are the chief deficit regions, with marked food shortages."[90] In the past, however, Negros was a rice surplus area. Miguel de Loarca wrote in the latter part of the 16th century that northern Negros was "rich in foods, such as rice." Legaspi's account of Negros states: "Rice which is the bread, grows in abundance."[91] Negros' shift from a rice surplus to a deficit was largely the result of the great expansion of sugar cane acreage and to the associated increase in population.[92] Negros is capable of raising sufficient rice for its population with improved agricultural practices and increased irrigation. 433 438 311 243

More than a thousand varieties of rice are grown in the Philippines. Many varieties are old established rices while others have been introduced from the United 243 177

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[90]Spencer, op. cit., p.72.

[91]Miguel de Loarca, Blair and Robertson, op. cit., V, p.47.

[92]Wernstedt, op. cit., p.190.

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The yield ranges from 24 to 30 cavans of palay per hectare.[98]

Small rice-producing regions of Negros Oriental are such localities as Canaway (Siaton), Mayabon (southwestern Zamboanguita municipality), the Tanjay River area in Bais and Tanjay. These regions have from several hundred to two or three thousand acres of rice land. For most of the people of Negros Oriental, rice is a luxury food. Only the better-to-do eat rice daily; the average barriofolk eat rice only for a month or two during the year and on festive occasions. Very little rice grown in these areas enters the commercial trade of Negros.

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Sugar Regions of Negros

Before World War II sugar was the most important export crop of the Philippines. Approximately three-fourths of the crop was sold to the United States. In 1951-52 the Philippines supplied almost 3 per cent of the total sugar cane crop of the world. Since the war copra has outranked sugar as the principal cash crop due to the widespread wartime destruction of sugar extracting and refining facilities. Sugar cane cultivation was a pre-Spanish activity in the Philippines, when Chinese merchants exported sugar to China. By the end of the

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[98] One cavan of palay (unhusked rice) equals 44 kilos or 97 pounds while a cavan of clean rice equals 57.5 kilos or 127 pounds. A hectare is 2.47 acres.

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Spanish regime sugar had become a major export but was a relatively backward industry. "Not until after the free trade developments of 1909 did the sugar industry expand markedly, though the United States already was the chief market."[99]

CB 249 [433]

The major sugar cane-producing areas of the Philippines are central Luzon, Panay, and Negros. In 1950-51 Negros produced nearly 2 per cent of the world's total sugar cane. In contrast to the backward practices associated, for the most part, with the corn-coconut and rice regions of Negros:

> The techniques used in the sugar-producing areas represent an entirely different stage in the application of technical know-how to agriculture than do the practices used in any of the other agricultural crops...Mechanized farming is practiced in most of the sugar cane-producing areas where land holdings are of sufficient size to permit economic use. Artificial fertilizers are applied on almost all of the cane fields. The use of modern land farming techniques in sugar cane cultivation bears immediate cash returns, which is not the case with coconuts or other crops.[100]

CB 249 257

Most of Negros' sugar cane is grown on haciendas (plantations) some of which are as large as several thousand acres. The haciendas are contracted to supply the mills with cane. In the case of the large Victorias sugar district, more than 450 individual planters supply cane for the Victorias Milling Company. For the most

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[99] Spencer, op. cit., p.803.

[100] Wernstedt, op. cit., pp.142-3.

region in the Philippines. Here more than 160,000 acres of land are devoted entirely to sugar cane.[101] Table XIII gives the percentage of land devoted to different crops in the western sugar cane subregion of Negros Occidental.

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TABLE XIII

Percentage of Land of Each Municipality[102] Devoted to the Major Crops, 1950-51
Western Sugar Subregion

| Municipality | Sugar Cane | Corn | Coconut | Rice (a) | Vegetables |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Saravia | 73 | 8 | * | 18 | * |
| Silay | 48 | 12 | 1 | 38 | 1 |
| Talisay | 55 | 14 | 3 | 27 | 1 |
| Bacolod City | 42 | 6 | 9 | 41 | 2 |
| Murcia | 47 | 11 | * | 39 | 3 |
| Bago | 28 | 3 | 1 | 67 | 3 |
| Pulupandan | 36 | 1 | 5 | 53 | 5 |
| Valladolid | 8 | 1 | 2 | 88 | 1 |
| San Enrique | 21 | 2 | 4 | 72 | 1 |
| La Carlota | 67 | 8 | 0 | 22 | 3 |
| Pontevedra | 44 | 2 | 1 | 51 | 2 |
| La Castellana | 46 | 9 | 1 | 41 | 3 |
| Isabela | 41 | 8 | 1 | 48 | 2 |
| Hinigaran | 28 | 8 | 2 | 59 | 3 |
| Binalbagan | 41 | 9 | 1 | 45 | 4 |
| Himamaylan | 23 | 5 | 7 | 62 | 3 |
| Kabankalan | 31 | 6 | 1 | 59 | 3 |
| Ilog | 37 | 8 | 5 | 48 | 2 |

(a) Indicates both upland and lowland rice
(*) Indicates less than 1 percent

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The western subregion with its seven sugar districts produced 43 per cent of the entire Philippine sugar cane

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[101] Wernstedt, op. cit., p. 183.

[102] Wernstedt, op. cit., p. 183. Separate figures for the newly-created Magallon municipality (June 6, 1951) are not given for when these were compiled Magallon was not separated from Isabela.

in 1950-51 or nearly 64 per cent of the total Negros crop.

Wernstedt aptly describes the general landscape of western Negros:

> The sugar lands of Negros present much the same landscape picture wherever they are encountered. In many respects they are more reminiscent of the wheat lands of Midwestern United States, than those characteristic of the Orient. Extensive rolling fields are covered with waving cane, looking not unlike waving wheat from a distance. Modern farm machinery can be seen at work in the fields, small cross-road villages house the agricultural workers, and large gleaming factories dot the landscape like Midwestern grain elevators. All look somewhat incongruous amidst the intensively cultivated rice paddies dotted with lumbering carabaos pulling wooden plows through the fields.[103]

This chapter has aimed to survey the general features of Negros' cultural landscape with emphasis on those factors that highlight the position of Siaton municipality and Caticugan. Caticugan is one of more than 300 barrios of Negros Oriental, located in a relatively sparsely settled part of the Southeastern Coastal lowlands. The barriofolk are subsistence farmers whose major crop is corn, although some rice is raised. The western province of Negros is primarily a sugar cane and rice area, with more people, urban settlements, transportation facilities, and modern agricultural methods. The people of Caticugan live outside the cash economy of Negros' sugar haciendas and centrals. Besides

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[103] Wernstedt, op. cit., p.186.

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The sugar-producing areas of Negros were expanding. In 1836 less than 300 tons of sugar had been produced while thirty years later the production had increased to nearly 12,000 tons. The declaration of Iloilo city as a free port in 1855 stimulated the infant sugar industry. "The total value of exports leaving the port of Iloilo... jumped from ₱82,000 [$41,000] in 1858 to over ₱1,000,000 [$500,000] in 1863, with most of this increase in exports coming from the shipment of sugar from Negros."[111] In the same periods (the 1860's) the sugar haciendas of Negros began to develop; some of them covered several thousand acres and supported their owners in luxury.

The Justices of the Peace in Siaton

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The year following the division of Negros into two provinces (1891), the first justice of the peace was appointed in Siaton. In 1885 a royal decree, a "concession to public opinion," had provided for the appointment of a justice of the peace to every municipality. This office previously had been filled by the capitans. "When such persons [lawyers or others 'whose position and circumstances warrant it'] could not be found the petty governors

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[111] Wernstedt, op. cit., p. 79. Walker states that in the early 1900's Iloilo owed its existence largely to Negros' sugar industry. Walker, op. cit., p. 10.

2d: Hart E-5 (195-) 1954 OA1 Philippines
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held, and at midnight Taft and his group left Dumaguete. 175*
Taft kept his word. The Negros Republic was dissolved and the provincial governments of Negros Occidental and Negros Oriental created. For the first time Negros' provinces were classified as civil provinces. Demetrio Larena was appointed civil governor of Negros Oriental.

Effective control by American forces of Bohol and Cebu was not accomplished until the last of 1901. Samar was one of the last islands to be pacified for in September, 1901, fifty American soldiers were ambushed and killed on the island.[160] In April, 1902, Batanga (Luzon) resistance collapsed and the Filipinos' fight for independence ended with an American victory.[161]

THE AMERICAN PERIOD (1898-1941)

The American period is an era of great expansion 175* 433 439
of Negros' sugar industry and population. The sugar-producing regions of Negros had suffered during the revolution. Political and military conflicts, local unrest, and a general paralysis of commerce discouraged the hacenderos from planting new crops. This period of indecision and stagnation lasted until 1909. Then the Payne-Aldrich Tariff Act opened American markets to a

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[160] Henry F. Pringle, The Life and Times of William Howard Taft. New York, Farrar and Rinehart, 1939, 2 vols., I, p. 198.

[161] Zaide, The Philippines Since the British Invasion, pp. 280-1.

limited amount (300,000 tons) of duty-free Philippine sugar; there were immediate increases in sugar production in the archipelago.[162] By 1921 the exporting of sugar had exceeded that of the Spanish period. With the inauguration of the quota system the output of Negros' sugar declined somewhat, but remained relatively stable until World War II.

Negros' population expansion was directly connected with the growth of the sugar industry. However, Panay, Cebu, and Bohol were becoming more overcrowded and Filipinos from these islands emigrated to Negros' less densely populared plains. Negros' population (excluding Siquijor) increased from 270,891 in 1887 to 509,766 in 1903.[163] In sixteen years the population of western Negros (approximately Negros Occidental province) had grown from 148,137 (1887) to 308,272 persons (1903) while the population of the eastern part of the island (approximately Negros Oriental) had expanded from 122,754 (probably including Siquijor) to 201,494 (155,471 excluding Siquijor). More people were settling in western than eastern Negros. With passing decades western Negros' population was to become nearly triple that of the eastern part of the island. An election

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[162] The 1913 Underwood Tariff Act, amending the Payne-Aldrich Act, permitting duty free entry of all Philippine products into the United States, irrespective of quantity, provided that not more than 20 per cent of the final product was of foreign origin or manufacture.

[163] Census of the Philippines: 1903, I, p. 87.

20: Hart E-5 (1951) 1954 OA1 Philippines OA1
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they initiated changes in farming methods and augmented the importance of cash, trade and export crops.

The plantation system introduced by the Spaniards in the latter part of the 19th century stressed coconut, tobacco and sugar cultivation. Under the Americans the plantation system was intensified and abaca and pineapple were added to the crops.

Commercial mechanized agriculture, the fifth system, is basically an American innovation applied to plantations and smaller private holdings both in newly-developed areas and in older cultivated regions. This system, however, is not widely distributed or intensively used due to problems that involve terrain, lack of capital and trained operators. Additional hindrances to mechanization of farms are lack of adequate fuels and the fact that little farm machinery is manufactured in the Philippines. Some Filipinos, however, have speculated on the possible use of local fuels such as coconut oil or alcohol.[5]

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Since the barriofolk of Caticugan are subsistence farmers, they sell very little of their corn and rice. Rice is less important than corn since many of the farmers have no paddies. The dominance of subsistence agriculture characterizes the people living in barrios in the Siaton

[5]Ortigas, op. cit., pp. 44-51.

River valley. Several landlords, residents of the poblacion, have sizeable holdings in Bolog or Common, and part of their share of the corn, rice, or peanuts raised by their tenants is sold for cash. None of these landlords, could in any sense of the word be considered wealthy. The "cash crops" of Caticugan are coconuts, vegetables and guhang, an alcoholic beverage made from the sap of the buri palm. For the majority of the people, guhang is probably the most important of these few "cash crops."

The remainder of this chapter discusses (1) agricultural calendar; (2) caingins; (3) lowland rice and corn agriculture; (4) the manufacture of guhang; (5) minor single crops of Caticugan (coconuts, cassava, camotes, etc.); (6) vegetables and other garden crops (tangkong, tobacco, etc.); (7) farm animals; (carabao, cattle, chickens, etc.); (8) cooperative labor groups; and (9) local agricultural extension activities. Plate XXI shows the land use patterns of Caticugan.[1]

## THE AGRICULTURAL CALENDAR OF CATICUGAN

The agricultural calendar of the barriofolk of Caticugan is synchronized with the seasons of southern Negros. Except for a small irrigated area in Barrio Caticugan, the farmers are totally dependent on precipitation of the southwest monsoon. The agricultural calendar should be read with these climatic conditions in mind. (See Chapter II.) The calendar, of course, varies a

1 [See p. 272, cat. 116 -- Analyst]

20: Hart E-5 (1951) 1954 OA1 Philippines
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same methods used in the lowlands. The harvesters normally get one-fourth, sometimes, but rarely, one-third of the rice harvested. 243

A very limited survey, so restricted in nature as to be merely suggestive, was made of seven caingins. The average corn yield per acre of these caingins was five bushels.[15] This figure is for the first corn harvest that usually yields more than the second crop. Three of the seven caingins were damaged by wild pigs and monkeys, suggesting the problem these pests present to the farmers. Dong-go was planted in all the caingins except two which grew Bagsiao. The caingins were located in sitios Kang-otot and Nawakat (Casala-an), Casala-an, Dolog, and Bantolinao and Sitio Banat-e (Maloh). 241 311 433

[15]The conversion was: one cavan of shelled corn equals 58 kilos and 1 kilo equals 2.2 pounds. One bushel of ear corn (not shelled corn) equals 52 pounds. To determine the size of caingin or lowland corn fields the following method, recommended by the provincial agricultural office, was used: "With reference to your letter...regarding rate of planting corn, please be informed that the rate varies according to the number of grains dropped per hill and the distance of planting corn. We noted that if the distance of planting is 80 x 80 cm. dropping 4-5 grains per hill the rate of planting is around 6 gantas per hectare, especially if the grains of corn used are small. By dropping only three grains per hill at a distance of 1 M. x 80 cm., especially if the grains are big, the rate of planting per hectare of corn is only around four gantas. But by dropping three grains per hill at a distance of 1 meter by 1 meter, if the grains are medium size, the rate of planting is only five gantas per hectare. So on the average we use five gantas per hectare as the rate of seeding corn regardless of the size of the grains and the distance of planting and the rate of planting per hill..." Personal communication to writer from Provincial Agricultural Supervisor, February, 1951, Dumaguete, Negros Oriental. [804]

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The harvesters (manalabang) received about 15 per cent of the corn harvested in these seven caingins. Two of the seven fields were harvested without the assistance of the manalabang; it is the custom not to assist in the harvest of a field that is very small or has a poor harvest. The largest caingin was seven and one-half acres while the smallest was almost one acre. Four caingins were tilled by their owners while the others were cultivated by tenants.

Figures were also obtained on five rice caingins located in Casala-an, Sitio Kapakolan (Casala-an), Sitio Tampaga (Apoloy) and Banat-e. All caingins were tilled by the owners, except one that was cultivated by the owner's sister's husband. The average rice yield per acre [433] was five cavans. I obtained the same yield estimate from the Siaton municipal agriculture inspector. The average size of the caingins was three-fifths of an acre. Tinogbong and Papayo were the two rice varieties planted.[16] The

[16] Caingin sizes were determined by the method used by the provincial agricultural office in Dumaguete. "If upland rice is planted by the broadcasting method it needs 30-35 gantas of seed palay to plant a hectare. It takes only 25 gantas of seed palay to plant a hectare of upland rice if the method of planting is by the hill method, dropping 5-8 grains of palay per hill of 20-25 centimeters distance each." Personal communication to the writer from the Provincial Agricultural Supervisor, Dumaguete, Negros Oriental, March, 1951. Since little upland rice is planted in the Siaton River valley area by the broadcast method, the hill method was used to determine caingin sizes.

For corn it was necessary to determine the size of the baskets used to carry the harvested corn to the house. Basket sizes in Caticugan varied so the number of gantas the various baskets (bukag) contained was obtained (which was from nine to twelve gantas) and the average basket size determined, e.g. nine gantas. I gathered information

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stump in the center. Bunches of rice stalks, about two handfuls, were slightly leaned against the base of the stump. The stump was encircled in this manner with "rings" of rice. One "ring" or layer was placed over another and stacks six or seven feet high were made. No rice stacks were seen in Caticugan in 1951. The barrio-folk said tumpils were only memories of the past when the rice harvests were more abundant. I did see rice stacks built around a center bamboo upright in other parts of southern Negros.

Paddy Sizes and Yields in Caticugan and Environs

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While municipal land records were studied, a personal survey was made in Caticugan to check the figures obtained from these records as to size of paddies, also to get additional data on yield, residence of owners and tenancy rates.[33] Few farmers know the acreage of their fields. The method of determining field sizes has already been described. I had mimeographed forms made of the land records and

[33] Rural land records in the Philippines are not noted for reliability; this is true for other Asian countries such as Japan. Vide Richard K. Beardsley's review of The Japanese Village in Transition, in Pacific Affairs, XXIV, No. 4 (December, 1951), pp. 428-30. There have been no cadastral surveys in Siaton municipality. Recently the land records of Negros Oriental were rechecked to improve their accuracy. However, the "inspectors" are said to have been the local supporters of provincial politicos and the program occurred suspiciously close to an election.

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transferred the data from these records to my forms. All land records for the barrios in the Siaton River valley were copied.

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I interviewed about fifty families--about 40 per cent of the families resident in Caticugan. Of course, not all of the people living in Caticugan own or till paddies. Of the families interviewed, figures were obtained for twenty-six individual paddies from twenty families; other families did not cultivate any paddies. Six of these paddies were located outside Caticugan so they were eliminated. Of the twenty paddies, totaling nearly 25 acres, all were planted with Macan Sta. Rosa except one farmer who had interplanted a glutinous variety.

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Another survey was made of lowland rice paddy sizes and yields in Sandolot and Datag to obtain comparative data. Seventeen families living in Datag and fourteen in Sandolot were interviewed. Their paddies, totaling 61 acres, were all planted with Macan Sta. Rosa, except one paddy planted with Lubang. According to the municipal land records the average size of the rice fields in Caticugan is .99 of an acre while my survey arrived at the figure of 1.1 acres. The average peddy in Sandolot-Datag was slightly larger--1.6 acres. In 1952 Siaton's average rice yield per acre was 891 pounds; for Caticugan, according to my survey, the yield was only 553 pounds per acre. The Sandolot-Datag average rice yield was lower than in Caticugan; 337 pounds per acre. These figures support the opinion that of all the rice fields seen in the Siaton

Many people of Caticugan continue the corn harvest ceremony of their pre-Spanish ancestors but perform it within the privacy of the family group. I know of families in Caticugan who absolutely denied holding a dulot yet whose neighbors said they did. In the northern barrios there was no embarrassment in discussing the dulot. It was a barrio custom. In Caticugan many barriofolk recognized the dulot as a backward unchristian custom, yet they do not feel entirely secure in discarding it; to discard the dulot means to challenge their beliefs in encantos, kolisaos and kataos.

The decline of the dulot also reflects the growing individualism so noticeable in Caticugan. The group has been losing the firm control once held over the individual. This change is apparent in the role of the family in courting and marriage customs. The old cooperative labor groups have almost disappeared in Caticugan; with increasing population and subdivision of land through inheritance the fields are often so small that volunteer labor activities are less necessary today. It also has become cheaper to pay for help than to furnish workers with meals. Caticugan is en medias res of a gradual transition from a bartering to a money economy that stimulates the growth of individualism.

The population of Caticugan has expanded considerably over the years, but the yield of the fields appears to have decreased. The acreage yield of corn in the northern barrios is more than twice as large as in Caticugan. An

insight into the once greater abundance of food in Caticugan is given from an offering made during the last part of the Spanish period. This offering included one pig, fifteen or twenty chickens (with white feathers), a basketful each of bingka, bodbod, and puto (all varieties of rice cakes), three plates with ten eggs each, and large quantities of tuba. In the past the ritualist who performed the dulot in Naga often received a basketful of corn for his service; none of the ritualists receives this amount today.

Some individuals who stopped the dulot in Caticugan said they did so because "it is too expensive today." The food offering to the spirits was not as costly as feeding the guests. The dulot described in Lamtoc required much corn to make the cakes, beside the other food served. It is possible that since the corn yield in these northern barrios is nearly twice that of Caticugan the community dulot is less of a burden. One reason given for having only a family dulot in Caticugan is that the expense of guests is eliminated. Dulots held for Caticugan's irrigated corn harvests would attract a large number of people since they would occur during a seasonal period of food shortage.

This detailed discussion of the spatial distribution of the dulot in both Caticugan and the northern barrios of the Siaton River valley illustrates how many factors must be considered in explaining change in one custom. There is no "royal road" to a clear understanding

for consolation. Manalabangs who have fairly large cornfields are often given free corn even though they offer to purchase it. In the end, however, the giver loses nothing since his "gift" will be returned when the recipient's field is harvested. The manalabang harvest shares range from several ears of corn to as many as twenty ears. 243 476

When the paddy corn is harvested corn prices are at their peak in Siaton poblacion for this is the "starvation period"--the period when many family's last harvest corn supply is running low and the new crop is still immature. The harvesters also try to buy corn from the owner; some women come just to buy or barter fish or tuba for corn. Usually the owners are not eager to sell since most of them will have to buy cornmeal before the next harvest. Yet few refuse to sell or barter some of their harvest, although they often limit the amount a person may buy. To refuse to sell some of their corn harvest would mean some barriofolk would call them "greedy." 243 433 476 435 432

Manalabangs collect a small pile of corn ears they have harvested and sit down with a definite air of possession. This is the corn they insist on buying. In one case the owner refused to sell the manalabangs the amount of corn they had requested. Collecting all the individual corn piles, he resorted them into new piles, eliminating about a third of the corn. He asked fifteen cents for each pile of corn but settled for ten cents after the women bargained. These female manalabangs had already received their share for helping in the harvest; the 243 476 432

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I also made a survey of harvest yields and field sizes that included 51 acres of land--17 acres in Barrio Caticugan, 11 acres in Talo-ot and 23 acres in Naga. Caticugan's average yield for the first paddy and first non-irrigated crops was 6 bushels of corn per acre. The average size of the cornfields in Caticugan, based on this survey, was 1.2 acres while the average obtained from the land records was 1.9 acres. Several hundred husked cornears were measured from the second non-irrigated harvest of Barrio Caticugan; the average length of the ears was 2-1/2 inches. However, the second harvest from non-irrigated cornfields is usually smaller than the first harvest.

My survey included a small field in Barrio Caticugan where loose carabaos destroyed the crop and four fields in Naga, two in which the crop was damaged by wild pigs and two damaged by insects and floods. Total acreage of these fields was less than 5 acres; they were included in the averages for such incidents are fairly common. The survey's largest cornfield was 4-acre field in Talo-ot while the smallest was .3 of an acre. According to municipal land records the largest field in Caticugan was 27 acres (a field that had been divided among the heirs although the record was not changed) while the smallest field was .1 of an acre.

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In 1939 there were 47,440 farmers in Negros Oriental with 43.9 per cent owners, 12.1 per cent part owners, and 43.7 per cent tenants.[52] According to my surveys,

[52] Yearbook of Philippine Statistics: 1946, p. 138.

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the tenancy for both paddy and cornfield in Caticugan is 55 per cent owner, 20 per cent part owner, and 25 per cent tenant. These figures bear out my opinion and that of other informed observers that in Siaton the tenancy rates are lower than the average for the province.

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I made a similar survey to determine the average yield, field size, and the harvester's share in the Siaton River valley barrios. In Dolog only the two landlords (the present mayor of Siaton and the former deputy governor of the province, both brothers) were interviewed for they own most of the cultivated land. The figures, combined with those of Caticugan, are given in Table XIX.

TABLE XIX

Cornfields: Average Sizes and Yields and Harvesters' Shares in Siaton River Valley - 1951[53]

| Community | Average Size Of Fields (Acres) | Average Yield Per Acre (Bushels) | Harvesters Share of Total Harvest (Percentage) |
|---|---|---|---|
| CATICUGAN | 1.2 | 6 | 15.5 |
| Datag | 1.5 | 7 | 15.0 |
| Sandolot | 1.2 | 12 | 13.0 |
| Casala-an | 1.2 | 12 | 15.3 |
| Dolog | - | 20 | - |

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Table XIX indicates that corn yield per acre increases as one goes up in the Siaton River valley. Yields

[53] The survey included 71 acres in Casala-an, 44 acres in Sandolot and 47 acres in Datag. The two landlords of Dolog gave me information on their fields that totaled 35 acres. Data obtained from Datag, Sandolot and Casala-an were gathered by my assistant who took two days to collect the figures. Obtaining such information is often difficult when the barriofolk are not well acquainted with the field worker. For this reason I felt my assistant, a former school-teacher in Sandolot, well-known and respected by most of the people, could collect the data more accurately.

in Casala-an and Sandolot are twice those of Caticugan while in Dolog the yield is more than triple. These figures bear out my opinion that cornfields in the north- look healthier, the stalks were taller and the number of ears per stalk greater. Of all the growing corn I saw in the Siaton River valley Dolog's fields appeared to be the best. More fertile soils and greater precipitation with less chances of drought periods are some explanatory factors.

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Methods of preparing the land, seed selection, corn varieties, and care of the planted fields do not differ significantly among the barrios. As stated in Chapter II, the annual precipitation in the northern barrios is greater than in Caticugan and Siaton poblacion. In the northern part of the Siaton River valley the soil is rich, well-drained sandy loam. Caticugan's corn often suffers, as in 1951, from lack of rain during the growing season. In 1951 I was sure that the first non-irrigated corn was going to be a near total loss for lack of rain. While this did not occur some fields and parts of other fields had to be replanted because the young corn died.

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A certain standardization of the harvesters' share appears to exist in the Siaton River valley. One might imagine, as I did, that their harvest shares would be larger in the northern barrios where the yield is greater. The manalabanga' share in the rice harvest was only 10 per cent, a reasonable difference since rice is scarcer and of greater value than corn.

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There were only four or five coffee trees in the entire barrio. The price of coffee beans in the poblacion was high; most of the people in Caticugan, and many in the poblacion, drank "coffee" made from toasted ground cornmeal.

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There was a custom in the barrio of tying a broken pot or bottles to the cacao, gourd and papaya plants. The pots or bottles were said to make the plants produce large fruits and prevent the fruit from falling when immature. This custom was observed in Siaton poblacion, in nearly every barrio visited in southern Negros, and in Dumaguete City.

Bananas

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Not many bananas are raised in Caticugan or Siaton poblacion. The western barrios, e.g., Cabangahan and Giliga-on, produced most of the bananas sold in the stores of Siaton poblacion; often busses from the west would leave bunches of bananas in the poblacion for sale. However, there were many days when bananas could not be purchased in the marketplace or in the sari-sari stores along the National Road. The banana bud is cooked and eaten as a vegetable; this may be one reason for the scarcity of the fruit in Caticugan.

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Kapok

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In 1948 less than 5 per cent of the total Philippine production of kapok was grown in Negros Oriental. Some kapok trees, doldol (Agave cantalu Roxb.) grow in Caticugan

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## Agricultural Extension Activities

The practice of agriculture in Caticugan, as here described, strongly supports the statement that "one of the most serious problems of the Philippines is the lag in the development and especially in the application of farm technology."[80]

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In 1951 Philippines' yield of rice per acre was the same as the yield in 1918; this was the lowest in Asia. In Caticugan there have been few basic changes in basic agricultural methods in the century. Some of the simplest techniques for improving yields have failed to reach the people. For example, the people still select rice and corn seed in the most primitive manner. The agricultural college at Los Baños has developed methods for improving corn and rice yields through better selection of seeds; these methods would not cost a centavo yet this information has not reached the people.

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The Philippine Government's neglect of agriculture, the basic industry and source of its wealth, has been scored by numerous critics and studies over the past several decades. Budget figures are one index to the indifference of most Filipino lawmakers to agriculture.

> In 1949, the gross national product, including disbursement of the United States, was over ₱5.0 billion. Of the total amount agriculture contributed 56 per cent, fisheries 6 per cent and forestry 3 per cent.

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[80] Robert T. McMillan, "Major Rural Problems in the Philippines and Suggested Solutions." Mimeographed copy of paper read at the 12th Biennial Convention of the National Federation of Women's Clubs, Manila, March 29, 1952, p. 2.

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Guavas ripen in August and September. Rarely, the barrio-folk make guava dulce which is pulverized guava pulp, boiled in a frying pan filled with water until tender. The cooked pulp is eaten mixed with brown sugar.

The small round fruit of the ano-on tree is eaten usually in April. The fruit is red when mature, it is often gathered by the children although the tree is not abundant in the vicinity of Caticugan. Fruit of the kamansilis (Pithecolobium dulce (Roxb.) Benth) is also gathered and eaten, particularly by the children. Many kamansilis trees grow in Caticugan, especially along the Siaton River bank. The fruit is small and flat and only the inner pulp is eaten. The bark of this tree is used also in tanning.

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Some small ~~wild mangoes~~ are gathered in August and September. The ~~domesticated~~ mango is quite popular in Siaton and the demand always exceeds supply. People who have large mango trees often send boxes of the fruit to Dumaguete where they bring a higher price than in Siaton poblacion. Sometimes low fires are built under the mango trees to force early production of fruit.

PALM FLOUR

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A coarse flour can be made from the saksak, ediok and buri palms. This flour is an "emergency food" in Caticugan but some people in northern communities, like Dolog, use flour made from the saksak rather frequently before the first corn harvest. During the last war the

(kinogay), cooked in green bamboo tubes, or prepared in the sinakol manner (steam cooked), often mixed with tiktik or binlod (finely ground cornmeal). Sometimes the people from the northern barrios in the Siaton River valley come to Caticugan to barter this type of flour for corn and rice. This was not done, to my knowledge, during this field research.

Hunting and food gathering activities are related to the inadequate food supply of the barriofolk. The wild pig is not a serious agricultural problem in Caticugan and the meat is admittedly inferior to that of the domesticated pig. Most wild plants are considered as "emergency foods" to be gathered and eaten only when staples are low; i.e., when the corn and rice from the last harvest are low and new crops are not ready to harvest. For barriofolk during this period the foods collected may be important; however, this is true only of a minority in Caticugan unless there is a poor harvest or crop failure.

If the cultivated food supply were adequate all year long, hunting and, particularly, food gathering, probably would cease. Young men might continue to hunt wild pigs for sport and some wild foods would, most likely, be gathered (the "delicacies" such as mushrooms, lumboy, etc.). The role hunting and food gathering play in the daily life of the barriofolk of Caticugan today is a reflection of seasonal inadequacy of food supply and low living standards.

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task with getting nipa leaves. The largest clam found in these areas is the Toway; one pokes a bolo (brought to cut nipa leaves) or a stick into a soft mount or bubbling hole in the damp sand of the swamp to get Toways. Four types of snails that are found in nipa swamps are: Dalodalo, Haspnipa, Libodbod, and Taboysoy (the latter clings to the palm trunks and leaves).

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Two types of seaweed are gathered and eaten by the barriofolk: a green moss, lumot, and a brownish moss, lagot. Lagot is put in hot water, then drained and garlic, salt, and vinegar added. These two seaweeds are gathered during the dry season along the beach. When the rainy season begins the mosses "become slippery and are not good to eat." Only a few families in Catiougan were observed eating these mosses.

## METHODS OF OBTAINING RIVER FISH

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A large share of the fish eaten locally is caught in the Siaton River. Many families eat more river fish than sea fish. They either lack money to buy sea fish or there may be none for sale in the marketplace.

Table XXIX[1] lists local names, and in most cases, scientific identification, of types of fish caught in the Siaton River.

River fish are caught in eight different ways: (1) with nets (te-an and tangkop); (2) with bamboo-rattan traps (asag, balantak and bobo); (3) with fish poisons; (4) by the galobog method; (5) by a process called

1 [See p. 540, cat. 226 or 116 -- Analyst]

say Lavagay that escape will not return to the sea for seven years. 226

The Tolo crab is usually found around rocks in shallow water; more live in the river than in Caticugan Creek. They are caught in the balantak, ta-an and asag along with the Hipon, shrimp and fish. 226 136

The Alimango is a large crab, growing to the size of a small coconut, that lives in nipa and mangrove swamps or in the tidal reaches of the river. They are caught by digging them from their holes in the sand or mud. Another method is to put a fish trap baited with chicken guts or fish in the swamp. One man living in Baybay caught eight good-sized Alimangos in two days with such a baited trap.

River fish, shrimp and crabs form a considerable part of the aquatic food. Caticugan barriofolk eat more aquatic food from the river and creek than from the sea. As one travels to barrios farther from the sea, the importance of the sea as a source of food diminishes. The sea food eaten in Casala-an, for example, consists mainly of dried fish or canned sardines bought in the poblacion. Caticugan people do not prefer river to marine aquatic food; they often lack money to buy sea fish in the marketplace. During the rainy season the supply is often inadequate for the demand, whereas prices are higher. Although the people of Caticugan live only a mile from the sea they lack the necessary equipment to 226 262 433 435 226 471

catch fish in the sea and the money necessary to construct a fish corral.

PELAGIC FISHING: INTRODUCTION

The South Mindanao Sea is considered one of the richest fishing grounds in the Philippines, according to Dr. Villadolid, Director, Bureau of Fisheries. This section describes the methods of catching fish, types caught, and commercial aspects of pelagic fishing. In the past, cattle was the "big business" of Siaton municipality. Today, with the depletion of the herds during the last war, the fish corral has become the municipality's "big business."[31]

Four major methods of catching sea fish are used in Siaton municipality. First, the bonsod or bongsod (fish corral); second, various types of twine or abaca nets; third, the bobo fish trap; and fourth, hook and line fishing from small boats. As has been noted previously, piscicides cannot be considered a major method of catching pelagic fish in Siaton.

[31] I did not live in a fishing barrio. However, I spent a great deal of time in Baybay and Malabuhan, often staying in the villages for several days at the time, observing and talking with the residents. Most commercial fishermen lived in the poblacion. Mr. Francisco Baldebrin, vice mayor of the municipality, was one of my most intelligent and willing informants; he managed several fish corrals off Baybay. Other fishermen such as Mr. Pedro Solde and Carding Alonzo, Malabuhan, spent a great deal of time with me, showing me their equipment and explaining their work. For comparative data on Philippine fish traps, types of nets, etc., vide Agustin F. Umali, Guide to the Classification of Fishing Gear in the Philippines. Research Report 17. Washington, D. C., Fish and Wildlife Service, United States Department of the Interior, Government Printing Office, 1950.

Sale of Fish Caught in the Bonsods

Most fish caught in the bonsods are sold in Dumaguete because of the higher prices paid in the city. Fish are taken to Dumaguete by the busses that run between Tolong-Dumaguete and Siaton-Dumaguete. The bonsod owner pays fifty cents for each box (about the size of an orange crate) of fish hauled to Dumaguete; a tax of one cent a pound is paid on fish sold in the marketplace. Large fish like tuna are tagged on the tail and sent individually to the city market. When the tagged boxes of fish arrive in Dumaguete marketplace they are taken by the owner's agent (in one case a woman) who receives 10 per cent of the profits.

If a large bonsod catch is made and no busses are available until the next day, Siaton operators may hire a small truck owned by a local resident. Since ice is not available, the fish must be sold quickly or they spoil. The lament of a cafe owner near the Siaton River bridge was that during fishing season busses and trucks rarely stopped at his place because they were usually carrying fish to Dumaguete. The drivers feared a leisurely trip might cause the fish to spoil.[62]

Marine fish never were plentiful in the poblacion marketplace during my residence--and fresh-water fish were

[62]According to the Bell Report the Philippine fishing industry needs to be provided with "cold storage transportation to expand the market for fish, and...the development of freezer packers." The Bell Report, op. cit., p. 66.

never sold there. The scarcity of fish may be somewhat atypical--although most residents claimed it was not--since the bonsod catches were small this year and the fish corrals destroyed earlier than usual. When the day's fish supply arrived in the marketplace, it was quickly sold; some days there were no fresh fish for sale. Since fish brings a higher price in Dumaguete even small amounts are taken to the city, draining Siaton of much of its fresh fish. For example, one afternoon a fish corral made a catch of more than thirty boxes of sardine. The owner sold a few boxes in Siaton, more from a sense of duty than for profit, at eleven dollars a box; the rest were sent to Dumaguete where they sold for thirteen dollars a box. As a result, whenever news comes to the poblacion that a large catch has been made, either in the bonsod or by netting, the people flock to the seashore to buy fish for their personal use or to sell in the local market.

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FISH NETS IN SIATON

Since the last war abaca nets have replaced the cotton twine nets once widely used in Siaton; twine nets are very expensive owing to inflation. In the past many large twine nets used were made in Japan whereas today most of them are said to be imported from the United States. Nets made of cotton twine are called pokot or sigin; those made of abaca are called sahid or sinsoro.

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Nearly all of the boats are equipped with a coconut shell or bamboo bailer. One baroto had a hole in the bottom of the hull, from which a wooden plug could be removed to empty the boat of water. Paddles (borsay) are made from a light, sturdy wood. When boats are beached they usually are covered with palm fronds to protect them from the heat and rain. Some large bancas are kept in palm leaf sheds when not in use. 501

A young boy who lives in a seaside barrio becomes adept at handling a baroto; the young girls have less chance to learn. While women may ride as passengers in boats they rarely, if ever, go fishing; almost all aspects of pelagic fishing are masculine. No toy boats or small boats were seen in the fishing barrios for teaching young boys skills necessary when they become adults. 462 226 868

Summary

Securing aquatic products, from creeks, rivers and sea, consumes more time on the part of the barriofolk than any other activity except agriculture. It is necessary to make traps and nets, keep them in repair, and inspect them for catches. The people of Caticugan, however, depended little upon the sea for aquatic foods although the community is near the coast. When the cost of a fish corral is known, it is apparent that most barriofolk lack the necessary capital for the initial investment in boat, nets, building supplies, etc. Although a bobo trap could be made by most of the Caticugan barriofolk, one reason why so few have bobos is the lack of a boat. No 226 433 471

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one in the barrio owned a boat. One man had a partnership with a resident of a seaside barrio; the former made the bobo, the latter furnished the boat and they shared the catch equally. This was the only such partnership discovered in Caticugan. The barriofolk of Caticugan depend largely on products of the creek and river for their proteins. Data of diet indicate that pelagic products are not common in the daily diet. The small fish, eels, shrimp, crabs and snails obtained from the creek and river compose the bulk of aquatic foods eaten in Caticugan. The importance of this source of food for rural Filipinos has been overlooked almost entirely.[75]

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As with agricultural and food-gathering activities, pre-Hispanic animism appears in aquatic techniques. The ceremonies related to the construction of boats, fish corrals and the rituals connected with the installation of these devices, reflect deep-rooted beliefs in unseen spirits who are the titular owners of sea products. While some poblacion residents who finance fish corrals are sceptical of these concepts, they usually are tolerant of their workers' attitudes. Perhaps these more sophisticated individuals, not thoroughly convinced of the falsity of these beliefs, take the attitude that "most superstitious practices do no harm and may do some good," a Cebuano saying. These attitudes and customs associated with securing

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[75] The Rivera-McMillan report includes several pages of "typical menus of rural households" (Appendix C) that make no mention of fresh-water shrimp or snails. However, one picture is included (p. 162) that shows a small family eating "rice, small shrimp, and snail for supper." The lack of this information in the typical menus may be due to the barriofolk's hesitation to admit eating snails. Rivera-McMillan, op. cit., pp. 212-3.

palm's trunk during the war when acute food shortages existed. Most of the bags and mats made in Cateugan are woven from the buri while the hats worn by the people come from Bohol. 245

The sale of guhang furnishes many barriofolk with their largest source of cash income. The Siaton poblacion map (Plate XVII)[1] shows the number of stalls selling guhang. The widespread use of the buri to make guhang is shown by the number of dead palms (576) cut in six weeks by the provincial agriculture office in just Siaton poblacion. Many dead buris were left standing at the end of this project. If Siaton's municipal ordinance that requires each owner of a guhang buri to pay a tax of $2.50 was effectively enforced, this local industry would bring a sizeable income to the municipality. 273 434 443 245 [65]

Older informants said when they were young little guhang was made in Siaton since only a few buris grew in the municipality. Some informants stated that the barriofolk of Siaton first learned how to make guhang from the people of Tolong. Once they learned the process they began to plant the palm. Other informants, however, said that Siaton men who worked in Dumaguete's Chinese bodegas (warehouses) learned to make guhang while in the city. When they returned to Siaton they introduced the process, teaching the people of Siaton how to make the mildly alcoholic drink. All available evidence, the possible derivation of Dumaguete's name (from manangguete, a specialist who makes guhang), the older settlement of Dumaguete, 273 [178] 245 177 174 177 245 273

[1] [this plate (p. [18]) is missing]

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Powdered tan-bark (tonggog), purchased in the poblacion and pounded in the mortar, is added to the sap that has been collected in the jar. During the war when the tan-bark from Mindanao was unobtainable, the bark of the antipolo tree was used as a somewhat unsatisfactory substitute. Tan-bark is not grown locally, most of it comes from Mindanao, and costs about ten cents a pound in Siaton poblacion. The addition of the powdered tan-bark gives the guhang a golden color, improves its flavor, and is said to prevent diarrhea.

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Guhang vendors are always young girls or women, reflecting the general barrio pattern that vending is a woman's job. The vendor's profits are small. A dama (17 to 18 quarts) of guhang wholesales from the buri's owner for about seventy-five cents. The standard price for a quart of guhang in Siaton poblacion is five cents; therefore, a vendor's profit on a dama is about ten to fifteen cents.

Profits of the vendors are limited not only by the price but by the supply of guhang. Often the stalls in Siaton poblacion would close early in the evening for lack of guhang. Every evening men, and a few women, usually residents of the poblacion, collect at the guhang stalls to drink and talk; I rarely saw intoxicated drinkers at these evening gatherings. A pleasant custom of the poblacion stall owners permits prospective customers to sample guhang to determine its taste, without cost, before buying.

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The sale of guhang is the most important source of the cash income of many families in Caticugan. I estimate that about 25 per cent of the families living in Caticugan owned buri palms. Some of these families, however, owned trees that were too young to produce guhang. It is difficult to estimate the average income made by selling guhang from typical buri. Profits depend on many variable factors such as the length of time the sap flows, the quantity obtained, the amount of tan-bark used, the taste of the guhang (said to depend on the age of the tree and the soil), and the amount given to friends.

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Nearly all mananguetes agreed that the normal guhang buri produced for two to three months. One manangueta said he remembered a buri that gave sap for nine months but this was extraordinary. The process of obtaining sap "bleeds" the palm to death; after several months the buri is nearly dead and becomes somewhat dangerous to climb.

Profits from a buri producing sap for two to three months were estimated by some to be between $50 to $100. These estimates seem somewhat high. One guhang buri in Naga produced sap for five weeks; the gross profit from this palm was $24, of which $4 was spent for tan-bark. One buri in Barrio Caticugan flowed for one month netting the owner only $8 "because so many of my relatives wanted free drinks that I had little to sell."

Through the cooperation of the owner, I was able to keep an account of one guhang-producing buri. This

palm's sap started to flow April 14 and stopped June 22. The gross income of the owner was $54 of which $12 was spent for tan-bark, leaving a net profit of $42. The money from guhang sales, deposited in a "bamboo bank" (a pole of the house wall), was not counted until the buri died so the figures are probably accurate.

The price of a mature buri in Siaton ranges from $10 to $25. In the municipal tax records buri owners are assessed one dollar for each palm. If the manangguete is not the tree's owner, profits are divided in several ways. Sometimes the profits are split 50-50 after the owner has deducted what he considers the buri's value. In another case the manangguete received one-fourth of the profits plus all the free guhang his family could consume. The money from the sale of guhang from this buri was deposited in a bamboo bank kept in the palm. The owner said he did not want to keep the cash in his near-by dwelling "because I might be tempted to gamble with it."

The buri's value is also reflected in the number of disputes that often result concerning its ownership and use. Three court cases occurred during my residence concerning the illegal use of another person's buri. In one case the defendant was accused by the plaintiff of illegally using two of his buris to make guhang and asked $100 damage. There are many quarrels over buri palms that do not reach the local court. An example of such a quarrel that happened in Naga is given on the next page.

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damaged by farmyard animals they receive no care. Rats are the greatest pest. Sometimes the ground under many trees is littered with fallen young nuts that rats have gnawed to eat the tender meat. In Caticugan no one attempts to protect their trees from the rats. In the northern barrios now and then I saw thorny vines wound around the trunk to keep the rats from climbing the palm.

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The first nuts of a palm are harvested without any ceremony. Normally in Caticugan the nuts are harvested every three months, by a man who climbs the tree using notches cut into the trunk. Nuts are either twisted from their stems or cut with a bolo. Husking the nuts is often done by the women. The nut is split and the meat extracted with a bolo or smaller knife; the meat is then dried on mats in the sun for three days. The copra (dried coconut meat) is sacked, carried to the poblacion and sold at any of several Chinese stores. Chinese copra dealers in Dumaguete send trucks along the National Road to pick up the copra from local stores.

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It is difficult to assess the income the barrio people receive from their copra. Copra prices vary from year to year as do the harvests. A farmer in Barrio Caticugan said forty trees earned him fifty dollars in one year; another reported an income of sixty dollars from fifty trees. The owner of the largest coconut grove was not willing to divulge data of income received from copra. However, a tenant said just from one harvest the owner got twenty sacks of copra weighing from 135 to 150 pounds

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each. At the price copra was then selling, his crop would have brought around $160. Since the coconuts are harvested four times a year his income for 1951 may have been about $600.[67]

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Coconut trees in Caticugan and Siaton poblacion are free from the most destructive of coconut diseases, cadang-cadang. The greatest pest in this vicinity is the coconut beetle, bakokang, (Uang (Tag.): Oryctes rhinoceros Linn.)

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> The adult beetle bores into the cabbage of coconut and feeds on the more tender tissues. Holes in the trunk and coconut fronds of which the leaflets have been cut in bilaterally symmetrical pattern are tell-tale signs that the tree has been attacked by the pest. Standing dead trunks of coconuts are often attributed to its work. It is believed, however, that infestation by Oryctes alone does not kill a tree, but that it provides the entrance hole for the Asiatic palm weevil (Rhynchophorus ferrugineus Fabr) or the bud-rot organism [caused by Phytophthora palmivora Butler].[68]

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Dead buri palms are important breeding places for the bakokang in Caticugan. When the buri dies from producing guhang, the interior rots until the trunk is a hollow shell filled with sawdust-like material. Bakokang eggs are laid in these rotting interiors where the grubs develop. Once the buris stop giving guhang, the trees are permitted to stand; very few of them are cut by the barriofolk.

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[67] Copra was loaded at the Dumaguete wharf in sacks of about 220 pounds and sold for $11-15 per 220 pounds (100 kilos).

[68] Uichanco and Sacay, op. cit., I, p. 268.

## Vegetables and Other Garden Crops

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Vegetables approximate guhang as the most important source of cash income for the majority of families in Caticugan. The majority of barriofolk have a small home garden, plagued by insects, farmyard animals and lack of care. The gardens are rarely fenced. A number of families plant vegetables mainly for sale in the poblacion. Gardens are usually tended by women, who also sell the vegetables. In a recent descriptive account of a barrio in Bulacanan province, Luzon, this fact is stated indirectly:

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> At Anilao [the name of the barrio] day begins in the night's small hours, when the men rise to go fishing...When the men return home at dawn, the women are up, breakfast has long been ready...All morning the men sleep, while the women work the vegetable gardens or gather grass to sell to rig drivers.[71]

Nearly every morning a few women from Caticugan could be seen carrying vegetables to sell to the poblacion.

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Vegetable gardens often are planted on the canal banks in Caticugan. This location is considered desirable because the ground is usually moist and better drained during the rainy season when many gardens die of flooding. Pieces of thorny bamboo are put in the ground to support stringbeans, gourds and squashes. A few women hang strings of seaweed on the bamboo supports of the gourds and squashes; these are said to repel insects.

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[71] "Life in Barrio Anilao," Philippines Free Press, XLIV, No. 40 (October 3, 1953), p. 28. This unsigned article consists mainly of photographs that present some realistic scenes of barrio life. Underlining in quotation by writer.

sold. The paddies of the average farmer in Siaton and Zamboanguita are so small that they cannot produce sufficient rice to last the families through the year. About 23 per cent of the cultivated land is also occupied by coconut palms. In Pamplona is one of the largest coconut plantations in Negros; it is owned and managed by Americans. Generally, however, coconut plantings vary from 5 to 15 acres and are owned by Filipinos. Many families have a few coconut trees that provide their chief cash income. Coconut palms usually appear along the littoral where the sandy soils are too well-drained for other crops and the internal drainage from the Central Mountain range favors coconut cultivation. Coconuts, however, are frequently planted along field boundaries and extend toward the interior of many parts of this region.

Coconut palms begin to bear as early as five years after planting and often produce nuts when a century old. The Laguna variety is common in this region; it is an early-bearing tree that usually produces nuts after eight or ten years. The fresh coconut meat is dried under the sun or in crude, smoky ovens, tapahans. The dried meat is known as copra and is the chief export of Dumaguete port; in 1951 it amounted to more than $5,000,000. The prosperity of this region is closely tied to copra prices. When prices are high, for example, enrollment in both public and private schools rises; but when copra prices fall school enrollments decrease

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> If the Americans were the ones buying guhang [a native drink] the cost was usually one peso because they not only had money but they could not understand the Filipinos selling the guhang. They also did not have loose change so even if the price was ten centavos a pongpong [a bamboo container] the Americans would pay one peso.

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Until American troops were briefly stationed in Siaton during the last war, no comparably large group of Americans had lived in this locality for any length of time.

The Fall of the Negros Republic

When Bohol was occupied by American troops in March, 1900, the formal conquest of the Visayas was completed. Aguinaldo was finally captured and in April, 1901, swore allegiance to the United States. The Negros Republic's affairs were never in good shape. The peace and order situation in the island was precarious. Factionalism and local quarrels made the operation of an elaborate and awkward governmental structure difficult. Inexperience of the officials resulted in inefficiency and a rapid loss of confidence of the people. The leaders of Negros Oriental complained they were not receiving a fair share of the revenue of the Republic. The Republic's limited funds were largely spent on salaries, so few improvements were made in the Island.

William H. Taft had been appointed Civil Governor of the Philippines in July, 1901. To popularize the establishment of municipal governments he took an extended trip through the Visayas and Mindanao, visiting both

insight into the once greater abundance of food in Caticugan is given from an offering made during the last part of the Spanish period. This offering included one pig, fifteen or twenty chickens (with white feathers), a basketful each of bingka, bodbod, and puto (all varieties of rice cakes), three plates with ten eggs each, and large quantities of tuba. In the past the ritualist who performed the dulot in Naga often received a basketful of corn for his service; none of the ritualists receives this amount today.

Some individuals who stopped the dulot in Caticugan said they did so because "it is too expensive today." The food offering to the spirits was not as costly as feeding the guests. The dulot described in Lamtoc required much corn to make the cakes, beside the other food served. It is possible that since the corn yield in these northern barrios is nearly twice that of Caticugan the community dulot is less of a burden. One reason given for having only a family dulot in Caticugan is that the expense of guests is eliminated. Dulots held for Caticugan's irrigated corn harvests would attract a large number of people since they would occur during a seasonal period of food shortage.

This detailed discussion of the spatial distribution of the dulot in both Caticugan and the northern barrios of the Siaton River valley illustrates how many factors must be considered in explaining change in one custom. There is no "royal road" to a clear understanding

for consolation. Manalabangs who have fairly large cornfields are often given free corn even though they offer to purchase it. In the end, however, the giver loses nothing since his "gift" will be returned when the recipient's field is harvested. The manalabang harvest shares range from several ears of corn to as many as twenty ears. 243 476

When the paddy corn is harvested corn prices are at their peak in Siaton poblacion for this is the "starvation period"--the period when many family's last harvest corn supply is running low and the new crop is still immature. The harvesters also try to buy corn from the owner; some women come just to buy or barter fish or tuba for corn. Usually the owners are not eager to sell since most of them will have to buy cornmeal before the next harvest. Yet few refuse to sell or barter some of their harvest, although they often limit the amount a person may buy. To refuse to sell some of their corn harvest would mean some barriofolk would call them "greedy." 243 433 476 435 432

Manalabangs collect a small pile of corn ears they have harvested and sit down with a definite air of possession. This is the corn they insist on buying. In one case the owner refused to sell the manalabangs the amount of corn they had requested. Collecting all the individual corn piles, he resorted them into new piles, eliminating about a third of the corn. He asked fifteen cents for each pile of corn but settled for ten cents after the women bargained. These female manalabangs had already received their share for helping in the harvest; the 243 476 432

owner was definitely annoyed that he had to sell part of his harvest. 243 476 432

The price of corn varied in the harvests. Two handsful of ears for two or three cents, fifteen ears for the same price and a centavo an ear are a few examples of the prices. Relatives are normally sold more corn and at a cheaper price than non-relatives. The other harvesters do not object. One woman gave the mother of her son's girl-friend a basketful of corn to win her favor. 243 476 435
People often eat the corn they harvest on the spot; the husked ears are roasted on hot coals. [264]

Another reason why the harvesters' assistance is normally not refused is the widespread belief in "envious people." "Envious people" can do harm to one's person or crops through magic. If the manalabangs' help were refused one of them might attempt revenge on the cultivator or his crops. Older manalabangs may silently pray as they work that the cultivator may enjoy good health and abundant harvests in coming years. As one woman said, "the manalabangs just wish good for the owner while they work." 243 476

Corn is harvested by pulling the ears from the stalks. Harvested ears are collected in a basket called bukag. Helpers never know what their share will be until the harvest is completed. If the farmer is a tenant the owner is usually present to assist in the division of the harvest. No arguments over the manalabangs' shares were ever witnessed; they may think their share is too small but they do not complain openly. [42]

Most barriofolk go to Omanod to work as harvesters while some women and young girls go to barter bread, matches, used American clothing and other wares for corn. These vendors rarely sell their wares for money. They barter for corn, and get more corn than they could if they sold their articles. Sometimes, when the harvest is over, the vendors will sell their remaining merchandise rather than carry it home. Others go to Omanod solely to buy corn for the price is lower than in Siaton poblacion. The people usually stay with relatives or friends in Omanod during the harvest period.

Unhusked corn is usually stored in the house, the ears piled in a corner of the room or in a bin. Corn is not husked until it is ready to be shelled and ground. Lagit stones or sea shells may be put with the corn to protect it from the weevils that often do considerable damage. Perhaps only one out of every twenty families in Caticugan has a separate storehouse for corn. The average family's corn supply is small and consumed steadily so individual storehouses are unnecessary. Storehouses that exist are usually built near the residences, although in a few cases they may be at the field's edge. Theft is rare because many would be afraid to steal corn for fear of barang.[50]

[50] Barang is the belief in the supernatural ability of certain persons to cause illness or death to their enemies. These specialists are said to own magical bees that are trained to penetrate the victim's body at their owner's command. Several cases of deaths allegedly due to barang motivated by thievery were reported by the barriofolk of Caticugan.

Powdered tan-bark (tongog), purchased in the poblacion and pounded in the mortar, is added to the sap that has been collected in the jar. During the war when the tan-bark from Mindanao was unobtainable, the bark of the antipolo tree was used as a somewhat unsatisfactory substitute. Tan-bark is not grown locally, most of it comes from Mindanao, and costs about ten cents a pound in Siaton poblacion. The addition of the powdered tan-bark gives the guhang a golden color, improves its flavor, and is said to prevent diarrhea.

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Camotes

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The farmers offer three major reasons why so few camotes (amotes) are planted in Barrio Caticugan. First, to intercrop camotes with the first corn would make it impossible to plant a second crop. Second, between the harvest of the first and the planting of the second corn crops the barriofolk permit their pigs to roam the locality. The most desirable land for camotes, from an edaphic (soil) viewpoint, is unfenced cornfields near the residences. Third, since there are only a few camote fields in the community, cuttings are sometimes difficult to secure; one must go to other barrios or even to mountain caingins to obtain plants. The barriofolk often barter one-half a ganta of salt for as many camote cuttings as they can carry home.

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Fields to be planted with camote cuttings are usually plowed twice; the final furrows are made in a grid pattern. After the heavy rains begin these furrows are replowed to increase their depth. Men, women and children plant cuttings in these furrows; there does not appear to be any division of this labor by sex.

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Lihis for camote planting are normally done by the person inserting the cuttings in the field; no specialist is needed. Some barriofolk take three shells of the first hatching of a hen (turtle egg shells are better but more difficult to secure), a little sugar and lime (made from snail or sea shells), pieces from the winnowing basket, stone chips from the sog-ang (the three stones used

Balatongs are usually planted in every other cornhill, three to five seeds per hill. Some plant the beans in furrows between the hills because they say the fast-growing vines retard the growth of corn. In some cases the balatong spread so rapidly that the corn cannot be plowed for weeds. There are no special lihis for planting or harvesting balatongs. 241

In Caticugan balatongs are usually planted in May or June, the wet season, and harvested from October to December. The mature pods are put on buri mats in the sun to dry. The pods must be covered with cloth so the beans will not be dispersed when the pods shatter upon heating. When thoroughly dried, the remainder of the pods are shelled by hand and the beans stored. 241 251

Mungos

Four varieties of mungos are raised in the Philippines, differentiated according to the color of the bean.[63] The Dull Yellow type is raised in Caticugan. Very few mungos, however, are planted in Caticugan; in 1951, 77 acres of mungos were planted in Siaton municipality--an excessively high estimate of the local agricultural inspector. I have been in most of the larger cultivated areas of the municipality and rarely saw more than a few small patches of mungos. One reason for their scarcity is cost of seed. In the stores of Siaton poblacion, mungos were more costly than rice. 241 [311] [435]

[63] Uichanco and Sacay, op. cit., I, pp. 364-5.

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Some farmers intercropped mungos with corn while others planted mungos two or three weeks after the corn. Mungos are usually planted between the cornhills since they do not spread as do cowpeas. Mungos begin to mature in about three months. There are no special lihis for mungos.

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Coconuts

In 1951 there were 66,526 coconut palms (about 1,051 acres) in Siaton municipality.[64] Although there are a few palms in Talo-ot, most of the coconut trees are located along the western bluff overlooking Barrio Caticugan, the main canal and barrio path. One grove along the barrio path was recently planted and the trees are not yet bearing. The largest grove (about 410 trees) is owned by the most affluent resident of the community.[65] The majority of the owners of coconuts have only a few trees, and many families possess no coconut palms.

According to the barriofolk coconuts selected for planting must: (1) be mature; (2) contain internal fluid that one can hear by shaking the nut; (3) have no cracks in the outer husk. Nuts are usually placed in a damp spot until the sharp green shoot pierces the outer husk; a favorite spot is under the dwelling near the water jar where waste water is thrown.

[64] The provincial agricultural office, Dumaguete, states there are 156 coconuts planted to a hectare, or about 63 palms an acre.

[65] This figure was obtained from the municipal land records; the owner's plot of coconuts, 6.5 acres, was valued at $567.

[435]

each. At the price copra was then selling, his crop would have brought around $160. Since the coconuts are harvested four times a year his income for 1951 may have been about $600.[67]

Coconut trees in Caticugan and Siaton poblacion are free from the most destructive of coconut diseases, cadang-cadang. The greatest pest in this vicinity is the coconut beetle, bakokang, (Uang (Tag.): Oryctes rhinoceros Linn.)

> The adult beetle bores into the cabbage of coconut and feeds on the more tender tissues. Holes in the trunk and coconut fronds of which the leaflets have been cut in bilaterally symmetrical pattern are telltale signs that the tree has been attacked by the pest. Standing dead trunks of coconuts are often attributed to its work. It is believed, however, that infestation by Oryctes alone does not kill a tree, but that it provides the entrance hole for the Asiatic palm weevil (Rhynchophorus ferrugineus Fabr) or the bud-rot organism [caused by Phytophthora palmivora Butler].[68]

Dead buri palms are important breeding places for the bakokang in Caticugan. When the buri dies from producing guhang, the interior rots until the trunk is a hollow shell filled with sawdust-like material. Bakokang eggs are laid in these rotting interiors where the grubs develop. Once the buris stop giving guhang, the trees are permitted to stand; very few of them are cut by the barriofolk.

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[67] Copra was loaded at the Dumaguete wharf in sacks of about 220 pounds and sold for $11-15 per 220 pounds (100 kilos).

[68] Uichanco and Sacay, op. cit., I, p. 268.

used to make charcoal for the woman's irons. Coconut "milk" is obtained by squeezing grated meat in water and dippers and cups are carved from the hard shells. Sap from the coconut palm produces mildly alcoholic drink, tuba, that is popular throughout the Philippines. Only one man made tuba in Barrio Caticugan so the account that follows is based mainly on this informant's explanation. Tuba is considered superior to guhang by the barriofolk and costs more when purchased in the poblacion. So little tuba is made, however, that it is difficult to buy the drink at stores. The alcoholic content of tuba and guhang appears to be about the same for a given period of fermentation.

Tuba is the drink produced from the sap collected from the bud (bulok) ~~of~~ the coconut tree. Since the bud produces the coconuts, ~~making tuba~~ reduces the yield of the tree; this is one reason why some owners did not make tuba. A coconut tree selected for tuba-making should have at least three buds. The brown mat-like material (ginit) is cleaned away from the top of the tree where the fronds radiate outward--a process called la-as. Stones are placed on the broad stems of the fronds where they grow from the trunk to push them downward to make it easier to get at the bud.

The selected bud is wrapped with rattan and the end is tied to a branch, pulling the bud downward to facilitate the flow of the sap. The tip of the bud is cut every day so the sap will continue to flow liberally. At the bud's

end a bamboo container (sankob) is attached that collects the sap. Ginit is put in the top of the container to keep out insects that are attracted by the sweet scent of the sap. 273

An average coconut bud will produce sap for about one month, although not all buds give sap. Tan-bark is powdered and added to the tuba for the same reasons as in making gubang. There are no lihis connected with making tuba. Tuba is collected once a day; the house of this tuba maker was a favorite barrio meeting place.

Cacao

In 1951 only 50-60 cacao bushes grew in Caticugan. Cacao beans sold in the poblacion for about four dollars a pound--so expensive that few barriofolk drank or served chocolate except at wedding feasts or during the local fiestas. Owners of the cacao bushes ground the seeds and made small patties of chocolate which were dried in the sun. 245 435 257

One farmer in Barrio Caticugan had an ingenious method of watering his four cacao bushes and one coffee tree. A bamboo filled with water was propped against a tree so that the lower end was at the base of a cacao plant, and the water slowly dripped through a small hole. When the ground around the plants became too damp this hole in the bamboo was plugged for a few days. 245

Faded rags, originally red, were tied to branches of many of the cacao bushes. Some people believe that, 841

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There were only four or five coffee trees in the entire barrio. The price of coffee beans in the poblacion was high; most of the people in Caticugan, and many in the poblacion, drank "coffee" made from toasted ground cornmeal.

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There was a custom in the barrio of tying a broken pot or bottles to the cacao, gourd and papaya plants. The pots or bottles were said to make the plants produce large fruits and prevent the fruit from falling when immature. This custom was observed in Siaton poblacion, in nearly every barrio visited in southern Negros, and in Dumaguete City.

Bananas

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Not many bananas are raised in Caticugan or Siaton poblacion. The western barrios, e.g., Cabangahan and Giliga-on, produced most of the bananas sold in the stores of Siaton poblacion; often busses from the west would leave bunches of bananas in the poblacion for sale. However, there were many days when bananas could not be purchased in the marketplace or in the sari-sari stores along the National Road. The banana bud is cooked and eaten as a vegetable; this may be one reason for the scarcity of the fruit in Caticugan.

[262]

Kapok

245
[824]

In 1948 less than 5 per cent of the total Philippine production of kapok was grown in Negros Oriental. Some kapok trees, doldol (Agave cantalu Roxb.) grow in Caticugan

416

cuttings to protect them from ants. During this period of several months kalamongay greens are relatively scarce. 244

Tangkong

Another popular but not as widely grown vegetable is tangkong (Ipomoea aquatica Forsk, previously known as Ipomoea reptans (Linn.) Poir.) Tangkong is an aquatic morning glory that trails on mud or floats on the water of quiet pools. Tangkong was grown in Caticugan only along the banks of the Caticugan creek. Caticugan tangkong had a local reputation for being "very fat and big." [824]

Brown incorrectly writes: "The plant [tangkong] is not cultivated but grows wild."[73] While wild tangkong is gathered in some of Caticugan's paddies during the rainy period it is smaller and less succulent. The tangkong patches along the creek are planted and cared for by female owners. Tangkong is usually planted at the end of the rainy season. During the wet season the heavy rains swell the Siaton River, flood the Caticugan creek, and wash away tangkong patches planted at the beginning of the previous year's dry season. During the dry season tangkong is splashed with water once or twice a day or the plant is said to wilt and the leaves to become dry and yellow. 244 222 244

The price of tangkong varies throughout the year. When kalamongay is scarce, just after it is trimmed in 435

[73] Brown, op. cit., III, p. 258.

435

March and April, tangkong sells for more than when a larger supply of kalamongay and other vegetables are for sale in the marketplace. When the price is high a small bunch of tangkong sells for five centavos (two and a half cents). When other vegetables are available one may buy three bunches of tangkong for that price.

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Sometimes people will come to Barrio Caticugan from the poblacion or nearby barrios to buy tangkong. If they pick the vegetable they are given a cheaper price than if they purchase it from the owner. Normally the owners take their tangkong to the poblacion to sell; but three women and one man sold tangkong from their patches in Barrio Caticugan; the male vendor was a bayute. Vendors do not have much trouble selling tangkong, especially during the hot season when most vegetables are scarce. Tangkong is a good source of vitamins B and G and an excellent source of vitamin C; the leaves are said to have a mild purgative effect.[74]

[146]

472 443 435

Owners of tangkong patches sometimes let other vendors sell their greens in the poblacion and split the profits. This is done when the woman owning the tangkong cannot take her vegetables to the market. For example, one young mother, with a new baby, was unable to take her tangkong to the poblacion. She made an arrangement with a neighbor to sell her greens; the owner received a net

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[74] Brown, op. cit., III, p. 258.

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profit of $1.85 from her tangkong patch for one month (June 16 to July 16). By the middle of July tangkong often became so cheap that she fed much of it to the pigs.

The woman who had the largest tangkong patch in Barrio Caticugan kept a record of her sales, at my request, for one month (June 16 to July 16). She sold tangkong in the poblacion twenty days in this period, netting $5.60. During the same period she also sold sixty cents worth of tangkong to persons coming to her patch in the barrio. Her total profit for the month was $6.20. The previous year the same woman said her profit from the sale of tangkong was more than $25. In fact, the young woman and her brother, both unmarried, were building a new house; the neighbors said this was largely financed by the woman's tangkong profits.

Eggplant

244

Eggplants (talong) are another fairly common vegetable grown in Caticugan. Nearly every family has a few eggplants that bear small fruits. Like most vegetables new eggplants are planted at the beginning of the rainy season; the old stalks are trimmed then so they will produce new fruits. Tomatoes (tamatis) are grown but they are very small and are often sold, or eaten, when they are partly green.

Other vegetables grown are gourds (upo: Lagenaria leucantha Linn.); green onions (sibuyas bombay); patola

[824]

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A bamboo pole against the tree enables the chickens to climb into the branches, although most of them can fly. The chickens are rarely fed by their owners and are lean and tough when eaten. Nests are usually found in the silong (space under the raised house), among the rafters, or in a corner of a room. Plate XXXI[1] shows one type of nest used in Caticugan. A large bamboo is split and the splints woven apart with rattan; dried grass is often put inside. There is a constant battle to shoo the chickens from a house, since they try to sneak into the kitchen to eat uncovered food.

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435

The barriofolk eat few eggs, not that they dislike eggs, but eggs bring a good price in the poblacion--five cents each in 1951. Sale of a dozen eggs enabled the vendor to purchase several ganitas of cornmeal that go farther in feeding the family. Eggs not sold are normally used for settings. In the poblacion chickens sell for fifty to seventy-five cents and scores of chickens are sold each week in Dumaguete.

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The Bolhon and Palihog: Cooperative Labor Groups

The growing individualism in Caticugan life, already cited, includes agriculture. I shall describe some of the cooperative agricultural practices of the past and indicate reasons for their decline in present-day Caticugan.

During Lucas Ege's period there were two types of cooperative labor groups in Caticugan, the bolhon and

1 [See p.432, Cat. 231 -- Analyst]

411 [435]

For the hunt, iron spear points (ohas or silab) are purchased in the poblacion for about one dollar and fifty cents. The points are eleven to twelve inches long and about two to three inches wide. They are attached to wooden handles (tugdanan) four or five feet long. The spear point is fixed to the handle with rattan wrapping; the base of the point has a sharp prong that is driven into the handle's top. Sometimes brass tubing (pekit) is put around the handle where the spear point is attached; a sharp iron point (alimayo) may be fixed to the handle's base. Usually a scabbard (sakob) is made to cover the point when the spear (bankay) is stored; two thin pieces of wood, the general shape of the point, are bound together with rattan or small strips of tin. (See Plate XXXII.)[1]

224

Frequently wild pigs are hunted by groups of three to five men. Some like to hunt alone; this means, normally, that there is no sharing of the kill. The dogs go ahead of the hunters, sniffing the ground until the scent of a wild pig is discovered. Then they run after the pig wildly barking. The hunters trot behind the dogs, yelling words of encouragement. If the hunters fail to shout constantly, or stay close enough to the dogs so their voices can be heard, the dogs become discouraged and abandon the chase. Such a chase may continue for several hours until a pig is cornered and killed or the scent lost.

1 [See p. 509, Cat 411 & 116 -- Analysis]

are libgos, kolakdop, layat and tangogtangog. Amamakol is said to be available throughout the year while the layat, songadsongad and lavalava are gathered mostly in May and June.

Sometimes a lucky person finds a lot of mushrooms and sells them in the marketplace; they are quickly purchased. One day a young man came to Siaton poblacion with a half a gunny sack of libgos that he sold for five cents a hatful. Mushrooms are normally sliced and mixed with vegetables or fried in lard.

WILD FRUITS

Certain wild fruits are eaten in season. One popular fruit, somewhat similar to a cherry, is the lumboy (Tag: duhat; Syzygium cumini (Linn.) Skeels).[15] Lumboys ripen in April and May; children often gather large quantities and sell them in the poblacion. In Sitio Katogasan (Barrio Datag), lumboy trees are said to be very plentiful.

Wild guavas (bayabas) are fairly plentiful in Cateugan; they occur mostly in the nearby hills.[16]

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[15] An analysis of the mineral content and food value of fresh and oven-dried lumboy samples has been made. The analyses indicate that lumboy is a good source of calcium and fair in iron. Brown, op. cit., III, pp. 156-9.

[16] Guavas are one of the commonest and best known fruits in the Philippines, a native of tropical America that has become thoroughly naturalized. Brown, op. cit., III, pp. 152-3.

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task with getting nipa leaves. The largest clam found in these areas is the Toway; one pokes a bolo (brought to cut nipa leaves) or a stick into a soft mount or bubbling hole in the damp sand of the swamp to get Toways. Four types of snails that are found in nipa swamps are: Dalodalo, Hagonipa, Libodbod, and Taboysoy (the latter clings to the palm trunks and leaves).

222

Two types of seaweed are gathered and eaten by the barriofolk: a green moss, lumot, and a brownish moss, lagot. Lagot is put in hot water, then drained and garlic, salt, and vinegar added. These two seaweeds are gathered during the dry season along the beach. When the rainy season begins the mosses "become slippery and are not good to eat." Only a few families in Cateugan were observed eating these mosses.

## METHODS OF OBTAINING RIVER FISH

226 [262] [436] [433]

A large share of the fish eaten locally is caught in the Siaton River. Many families eat more river fish than sea fish. They either lack money to buy sea fish or there may be none for sale in the marketplace.

Table XXIX[1] lists local names, and in most cases, scientific identification, of types of fish caught in the Siaton River.

River fish are caught in eight different ways: (1) with nets (ta-an and tangkop); (2) with bamboo-rattan traps (asag, balantak and bobo); (3) with fish poisons; (4) by the galobog method; (5) by a process called

1 [See p. 540, cat. 226 or 116 -- Analyst]

(see Plate XXXV, Detail A)[1] the catch is scooped out of this section. 227

Ta-an nets have the advantage of not having to be watched constantly; they are set up by man. Ta-an catches are for family consumption. One group that netted Hipon with a tangkop near the Siaton River mouth caught two cavans in an afternoon. Large catches usually are made near the mouth or just off the mouth of the river, with bigger nets; Hipon sell in the marketplace for about five dollars per five-gallon can. The owner of a big net receives one-half of the catch, and his assistants divide the remainder equally. Young girls or women vendors from Caticugan and other barrios go to the mouth of the rivers during Hipon runs to sell or barter boiled bananas and other foods. 226 [435] [265]

The Asag and Balantak River Fish Traps

Two common types of fish traps used in Siaton River are the balantak and the larger asag. Small bobo fish traps may be placed in the river but this type of trap usually is put in the sea. The largest asag seen, at Sitio Daliw (north of Casala-an), was 12 feet long. (See Plate XXXVI.)[2] This asag, owned by one family, had stone retaining walls three to four feet high, several feet thick, and about 25 feet long. The walls ordinarily last until rainy season when they are washed away by the flooded river. Fish smaller than four or five inches could have passed 227

2 [See p. 546, Cat. 227 – Analyst]

1 [this plate (p. 544) is missing -- Analyst]

say Lavagay that escape will not return to the sea for seven years. 226

The Tolo crab is usually found around rocks in shallow water; more live in the river than in Caticugan Creek. They are caught in the balantak, ta-an and asag along with the Hipon, shrimp and fish. 226 136

The Alimango is a large crab, growing to the size of a small coconut, that lives in nipa and mangrove swamps or in the tidal reaches of the river. They are caught by digging them from their holes in the sand or mud. Another method is to put a fish trap baited with chicken guts or fish in the swamp. One man living in Baybay caught eight good-sized Alimangos in two days with such a baited trap.

River fish, shrimp and crabs form a considerable part of the aquatic food. Caticugan barriofolk eat more aquatic food from the river and creek than from the sea. As one travels to barrios farther from the sea, the importance of the sea as a source of food diminishes. The sea food eaten in Casala-an, for example, consists mainly of dried fish or canned sardines bought in the poblacion. Caticugan people do not prefer river to marine aquatic food; they often lack money to buy sea fish in the marketplace. During the rainy season the supply is often inadequate for the demand, whereas prices are higher. Although the people of Caticugan live only a mile from the sea they lack the necessary equipment to 226 262 433 435 226 471

to initiate improvements; the lack of these improvements is often given as a justification for defrauding the government.[41]

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An average bonsod requires considerable capital; consequently many of them are financed through partnerships. The bonsod can be very profitable but it is also a gamble against an errant typhoon, and a gamble that the capital invested will be recovered before the southwest monsoon's arrival. It is also a gamble that large catches will be made on holidays (such as fiestas) when fish bring higher prices.

228 472

Table XXXII[1] shows the cost of three bonsods built by different persons in Siaton in 1951. The costs indicated vary; large bamboos of last year's bonsod, destroyed by the monsoon, may be washed ashore and reused. Some builders use iron anchors (sinipits); others make them locally from wood. If one uses a twine instead of an abaca net the initial investment is larger. For the two bonsods in Table XXXII[1] the cost of a twine and abaca net and a banca are included; these items do not have to be purchased each year. A banca was said to last three or four years, the iron anchors four to five years, and the abaca net seven or eight years. If one

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[41] Robert Redfield, Tepoztlan: A Mexican Village: A Study of Folk Life. Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 1930, p. 67.

1 [See p. 583, cat. 228 or 435 -- Analyst]

TABLE XXXII

Cost Breakdown of Three Bonsods

| Materials and Labor | Malabuhan (Dollars) | | Sumalaring (Dollars) | | Baybay (Dollars) | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Quantity | Cost | Quantity | Cost | Quantity | Cost |
| Bamboo (65-70 foot poles) | 1,000 | 225 | 750 | 150 | 800 | 170 |
| Rattan (Balaba)[42] | 7,000 | 49 | 6,000 | 48 | 6,000 | 51 |
| Rattan (Impaque) | 2,500 | 12 | 1,800 | 9 | 2,000 | 10 |
| Iron anchor | 4 | 50 | - | - | - | - |
| Rope | 1,500[43] | 37 | 960 | 37 | 13[44] | 32 |
| Wire (Size No. 8) | 128[45] | 40 | 11 | 4 | - | - |
| Banca (35 feet) | 1 | 90 | - | - | - | - |
| Fish net | 1[46] | 520 | 1[47] | 104 | - | - |
| Coconut trunks | - | - | 4 | 14 | - | - |
| Labor costs | (48) | 118 | (49) | 120 | | 70 |
| Workers ladlad and food | (50) | 55 | (50) | 134 | (50) | 79 |
| Municipal tax | (51) | 50 | (51) | 50 | (52) | 35 |
| Internal revenue tax | | 5 | | 5 | | 5 |
| Totals | | $1,261 | | $675 | | $452 |

[42]Balaba rattan is divided equally into four equal parts longitudinally. The Bureau of Forestry considers 1,000 pieces of balaba equal to about 220 pounds.

[43]In feet.

[44]Thirteen rools that vary in length; approximately 240 feet.

[45]Pounds.

[46]Twine net.

[47]Abaca net is cheaper than twine.



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435

distributes these expenses over the years these two bonsods would be less expensive than indicated.[53] 228

Table XXXIII[1] presents figures from Umali's study pertaining to the construction of a Quinavite fish corral in Ragay Gulf, Luzon. They are included for comparison with the figures in Table XXXII. 435

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[48]The labor costs were: making bamboo strips for lag-i, $10; sharpening and cutting slits in bamboo poles, $21; splitting rattan, $7; weaving lag-i, $35; making bamboo raft, $5; and construction of bonsod, $40.

[49]The owner employed eleven men for about 1 month; this figure does not include the cost of food served to the men while employed.

[50]Cost of just the ladlad feast for Malabuhan was $45, for Sumalaring, $20, and Baybay $20.

[51]First class zone.

[52]Second class zone. The tax on the depth was not obtained.

[53]It is difficult to obtain correct figures on the actual cost of building a bonsod because of practices of some bonsod operators. For example, purchases made outside the municipality are taxed by the Siaton government. One bonsod owner listed in his expense book "for the inspectors" that he had purchased 3,000 pieces of rattan (in Tolong municipality) for $25 instead of the actual 6,000 pieces that cost $51. While rope was purchased from the Chinese stores in Dumaguete, some bonsod owners listed the rope as "bought from various persons" in Siaton in order to eliminate the tax. Under such circumstances, while the owners know exactly how much money they have spent, obtaining accurate information is difficult. The persons who gave the information in Table XXXII said they were giving me the "real figures."

1[See p. 585, Cat. 228 or 435 -- Analyst]

TABLE XXXIII

Cost of Building a Quinavite Fish Corral[54]
Ragay Gulf, Luzon - 1938

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| Material and Labor | Quantity | Cost (Dollars) |
|---|---|---|
| **Materials** | | |
| Palma brava (bahe) @ 30¢ each | 500 | 150 |
| Bamboos (bolo or boho) @ $10 per 1,000 | 2,000 | 20 |
| Rattan @ $1.50 per 1,000 | 20,000 | 30 |
| Bamboo for raft (balsa) and bridge (vela) of the tawanik variety @ $6 per 100 | 200 | 12 |
| Cotton (twine) net (siguin) | 1 | 150 |
| Banca | | |
| Cost of splitting 2,000 bolo @ $10 per 1,000 | | 20 |
| Cost of weaving mattings | | |
| Body of 14 pieces (bantasan) @ $2.90 each[55] | 14 | 40.60 |
| Leader of 20 pieces (bantasan) @ $2.90 each | 20 | 58 |
| **Labor (contract)** | | |
| First maestro [foreman ?] | | 30 |
| Second maestro | | 25 |
| Seven men at $7.50 each | | 52.50 |
| Total Cost | | $713.10 |

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Comparing the costs of the Quinavite of Ragay ulf and the bonsod of Malabuhan, the materials for the rmer cost $212, for the latter $431. The cost of the ine net and boat (banca) were $610 in Malabuhan and

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[54]Umali, op. cit., p. 189. The date the fish corral s built is not given; the article was published in 1938.

[55]Each bantasan was about 69 feet long.

₱275 in Ragay Gulf. These figures illustrate the inflation that has occurred in the Philippines since 1938.

Table XXXIV, at the end of this chapter, lists the local, English and scientific names (whenever possible) of fish caught in Siaton bonsods; Table XXXV gives the frequency of their catch and class accorded them by people living in both the barrio and Siaton poblacion.[1]

## Construction of the Fish Corral

Construction of bonsods in Siaton begins in late October or early November. Bonsods are built, for the most part, between Malabuhan and Salag Point; few bonsods are erected west of Salag Point because the coral sea floor makes it almost impossible to embed the posts. (See Plates XLIV and XLV.) In the past the long bamboos needed to build a bonsod could be cut in Catiougan and other barrios near the sea. Today bamboo is cut in Lamtoc, Balanan, and Casala-an and floated as rafts down the river since nearby bamboo resources have been exhausted. Some fish corral owners advance to the cutters in the barrios part of the money to be paid for the bamboo with full payment made on delivery. Long thick poles usually cost about twenty cents each; in Tanjay similar bamboos are reported to bring twice this amount.

Most of the rattan obtained to build the bonsods comes from Tolong municipality. The people said that once rattan grew abundantly in the hills near Catiougan;

[1] [see pp. 640-645 -- Analyst]

[2] [See pp. 586A and B, cat. 116 -- Analyst]

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When fish corrals are partially destroyed, early in the season, some owners make temporary repairs. Damaged or destroyed banatas, for example, are replaced with coconut fronds. Early destruction or an unprofitable season is harder on the bonsod workers who depend largely on the fish corral for their meat and cash income; many have no land to cultivate. The price of fish is higher when the fish corrals are destroyed or suffer a poor season. Most fresh fish sold in Negros Oriental is obtained from fish corrals.

228 472 [131] [435]

Types of Fish Caught in Fish Corrals

228

Pelagic fish caught most commonly in fish corrals are the "floating" or "surface" species. Umali writes that herring, mackerel, bageye, round scad and bonito are the migratory species frequently caught in fish corrals and other marine fish traps in the Philippines.[60] In Siaton mackerel is said to be most abundant in April and May, herring in January and February, runner (Elagatis bipinnulatus) from February to May, anchovy from February to March and sardine from December to February. Considerable tuna are caught in the bonsods, particularly the yellowfin and striped varieties.[61] Table XXV[1] gives additional data on the frequency of catches in Siaton fish corrals.

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[60] Umali, op. cit., p. 180.

[61] Herbert E. Warfel, Outlook for Development of a Tuna Industry in the Philippines, Research Report 28. Washington, D.C., United States Department of Interior, Government Printing Office, 1950. This publication contains a map showing the distribution of the yellowfin and striped tunas in the Philippines.

1 [See p.644, cat. 228 -- Analyst]

pull the net. When the fish are emptied from the net those who helped receive small shares of the catch. Vendors come with guhang and other foods to sell to the crowd or barter for fish; the people often eat their fish at the beach. The whole affair becomes an impromptu picnic with eating, drinking and swimming.

A few women in Siaton poblacion weave abaca for fish netting. However, most abaca material used to make nets is woven in Dauin and Bacong municipalities; more abaca is grown here and the women have a reputation for weaving. I saw far more looms in Dauin and Bacong poblacions than in Siaton. The material is sold in rolls forty to fifty feet long and thirty-five to forty inches wide; one roll is often sold to Siaton fishermen for two or three dollars.[63]

Lava Net

The lava is a circular twine net with many small lead sinkers attached to the outer edge.[64] Only one man in Barrio Caticugan owned a lava with a diameter of 11 feet. The lava, however, is rarely used in Siaton; only two were seen in the fishing sitio of Malabuhan. It is

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[63] One woman in Siaton poblacion sold three rolls of abaca (30 inches in width) for $9 to a Chinese store. The fiber cost $3. She estimated that it took her 60 hours to weave the three rolls so she made about 10 cents an hour. Another woman said she could weave 48 feet of abaca daily if the loom were loaded.

[64] De la Victoria, op. cit., p. 46, describes the identical net used in Cebu and also called lava. Lava is a general term for cast net: dala (Tag.), tabukol (Ilk.); sabukol (Pang.). Umali, Guide to the Classification of Fishing Gear in the Philippines, p. 119.

more frequently it must be sunned. If not dried the average bobo lasts two or three months, but if properly cared for one lasts five to six months. 228

Bobo prices vary from five to fifteen dollars. The minata bobo sketched (Plates LIII-LIV)[1] costs ten dollars to build. In some cases the owner furnishes materials to build a bobo and the maker is paid for his labor. Some bobos are purchased from Zamboanguita, but most of them are made in Siaton. One fisherman in Malabuhan had eight bobos; he shared one-half of the catch from his traps with the men who surfaced and beached them. Another fisherman furnished the materials to make the bobos; the builders and helpers who cared for the traps (the same group) received one-half of the catch. The record catch for one bobo was said to have sold for $125. Often a bobo is surfaced with only a few or no fish inside. 228 [435] 472

Several families living in Barrio Caticugan had bobos sunk off Salag Point. One old man spent several weeks leisurely making a bobo in Barrio Caticugan. However, only a few barriofolk of Caticugan have bobos.

## Beliefs Associated with Bobos

The pa-anod already has been described (see Pages 597, 598 and 599).[70] Some said that if a pig were killed 228

[70] Most associated beliefs described in this chapter are almost identical with beliefs held by fishermen of Tayasan population. The pa-anod in Tayasan is called patlao, although the ceremony is nearly the same; sometimes a patlao is made when a trap's catch is consistently small. Hester R. Jason, "Religious Beliefs in a Filipino Community," Dumaguete, Negros Oriental, Silliman University, 1951, pp. 12-3. Typescript. A term report prepared by an anthropology student of Professor Oracion.

1 [See p. 615 ff, cat. 116 -- Analyst]

A general pattern does appear, however; the barriofolk more often have domestic altars in their dwellings, of various degrees of elaborateness. These altars are less popular among many of the poblacion principalia (who are Catholics); their popularity and frequency increase in homes of the urban wealthy. Some city homes I visited had a separate room that was a place of worship, a sanctuary with expensive religious pictures and elaborate figures of saints and the Holy Family. The nearness of the local church may account for the decline in number of altars in Siaton poblacion.

Kitchen equipment normally includes the large clay water jar and a dirt and ash-floored cooking platform or hearth (dapog). The small clay pot rests (hornos) cost fifteen cents and are put on the hearth; they resemble the Japanese shichirin. While most barriofolk now use the horno some still cook by setting pots on three stones placed in a triangular position and known as sug-sug.[8] This was the old way of cooking before the horno's introduction. Every kitchen has a few cooking pots. More people are buying iron kettles for cooking. Pot rests (balsuka) are made of rattan or corn cobs. (See Plate LVIII.)[1]

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[8] There are a number of riddles concerning the sug-sug.
"Three brothers have but one name." (Bicol)
"What are those three houses facing each other that cannot be burned?" (Igorot)
The answer to both is sug-sug. Buaken, op. cit., pp. 348-50.

1 [See p. 658, cat. 417 -- Analyst]

new slats installed. A local riddle accurately describes 356
the general appearance of most of the Caticugan dwellings. 524

Since birth all patches. What is it? A house

(Sukad nabata tapak samina. Unda [illegible]? Balay)

COST OF BUILDING A BARRIO DWELLING

The basic materials used to build a barrio dwelling 435
are obtained in the locality, i.e., bamboo, nipa, house 178
posts, rattan, etc. Wire, nails, and galvanized iron 438
sheets are purchased in poblacion stores or, more frequent- 342
ly, obtained in Dumaguete. The use of wire, nails, iron roofing and cement, for example, in the construction of new dwellings in Caticugan, though still small, is increasing. More families would have purchased these materials ~~during my residence except for~~ highly inflated prices and restricted supplies. This trend toward using materials that are made and normally purchased outside the community (in contrast to going to the mountains to obtain materials) will continue to reduce the bartering that still persists in their basic economy and decrease the barriofolk's self-sufficiency.

In the past, a family who decided to build a new 476
dwelling in Caticugan were assisted by neighbors and 602
friends. Today, however, when an individual constructs a 178
new house it is mainly a family task. If additional labor 463
is needed the builder may hire local carpenters. House construction exemplifies the transitional process--from community cooperation, to family, and gradually to the

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assumption of certain skills by local specialists who are paid a cash wage.

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Table XXXVIII[1] illustrates the itemized costs of three different dwellings built in Caticugan in 1951.[10] House C's cost probably comes closer to the cost of the typical Caticugan dwelling than the other two dwellings. This house had two rooms--sala and kitchen--lacked wooden shutters, cement post supports, and little lumber was used. Table XXXIX[1] lists the items and cost of building a poblacion dwelling inhabited by a Siaton municipal official. No bamboo or nipa were used; the cost of the two dwellings illustrate the difference in dwellings between Caticugan barriofolk and Siaton principalia.

[369] [565]

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The owner of House C did not hire any carpenters; he held a palihog that cost eight dollars. The work accomplished by palihog assistants could have been done in half a day by two laborers. The palihog, in this case, is an example of how "... the prestige factor inherent in the giving of a feast compensates for the lessened efficiency and the lower return."[11] While precise figures cannot be

[566]

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1 [See p. 667 ff, cat. 435 or 342--Analyst]

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[10] Some men of Caticugan make extra money by working for lumber firms in Dumaguete. For example, a father and son in Barrio Caticugan were hired by one firm to cut first-class timber (salay, gisok, sambulawan, yakal, and amoning) in the mountains a day's walk from their home. They were paid eight cents per board foot with an additional two cents per board foot for bringing the lumber from Pinac-an (where they worked a permit issued to the Dumaguete lumber firm) to the poblacion. Another group of four men in Barrio Caticugan worked four days cutting lumber from felled trees in the nearby mountains; they earned a total of twenty-five dollars, or a daily wage of about one dollar and fifty-five cents. These were the only two groups hired to cut timber in Caticugan.

[11] Melville F. Herskovits, Economic Anthropology: A Study in Comparative Economics. New York, Alfred A. Knopf, 1952, p. 107.

TABLE XXXVIII

COST OF BUILDING THREE BARRIO DWELLINGS, CATICUGAN, 1951

| Materials and Labor | House A | | House B | | House C | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Amount | Cost ($) | Amount | Cost ($) | Amount | Cost ($) |
| Bamboo | 130 poles | 19.50 | 150 poles | 25.50 | 100 poles | 20.00 |
| Nipa shingles | 1000 | 15.00 | 1200 | 18.00 | 800 | 10.00 |
| House posts | 8 | 10.00 | 10 | 12.50 | 9 | 13.50 |
| Sawn lumber | - | 55.00 | - | 20.00 | - | 9.00 |
| Rattan (pieces) | 500 | 1.50 | 1000 | 8.50 | 1000 | 8.25 |
| Wall materials | (12) | 25.00 | nipa | 1.25 | nipa | 1.00 |
| Nails | 30 lbs | 6.25 | 15 lbs | 2.45 | 9 lbs | 1.80 |
| Wire | 4 lbs | 1.00 | 11 lbs | 3.50 | none used | - |
| Galvanized iron sheets | none used | - | 1 sheet | 1.25 | none used | - |
| Window frames and shutters | - | - | (13) | 5.00 | - | - |
| Labor | (14) | 25.10 | (15) | 10.13 | (16) | 8.00 |
| Total Cost | | $158.35 | | $99.08 | | $65.66 |

[12]The nipa walls were contracted for by the builder and were partially made of wood.
[13]Contracted to a carpenter by builder.
[14]Six carpenters worked for six days; five received fifty cents a day whereas the sixth carpenter was paid sixty-five cents. The owner fed the men two meals a day that he valued at 17-1/2 cents a day for each carpenter. The owner's son also worked with the carpenters.
[15]One carpenter worked for fifteen days for fifty cents a day plus two meals valued at seventeen and a half cents a day; the owner's two sons worked with the carpenter.
[16]Labor costs were palihog expenses: one goat, four dollars; guhang, one dollar and fifty cent; and other foods, two dollars and fifty cents. The palihog group spent three hours raising the house posts and inserting them in the holes.

20: Hart E-5 (1951) 1954 OA1 Philippines, Central Bisayan OA14
p. 667
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given, I estimate the typical Caticugan dwelling costs between fifty and a hundred dollars. Increased costs involve use of such materials as nails, wire, galvanized iron roofing, cement and iron straps for house posts, and lumber.

TABLE XXXIX

Cost of Building a Poblacion Dwelling, Siaton, 1951

| Items | Amount | Cost (Dollars) |
|---|---|---|
| House posts (including hauling) | 12 @ 5.33 each | 64.00 |
| Flooring (including hauling) | - | 111.90 |
| Walling and framing | - | 878.37 |
| Plywood for partitions | - | 110.12 |
| Galvanized iron sheeting | 96 sheets @ 3.50 each | 336.00 |
| Roof nails and washers | - | 8.85 |
| Nails | - | 56.42 |
| Wire | 2.2 pounds | .40 |
| Cement | 9 bags @ 2.00 each | 18.00 |
| Gravel | 120 petroleum cans (5-gallon) @ 5 cents each | 6.00 |
| Sand | 60 petroleum cans @ 5 cents each | 3.00 |
| Iron straps for house posts | 30 @ 50 cents each | 15.00 |
| Shutters, doors, and windows | - | 25.00 |
| Labor | - | 400.00 |
| Painting | - | 300.00 |
| | Total Cost - | $2,333.06 |

The barriofolk said a typical bamboo-nípa dwelling lasts from twenty to twenty-five years. If the house posts are bamboo they must be replaced every six or seven years as must a nipa roof. Wooden posts usually last as long as the house.

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Caticugan had cement forms to which wooden house posts were bolted by iron straps embedded in the concrete. The cost of cement, made in nearby Cebu Island, was so high in 1951-52 that few families could afford to buy several sacks when building a new house.

After the posts have been installed a temporary bracing (dalamba)--the same term used for fish corral bracing--is lashed to the posts on which barefoot workers stand while building the roof. Once the bracing is finished holes are bored in the upper portions of the posts to insert pegs (tarogos) that support the rafter beams. (See Plates LXV, 30, and LXV-A.)[1]

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Rafter beams are normally lashed with rattan. The barriofolk tend to use nails or nuts and bolts to fix the various rafters when wood and not bamboo is used. Rattan, however, is still more popular and cheaper.[22]

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After the pegs are fixed in the posts, the sablayan (Plate LXV, 22) and balabag (Plate LXV, 28)[1] rafter beams are added and lashed in place with rattan. The "heads" or larger ends of the bamboo sablayan and balabag should

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[22] Barriofolk may gather their rattan (oway) in the mountains or buy it. Rattan gathered for house construction, is cut in lengths about 12 feet long. There are many names for different varieties of rattan, usually based upon their use. Manamao, Malabagakay, tagalola and malabutong rattan varieties are normally used in house construction. Tagalola is the rattan employed to lash the bamboo floor slats. Palasan and tagsa-on, thicker varieties, are used in making rope, e.g., to tie the goats or carabaos. Abangan, a thick variety, is not suitable for rope-making owing to the deep notches in the stem; it may be used as the anchor rope for bobo. Tagakan is rarely gathered because it is brittle "even when green" according to my informants. Homokan is used to make the woven seats of chairs or beds. Another variety of rattan, tagiti, the narrowest in diameter is used for a variety of purposes.

1 [See p. 682, cat. 335 or 116 -- Analyst]

should point either east or south. The reasons for this custom have been forgotten; some speculated that maybe it was because when one floats bamboo down the river the larger ends point south. If rafters are made of timber instead of bamboo it is impossible to determine the "head" and people ignore the custom. 335 789 777

The next step is to install the sbay-sbay (Plate LXIV, 16) that strengthen the sablayan and balabag; however, if timber is used the sbay-sbay are omitted. The roof framework (pamalay) consists of a number of vertical and horizontal slats to which the nipa shingles (atop) are lashed. First the salagonting (Plate LXV, 27) then the hawak (Plate LXV, 26) and finally the katsaw (Plate LXV, 23) are added to the roof framework. The thickest end of the bamboo salagonting must be at the peak of the roof; otherwise it is believed the occupants will always be sickly. The katsaw should always alternate so the occupants will not suffer from nightmares. The hawak, that run the length of the roof, are tied under those that run the opposite direction; this is done to make it easier to add new nipa shingles. 335 342 [789 777]

Nipa shingles cost from $1.25 to $1.50 per 100 in Siaton. Nipa swamp owners not only sell shingles in the nearby barrios but also send them to Dumaguete. The Siaton bus often stopped along the road, just outside the poblacion, to pick up large bundles of nipa shingles that the owner was taking to Dumaguete. Some go to a nipa swamp and cut the leaves to make one's own shingles, paying 435 438

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the owner for the material. This is cheaper than buying the shingles ready-made.

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Shingles are made of strips of leaves "sewed" with rattan to a narrow bamboo slat. The leaves are doubled over the bamboo and rattan is interwoven below the stick to keep the leaves in place. Plate LXVI[1] illustrates how the shingles are attached to the roof; a nipa roof lasts from six to seven years. The barriofolk normally replace the rotted nipa shingles by twos and threes rather than reroof the entire dwelling; new shingles are added just before the start of a rainy season.

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When the roof framework is finished the roof is shingled. The first step is to put shingles on the silik (Plate LXIV, 10), the roof ridges. Before the first shingle is placed on the silik, a kapia snail shell and some river moss are placed under the shingle. As one informant explained:

> In putting on shingles I put a kapia and river moss under the first one. In doing this I say to myself: 'I'll put this kapia here as a lihi so during strong winds the roof won't be destroyed. And I am putting moss here so my house will not be destroyed by fire.'

Another informant said kapia shells are used because "they are very hard to pry off the rocks in the river." Some added a few leaves found floating in the river to serve the same purpose as the river moss.

Many barriofolk consider it unwise to cut rattan by biting it when making the first tie in building a dwelling. One Naga informant told me:

1 [See p.685, cat. 342 or 116 -- Analyst]

gradual increase of money circulating in the barrios over the years, funds were available for the purchase of pots. Another reason that may have had some influence on the decline of pottery in this locality was the Japanese occupation of Negros. A number of women who before the war made pots to barter during the harvest, stopped because of their fear of meeting Japanese patrols; they never resumed this activity after liberation.

Four popular sizes of clay cooking pots are sold in Siaton poblacion; Table XLI indicates their capacity and cost.

TABLE XLI

CLAY COOKING POTS SOLD IN SIATON POBLACION

| Capacity (pounds of clean rice) | Cost (U. S.) |
|---|---|
| 1.5 | 5¢ |
| 2.25 | 8¢ |
| 4.5 | 10¢ |
| 10.0 | 15¢ |

Pots holding as much as 25 pounds of clean rice are made in Daro but they are rarely sold in Siaton. The local merchants will not risk bringing these large, expensive, and rather fragile pots from Dumaguete since breakage would mean a considerable loss. Larger pots are used when one cooks for a fiesta or wedding feast. Today, however, the 5-gallon kerosene can is replacing this large size pot. The smallest clay pots are called anlet in Siaton and anglet in Masbate Island.

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very nice.' But I said, 'buyag' as a precaution against an osikan. Some of the people wanted to buy the cloth. There were only two of us who wove very well in those days.[19]

From this weaver's account, it is evident that weaving fine fabrics from various banana fibers was nearly extinct twenty or thirty years ago. In "the old days," this weaver said, fabric woven by the hiringue technique sold for about thirty cents a yard. [435].

The gradual disappearance of hiringue-woven fabrics was partly due to low prices; families stopped growing lawisid when the fiber's price fell. One woman's family planted lawisid several decades ago.

Sometimes I could not weave all the lawisid into cloth so we stripped and sold the fibers to the Chinese in the poblacion. From fifteen stalks of lawisid we once made $12. Six months later we stripped new plants that grew from the old ones and made $7. We finally stopped growing lawisid, however, because the price fell very low.

Woven fabrics were once bartered for food or labor. "When we had plenty of abaca cloth and my father had much work to be done," one informant explained, "we paid the workers with cloth." [437

Future of Weaving in Caticugan

A number of factors explain why little weaving is done today in Caticugan. One may predict the complete disappearance of abaca weaving for clothing fabric if these factors continue. First, the high prices of fibers [435]

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[19] An osikan is a person with an "evil eye," a Spanish importation from Europe to the Philippines. By complimenting a person an osikan is believed able to cause the victim to become ill; a protection against such a spell is to reverse the compliment by saying "buyag."

51:Hart E-3 (1950-1952)1954 OA1 Philippines
Central Bisayan OA14



574 181 Third, the fiesta is an economic investment. One's guests will, in the future, be one's hosts during their fiesta. In fact, this is one of several reasons given for organizing new *barrio* fiestas in southern Negros. The people felt ashamed to attend fiestas in neighboring communities without having a fiesta of their own when they could reciprocate enjoyed hospitality. In the long run, the bread thrown on the water returns. In some cases doubled. From this point of view the fiesta may not be as wasteful as many Filipinos believe.

796 181 *Fourth*, the fiesta serves a religious function, particularly in the *barrios* distant from the *poblacion* church. The fiesta is often the only time in the year the priest visits the local chapel and holds mass in the community for the barriofolk. Sometimes combining a baptismal or wedding celebration with the fiesta serves to reduce the family expenses by making a normal entertainment unnecessary by coordination with the fiesta. *Fifth*, the fiesta re-inforces the people's feeling of solidarity within the *barrio* or *poblacion*, although sometimes the event may enhance competitiveness between different communities. Most Filipinos take great pride in their *barrio* or *poblacion* fiesta. *Sixth*, the *barrio* and *poblacion* fiesta often reunite, for the only time of the year, members of the immediate families. The ideal pattern is for one always to return to one's home fiesta. It is not at all uncommon to meet relatives from Siquijor, Cebu, Panay, Leyte, or even more distant places, at Negros Oriental fiestas.

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796 794 181 *Seventh*, the fiesta furnishes the church with a sizeable annual income. The money collected for baptisms, masses, and the church's participation in the various religious activities of the fiestas is an important aspect of the financial support of the church by the people. The fiesta often renews the authority of the church in more isolated areas where this authority and responsibility lies dormant for most of the year. *Eight*, the fiesta in the larger *barrio* and *poblacion* is a commercial stimulant to the economic life of the community. Prices are often raised, purchases of food and clothing more frequent and larger than normal. The fiesta creates new wants and needs which do not exist during most of the year.

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426 181 *Ninth*, the fiesta is a means by which the indebtedness of many families is increased, by borrowing money to entertain their guests properly. Some families may mortgage their land for "agricultural" loans and others sell farmyard animals to raise a little cash for the fiesta. However, the waste may not be as great as imagined by many Filipinos. One's guests may next month be one's hosts. The fiesta also stimulates many people to work harder, and for others it is an oppotunity to augment the pitifully small family cash income by selling food and drink. *Tenth*, in the larger *barrio*

51:Hart E-3 (1950-1952)1954 OA1 Philippines
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ble in the local stores. There are rosaries, religious pictures, ice cream, novel candies, etc. This is the time when the girls and women from the *barrios* make great mounds of rice cakes and sell them at the local fiestas, adding the small profit to the family exchequer. Some of the women from Caticugan went as far away as the fiestas of Giliga-on and Bonawon to sell their food, *guhang* (a mildly alcoholic drink made from the fermented sap of the buri palm), and vegetables. They set up little "cafes" near the fiesta area where one might buy food or drink. Vendors from Dumaguete come to the *barrios*, and particularly the *poblacions*, with their merchandize, establishing their temporary stalls along the roads near the cockpit or gambling area. A lucky catch in a *bonsod* (fish coral) during a *poblacion* fiesta can bring the owner a small fortune overnight.

The circulation of currency in the *barrios* — where the barter system is still prominent — is at its height during the fiesta. The vendors and gamblers and other activities of the fiesta require money; one cannot barter for a place at the gambling table or for admission to the dance. This is when the bamboo banks are broken and the money used to purchase the necessary fiesta supplies. The fiesta is one of the relatively few occasions (others are weddings, funerals, etc.) when the barriofolk slaughter pigs, goats, cattle and even carabaos. The family "fiesta pig" is killed for *lechon*, having been fattening all year. There is more fish and fresh meat in the market places than at any other time of the year. Young people often go to the city to earn sufficient money to spend during fiesta. The fiesta has become a secular, in ways commercial, enterprise, which requires currency in order for one to participate in many activities. During most of the year, many of the barriofolk in Caticugan earn or spend little money; they barter their way from one need to another need.

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In summary, the *barrio* or *poblacion* fiesta complex has a variety of functions. *First*, the fiesta is the "big blow-out" of the year, anticipated by young and old for often different reasons. There is a singing gaiety in the air, a lightness of step, and a mood of relaxation in a fiesta-invaded locality. As the writer was once told at a fiesta: "This is the time when 'thanks' is redundant." Second, the fiesta affords many persons, particularly in the *poblacion*, an opportunity to validate their social position through a conspicious consumption of wealth, a lavish expression of hospitality. This association of hospitality with food may be traced back to the pre-Spanish culture of the Filipinos. Municipal and provincial officials, prominent visitors and other guests, are treated with extravagant courtesy and an overabundance of generosity. *Third*, the fiesta is an econo-

of the protection afforded by an extension of land east of Malabuhan. Fish corrals can be built earlier here than in the other zones. The second class zone extends from Barrio Sumalaring to Salag Point; the third class zone continues from Salag Point to Siaton-Sta. Catalina municipality boundaries.

In 1951 public auctions were held for the first time for bonsod sites in these three zones. However, the auction was due less to raise funds than to political maneuvering among municipal officials. The auction was held in order to permit one person to obtain the most desirable sites, previously held by an individual then out of favor with local politicians. No auctions were held in 1952 or 1953.

When no auctions are held, an operator in a first class bonsod zone pays Siaton municipal government $50 annually; second class bonsod zone, $35; third class bonsod zone, $23. An additional license is necessary according to the depths in which the bonsod is constructed; Table XXXI[1] lists these fees.

1 [See p. 579, cat. 228 or 116 -- Analyst]

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boat-builders and a nearby sawmill. Large areas, cain-gins of the past, are covered with cogon grass; corn is the principal crop. The region is full of stumps and charred or decaying tree trunks. Many house walls are made of bark peeled from trees in the nearby forest. Mangoto is a community of Christian farmers many of whom have specialized in boat construction.

Arranging for the Purchase of a Boat

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It is customary for a Siaton fisherman who wishes to buy a boat to contact a Tanjay contractor. One boat contractor, who had been in the business for nearly 30 years, reported there were three "old-timers in Tanjay besides the newcomers." Usually the buyer tells the contractor the type of boat desired and what he will pay. The buyer depends on the contractor to see that the boat is properly built and delivered within the agreed period.

Some buyers, however, go to the barrio with the contractor to discuss the boat with the workers and even to select the tree. Often the buyer pays down one-half of the price; the remainder of the fee is paid upon delivery. However, one Siaton informant stated:

> This is not often done. Many workers cannot be trusted. This is why you need a contractor who will see that the work is done properly and the workers do not loaf.

When the contractor is paid one-half of the boat's full price he may share part of this money with his workers. Other buyers refuse to give either the contractor or the

workers an advance on an order. One Siaton fisherman paid some workers in this community one-half of the contracted price for a boat that never was delivered. 437 396 472 675

The contractor usually discusses the order with the workers he plans to employ. As one contractor said; "I talk with them to see if they feel the arrangements I made are reasonable." The contractor receives no fixed percentage for his middleman activities; "what he gets depends upon the generosity of the buyer and the workers." Actually the contractor's bargaining position is excellent; he can contract with another group to build the boat if he does not anticipate a fair share of the profit. The boat-makers in Mangoto are farmers who earn money by building boats during slack periods.

The contractor's percentage appears to vary from 10 to 20 per cent of the total contracted price of a baroto, and from 10 to 15 per cent for a banca. In 1950 one contractor arranged for the construction of more than twenty boats; he received from $1.75 to $2.50 on a baroto and from $10 to $20 on a banca. Boat prices vary with their size. Before the last war a baroto sold for as little as three dollars whereas a banca brought between $25 to $30. Today's prices are inflated. A baroto costs $10 to $15 and a banca $75 to $200.

Some good-sized boats are built in Mangoto; I saw a large parao being pulled to the Tanjay River. This parao had been built for a Cebu fisherman who stayed in the barrio during its construction. Thirty carabao were 396 501 483

20: Hart E-5 (195.) 1954 OA1 Philippines
Central Bisayan OA14



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underemployment of the barriofolk.[2] Most of these cottage industries aim at producing export handicrafts or luxury items. Perhaps most important is the changing attitudes of the barriofolk toward their own handicrafts. Abaca clothing is felt, by many young folk, to be a symbol of a rustic. The barriofolk claim that they can buy better and cheaper pottery than they can make. With the expanding role of money in the general economy, fewer people make handicrafts for bartering. As a result, in Caticugan, the younger generation, particularly women, grows up without training in basic handicrafts of their forefathers, and with an attitude that such training is neither desirable nor important.

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This chapter deals with the following handicrafts that still exist in Caticugan and vicinity: (1) pottery; (2) buri weaving and basketry; (3) abaca weaving; and (4) woodwork, i.e., making wooden saddles and carved wooden bolo handles.

## POTTERY

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There are an estimated 20,000 potters in the Philippines. Much of the work is done by women who sit beneath

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[2]Recently a crafts team was sent to the Philippines under the auspices of the Economic Cooperation Administration and the United Nations. It consisted of a furniture designer, a wood products designer, and a textile expert, Marianne Hammarstrom. The unpublished Hammerstrom report has been briefly, and somewhat inaccurately, summarized by Will Savoy, "Philippine Weavers Learn New Techniques," Department of State Field Reporter, I, No. 2 (September-October, 1952), pp. 13-4. I was able to secure a typescript copy of the original report.

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The last step is to smooth the pot's exterior by gently scraping with a bolalo shell; in Masbate the smoother (bulalo) is an operculum from the marine shell of the same name. Unfired clay pots are put under the potter's house to dry; if placed in the sun they usually crack. No slip is used by this potter and she makes no attempt to decorate her pots. Bright-colored flowers are painted on one side of the large waterjars made in Daro.

After the pots have dried for several days they are fired. A pile of buri fronds is put on the ground, the pots placed on top, and covered with more fronds. Before the pots are fired, three charcoal crosses are scratched on each one to prevent them "from breaking or exploding when burned." The fuel is lighted and burns for about an hour. While the fire is burning, pieces of bendita palm are thrown into the blaze--a precaution in case any spirits are living in the vicinity.[8] Fired pots have a reddish-brown color due to the iron oxide.

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The potter of Datag usually made only pots that had been ordered. Larger pots are bartered for the amount of grain or dried camote or cassava chips they hold, whereas smaller pots bring twice their capacity. None of the pots made by this woman were sold for cash. Several times I saw her bartering her pots in Caticugan. The smallest pot she made was 4-1/2 inches at the mouth and 4-1/2 inches

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[8] Bendita leaves are leaves of the patikan palm, better known as the "Fish-Tail palm" (Caryota cumingii Lodd.) Brown, op. cit., I, p. 256. Bendita leaves are a popular decoration for church and chapel during fiestas.

high, with a capacity of about 2-1/4 pounds of clean rice; the largest was 9 inches high with a capacity of 4-1/2 pounds. It took her about two days to make the large pot; four or five of the smaller ones could be made in the same time--of course, after the clay had been gathered and prepared for working.

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BURI WEAVING

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Weaving of buri (Cebuano: buli) palm bags and sleeping mats is the most widespread of all handicrafts in the Siaton River valley. Large buri bags (baluyut), four or five feet high, serve to store rice or shelled corn. Smaller bags (bolugasan) are used to carry shelled corn to the poblacion mills for grinding for storage. Sleeping mats (banig) are about three to five feet in width and four to six feet in length. Plate LXI,[1] A and B, shows the type of weave used for making both the bags and sleeping mats. Drawing B (Plate LXI) shows how the edges of the sleeping mats are finished. Weaving buri bags and mats is strictly a woman's job, although men cut the fronds.

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Preparing the Buri for Weaving

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Unopened immature buri fronds are cut from the tree's crown. The best time to cut the fronds was said to be the period of the new moon; if gathered at any other time the fronds are very brittle and difficult to weave. After the unopened fronds are cut, they are pulled apart and placed, fan-like, on the ground to dry for two or three days.

1 [See p. 703, cat. 285, or 116 -- Analyst]

Most abaca used for weaving is bought in the northern barrios of Bantolinao and Nasig-id. Several woman were furnished abaca by the owner who later received one-half of the cloth.

Fiber to be woven must be stripped from the abaca plant with special care; for example, no pulp should remain on the fiber. Often growers who sell abaca to the Chinese in Siaton poblacion purposely leave pulp on the fibers so the bundles will weigh more.

Dyes

Three vegetable dyes, tagun, taloto, and antipolo, were once used to dye colored weft thread for abaca cloth. Tagun (Indigofera suffruticosa Mill) grows wild in the nearby hills; once in the past it was cultivated as a source of black dye. Domesticated tagun, according to the barriofolk, made a better dye than the wild variety. Water was heated and tagun leaves were added; a little lime was then sprinkled into this mixture and care taken lest the water boil. "If the water boiled," one woman explained, "the dye was not any good because the leaves became tender right away." Bark of the taloto and antipolo trees was powdered to make a red dye. Red fibers were sometimes re-dyed with tagun "so they would be reddish and very shiny." Today these vegetable dyes are rarely, if ever, used. Weavers buy chemical dyes in the poblacion; a package of four different dyes costs ten cents.

sheen; the latter is considered quite desirable. Abaca woven for fish nets is not soaked or pounded as is clothing fabric. 286

Abaca fabric woven in Caticugan was used to make shirts and short pants for boys and men, blouses and skirts for women, or blankets, mosquito netting, pillow case covers, strainers, window curtains and veils. Material used for pillow case covers and veils is woven from the finest abaca thread, magamays. The most widespread use of abaca cloth in Caticugan, however, is for clothing, especially for older women. To my knowledge no abaca was [437] woven for sale in Caticugan, although sometimes half of the fabric woven was given to the individual who furnished the abaca.

Other fibers besides abaca once were woven by some woman of Caticugan. Fibers of the sab-a and San Pablo banana, maguey and lawisid (a banana-like plant) were stripped and woven into fabrics. Filipino use of banana fibers was reported by Loarca in the latter part of the 16th century.

> ...for the cloth which the natives use for their garments is made from a kind of [wild] banana. From this they make a sort of cloth resembling colored calico, which the natives call medrinaque.[18]

Maguey leaves were cut, squeezed and soaked in water until the pulp softened. The barriofolk said the retted leaves were then placed on a flat board and, holding one end of

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[18] Loarca, Blair and Robertson, op. cit., V, pp. 43-4.

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> very nice.' But I said, 'buyag' as a precaution against an osikan. Some of the people wanted to buy the cloth. There were only two of us who wove very well in those days.[19]

From this weaver's account, it is evident that weaving fine fabrics from various banana fibers was nearly extinct twenty or thirty years ago. In "the old days," this weaver said, fabric woven by the hiringue technique sold for about thirty cents a yard. [435

The gradual disappearance of hiringue-woven fabrics was partly due to low prices; families stopped growing lawisid when the fiber's price fell. One woman's family planted lawisid several decades ago.

> Sometimes I could not weave all the lawisid into cloth so we stripped and sold the fibers to the Chinese in the poblacion. From fifteen stalks of lawisid we once made $12. Six months later we stripped new plants that grew from the old ones and made $7. We finally stopped growing lawisid, however, because the price fell very low.

Woven fabrics were once bartered for food or labor. "When we had plenty of abaca cloth and my father had much work to be done," one informant explained, "we paid the workers with cloth." [437

## Future of Weaving in Caticugan

A number of factors explain why little weaving is done today in Caticugan. One may predict the complete disappearance of abaca weaving for clothing fabric if these factors continue. First, the high prices of fibers [435

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[19] An osikan is a person with an "evil eye," a Spanish importation from Europe to the Philippines. By complimenting a person an osikan is believed able to cause the victim to become ill; a protection against such a spell is to reverse the compliment by saying "buyag."

51:Hart E-3 (1950-1952)1954 OA1 Philippines
Central Bisayan OA14



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A somewhat distinct feature of some *vesperas* afternoon programs is the "Civic" or "Inaugural" parade of the winning candidates of the beauty contest. Floats are entered in the parade by various groups within the community, e. g. schoolteachers, municipal employees, etc. A religious procession was listed in some of the fiesta programs for late *vesperas* afternoon, although the writer did not observe such a procession on this day at the fiesta attended. Several programs also stated a Holy Rosary would be held in the late afternoon in the church or chapel. This is a fairly common feature (although often omitted from the printed programs) since *vesperas* is normally the ninth and last of the pre-fiesta *novena* prayers. There may be more fireworks around six o'clock, although there are fewer fireworks in the fiesta today owing to recent government restrictions levied against their importation. It seems that the use of fireworks during the fiesta is a Chinese addition.

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The proclamation dance *vesperas* evening may begin as early as six p. m. The admission charge for the dance is lower than for the Coronation Ball held *kahalogan*, averaging ₱1.50 to ₱2.00. This price is one indication that the Proclamation Dance is not considered such a gala and important affair as the Coronation Ball. Normally, both in the *barrio* and *poblacion*, women are admitted free to these dances "to attract the men," who must pay. There is a program which includes the presentation to the audience of winners of the beauty contest. A local speaker introduces the proclamation guest orator who is normally a provincial official, a prominent attorney, or an affluent citizen of Dumaguete. Sometimes the local congressman may be the speaker but not as frequently as for the Coronation Ball. The most important speaker is usually reserved for the most important dance, the Coronation Ball.

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The program for the Proclamation dance may include prizes for the best tango, bee-bop, rhumba, calypso couples, "surprise" numbers, and other entertainment. One fiesta program stated that an auction of "bouquets" for the "Fiesta Muse" would be held, the *poblacion* counterpart of the *barrio* fiesta custom of "selling flowers" at their dances.[8] The dance may continue until after midnight; one fiesta program stated the dance would last from six in the evening to six the following morning.

[8] During the pre-fiesta and fiesta dances in Barrio Caticugan, one flower was auctioned to the highest bidder, who was permitted to dance for one dance with the local belle the flower represented, while the people watched. Often three or four flowers would be auctioned during the dance, the money collected being used to finance the fiesta. This custom was more frequently observed at *barrio* than *poblacion* fiestas.

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The next most extensive soil type found in Siaton municipality is the San Manuel loam also present in the vicinities of Isabela and Sipalay, Negros Occidental.[41] This secondary soil type has been deposited along the river courses through alluvial action. The inadequate drainage of the San Manuel loam with a water table only three or four feet below the surface, favors rice cultivation. In Siaton the San Manuel soil area is one of the largest lowland rice producing areas.

The fourth major soil series in Siaton municipality is the Siaton series. The Siaton Sandy Loam type occupies the narrow coastal strip from Siaton poblacion to Sta. Catalina. The soil is a well drained loam with an internal drainage which permits water impounded in paddies to stand for some time before it percolates completely. The lower horizon of the subsoil is sandy clay to clay loam and the lack of stones on the surface aids in its care. Corn and coconuts are the major crops of this soil in Siaton, although some lowland rice is raised.

The enclave of Dauin clay west of Zamboanguita occupies a small, semi-circular valley devoted almost entirely to lowland rice. Many of the barriofolk in Sitio Mayabon specialize in making pottery. The bus to Siaton often stops here to load pottery for sale in Siaton poblacion. [438]

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[41] Ibid., p.46.

devoted to rice. About 12 per cent of the total cultivated land in Negros Oriental is devoted to rice while in Negros Occidental three times this amount (36 per cent) is occupied by rice. 311 243

Today Negros imports rice from Panay and Mindanao to feed its people. Spencer states: "The main sugar-producing area of Negros Island [Occidental province] and the whole island of Cebu are the chief deficit regions, with marked food shortages."[90] In the past, however, Negros was a rice surplus area. Miguel de Loarca wrote in the latter part of the 16th century that northern Negros was "rich in foods, such as rice." Legaspi's account of Negros states: "Rice which is the bread, grows in abundance."[91] Negros' shift from a rice surplus to a deficit was largely the result of the great expansion of sugar cane acreage and to the associated increase in population.[92] Negros is capable of raising sufficient rice for its population with improved agricultural practices and increased irrigation. 433 438 311 243

More than a thousand varieties of rice are grown in the Philippines. Many varieties are old established rices while others have been introduced from the United 243 177

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[90] Spencer, op. cit., p.72.

[91] Miguel de Loarca, Blair and Robertson, op. cit., V, p.47.

[92] Bernatedt, op. cit., p.190.

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Birds, particularly crows (owak) and the rice bird (maya) often eat the maturing corn. Small nooses (la-ang) may be placed in young corn and rice fields. While these nooses are not actually traps but merely appear to be so they are said to frighten the "clever crows." A series of a dozen small nooses are also tied to a rope that is suspended between two poles in the fields.

Locust (lukton) are sometimes serious pests in the Siaton River valley. Two types of bamboo poles are used to frighten them away with rattling noises. A 6- or 7-foot bamboo pole is cut and the top crushed so it makes a loud noise when shaken. This type of pole is called a kasakasa. A second type, known as palakpak, is made by cutting slits between the two top internodes of a bamboo and it produces the same rattling noise as the kasakasa. (See Plate XXVI.)[1]

During the post-war years no locusts have visited Siaton. The last recorded invasion was in 1937; in Dolog the farmers are said to have killed 300 cavans of locusts. Trenches about 60 feet long, 3 feet wide, and 5 feet deep, were dug; the locusts were driven into them and covered with earth. This method of killing locusts is called gahong.

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Lucas Ege's grandson told me once the Negritos came to the barrio to barter charms to protect the corn fields from the locusts.[42] They brought small bottles ("there

[42]Sometimes the barriofolk mentioned Negritos who once visited their community. Whether these people were true Negritos I do not know. It is quite possible that they were a Negrito-appearing people whom the barriofolk classified as Negritos.

1[See p. 340, cat. 243 or 116--Analyst]

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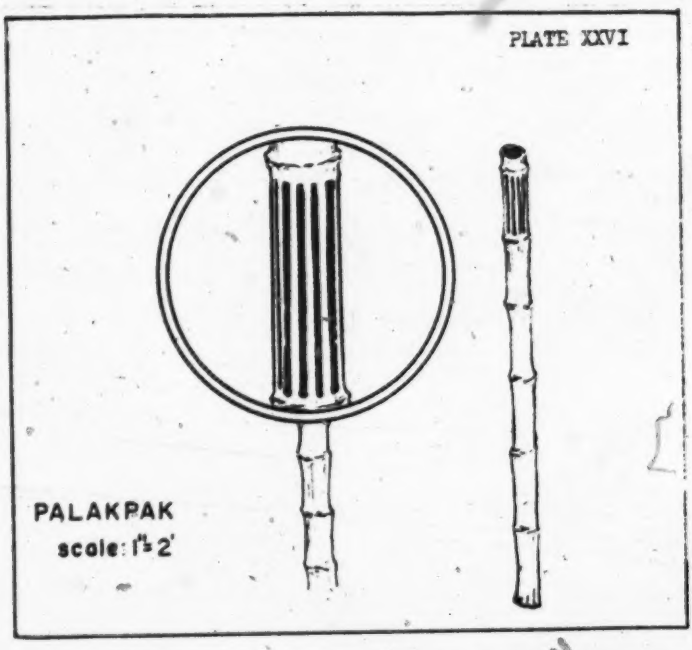
were plenty of bottles then because the Chinese stores sold much wine") containing roots known only to the Negritos. The bottle was taken by the purchaser who walked around his field once, burying it in the center. "Even if the locust came to the field they would not eat the corn." After the harvest the bottle was uncovered and used again. However if the bottle was brought inside the




house, the roots were said to turn into sigbins, mythical kangaroo-like animals of local folklore. This informant's mother once bartered a blanket for such a bottle with a visiting Negrito. His father was furious when he learned of the barter and made his wife return the bottle. None of the barriofolk have such bottles today for their contacts with the Negritos have ceased.

Most barriofolk go to Omanod to work as harvesters while some women and young girls go to barter bread, matches, used American clothing and other wares for corn. These vendors rarely sell their wares for money. They barter for corn, and get more corn than they could if they sold their articles. Sometimes, when the harvest is over, the vendors will sell their remaining merchandise rather than carry it home. Others go to Omanod solely to buy corn for the price is lower than in Siaton poblacion. The people usually stay with relatives or friends in Omanod during the harvest period.

Unhusked corn is usually stored in the house, the ears piled in a corner of the room or in a bin. Corn is not husked until it is ready to be shelled and ground. Lagit stones or sea shells may be put with the corn to protect it from the weevils that often do considerable damage. Perhaps only one out of every twenty families in Caticugan has a separate storehouse for corn. The average family's corn supply is small and consumed steadily so individual storehouses are unnecessary. Storehouses that exist are usually built near the residences, although in a few cases they may be at the field's edge. Theft is rare because many would be afraid to steal corn for fear of barang.[50]

[50] Barang is the belief in the supernatural ability of certain persons to cause illness or death to their enemies. These specialists are said to own magical bees that are trained to penetrate the victim's body at their owner's command. Several cases of deaths allegedly due to barang motivated by thievery were reported by the barriofolk of Caticugan.

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Powdered tan-bark (tongog), purchased in the poblacion and pounded in the mortar, is added to the sap that has been collected in the jar. During the war when the tan-bark from Mindanao was unobtainable, the bark of the antipolo tree was used as a somewhat unsatisfactory substitute. Tan-bark is not grown locally, most of it comes from Mindanao, and costs about ten cents a pound in Siaton poblacion. The addition of the powdered tan-bark gives the guhang a golden color, improves its flavor, and is said to prevent diarrhea.

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Guhang vendors are always young girls or women, reflecting the general barrio pattern that vending is a woman's job. The vendor's profits are small. A dama (17 to 18 quarts) of guhang wholesales from the buri's owner for about seventy-five cents. The standard price for a quart of guhang in Siaton poblacion is five cents; therefore, a vendor's profit on a dama is about ten to fifteen cents.

Profits of the vendors are limited not only by the price but by the supply of guhang. Often the stalls in Siaton poblacion would close early in the evening for lack of guhang. Every evening men, and a few women, usually residents of the poblacion, collect at the guhang stalls to drink and talk; I rarely saw intoxicated drinkers at these evening gatherings. A pleasant custom of the poblacion stall owners permits prospective customers to sample guhang to determine its taste, without cost, before buying.

to show on the Land Use map. Otherwise cassava was intercropped with corn or corn and balatong. Farmers reported that cassava grew best on well-drained sloping fields with sandy soil. If the fields are not well-drained the roots are small and many of them rot. Since cassava normally is dug during December and January, the start of the dry season, it would be difficult to dig the tubers in clayey soil.

The barriofolk said when cassava was planted alone the field was plowed twice before the rains, replowed after the rains and lastly furrows were made. The fields were well plowed so the soil was soft and the roots could expand; this also makes it less difficult to dig the roots. Cornfields intercropped with cassava are not prepared in a special way. Since little cassava is raised in Caticugan it is often difficult to get cuttings. Farmers may go to the owners of caingins in the mountains to obtain cassava plants, bartering for them like camote cuttings. The large cassava stalks are cut with a bolo into pieces four or five inches long.

Cassava was said usually to be planted as early as April or May but in 1951 most of the cuttings were planted in early July. The cuttings are planted in hills spaced about the same distance apart as corn. Usually four or five cassava cuttings are put in each hill. Some planters cover the cuttings completely while others cover only the lower portion of the stalks. If the entire cutting is covered no precautions are necessary in planting.

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damaged by farmyard animals they receive no care. Rats are the greatest pest. Sometimes the ground under many trees is littered with fallen young nuts that rats have gnawed to eat the tender meat. In Caticugan no one attempts to protect their trees from the rats. In the northern barrios now and then I saw thorny vines wound around the trunk to keep the rats from climbing the palm.

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The first nuts of a palm are harvested without any ceremony. Normally in Caticugan the nuts are harvested every three months, by a man who climbs the tree using notches cut into the trunk. Nuts are either twisted from their stems or cut with a bolo. Husking the nuts is often done by the women. The nut is split and the meat extracted with a bolo or smaller knife; the meat is then dried on mats in the sun for three days. The copra (dried coconut meat) is sacked, carried to the poblacion and sold at any of several Chinese stores. Chinese copra dealers in Dumaguete send trucks along the National Road to pick up the copra from local stores.

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It is difficult to assess the income the barrio people receive from their copra. Copra prices vary from year to year as do the harvests. A farmer in Barrio Caticugan said forty trees earned him fifty dollars in one year; another reported an income of sixty dollars from fifty trees. The owner of the largest coconut grove was not willing to divulge data of income received from copra. However, a tenant said just from one harvest the owner got twenty sacks of copra weighing from 135 to 150 pounds

March and April, tangkong sells for more than when a larger supply of kalamongay and other vegetables are for sale in the marketplace. When the price is high a small bunch of tangkong sells for five centavos (two and a half cents). When other vegetables are available one may buy three bunches of tangkong for that price.

Sometimes people will come to Barrio Caticugan from the poblacion or nearby barrios to buy tangkong. If they pick the vegetable they are given a cheaper price than if they purchase it from the owner. Normally the owners take their tangkong to the poblacion to sell; but three women and one man sold tangkong from their patches in Barrio Caticugan; the male vendor was a bayute. Vendors do not have much trouble selling tangkong, especially during the hot season when most vegetables are scarce. Tangkong is a good source of vitamins B and C and an excellent source of vitamin C; the leaves are said to have a mild purgative effect.[74]

Owners of tangkong patches sometimes let other vendors sell their greens in the poblacion and split the profits. This is done when the woman owning the tangkong cannot take her vegetables to the market. For example, one young mother, with a new baby, was unable to take her tangkong to the poblacion. She made an arrangement with a neighbor to sell her greens; the owner received a net

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[74] Brown, op. cit., III, p. 258.

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(sikwa: Luffa acciangula Linn.); red peppers (sile: Capsicum frutescans Linn.); squash (calabasa: Cucurbita maxima Duc.) and stringbeans. One garden was planted with some halum (Amaranthus viridis Linn.), a stubby plant with edible reddish leaves that is said to be a favorite of the Chinese living in Manila.

Gabi

Gabi, commonly known as taro, is usually planted in Caticugan's canals. A low palm leaf wall is made by weaving leaves between bamboo stakes placed near the inside canal banks. The space between the wall and the bank is gradually filled with sediment where gabi is planted. Gabi is eaten all year, when available, except on Holy Friday; many barriofolk believe if one eats gabi on this religious holiday they will become "nervous" and subject to "shaking fits." A few planted gabi in holes that were only partially filled so when the rains came the water was retained. Ubi is another root vegetable grown in Caticugan; it is not eaten, however, when the plant is leafing for then the roots are said to be fibrous. Little gabi and ubi are raised in Caticugan or sold in Siaton poblacion.

Tobacco

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Only one family raised tobacco in Caticugan; they had planted about fifteen plants in their garden. Most of the tobacco smoked by the people is grown in Bacong and

Cauin municipalities; vendors from these municipalities come to the Siaton marketplace every Saturday and Sunday to sell cured tobacco leaves. 438

FARM ANIMALS

Caticugan is typical of the Philippines in that the carabao is the farmer's most important animal. Pigs, goats and chickens also are found in most barrios. Caticugan and Siaton municipality, however, had more cattle and horses before the war than usual in so small a region of the Philippines. Prior to the Japanese invasion, a thriving cattle industry in Siaton municipality centered largely at Bondo. 231

Carabaos

The carabao is the most important beast of burden in the Philippines. The Bell Report states:

> In general, the recovery in livestock numbers has been much slower than in crop production and because of the extensive use of carabaos and oxen for power, it has been one of the important factors retarding the recovery of crop output.[75]

This report estimated that the 1940 carabao level in the Philippines would be attained in 1953. Bondo plateau, before the war, supported one herd of carabao said to number more than 800 head; it consisted of Pure Buffalo,

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[75] "Technical Memoranda No. 1, Agriculture," U.S. Economic Survey Mission's Report (Bell Mission), The Philippines Herald, Manila, (November 14, 1950), p. 2.

The barriofolk said that people living in the northern 526
barrios sometimes came to Caticugan to barter bolot for 438
corn. The corms are diced, boiled in coconut "milk" and 252
then salted or sugared to taste.

Kobong (Tag: nami; Dioscorea hispida Dennst.), a 222
native yam, is also gathered. Like igao, kobong tubers 252
must be carefully processed before consumption. Encarnacion states that if kobong corms are eaten without proper preparation they may produce death; the corms contain a poisonous alkaloid called dioscorine.[13] Kobong are sliced into thin chips and dried for several days. Then they are put in water, usually in a creek, on mats weighted with stones. Each morning, for several days, "one must stir the still water so the powder soaked off will float away." Then the chips are squeezed and put under the sun. This process removes the dioscorine and most of the sugar and starch leaving mainly the fiber. When thoroughly dried, kobong chips are pounded into a coarse flour that is used to make porridge or stored. One should not dig kobong when the wind moves the vine, according to some informants, because if one does and later eats the tubers dizziness results.

No wild seeds of any sort are gathered, or were in 222
the past, by the barriofolk of Caticugan. They do not 262
gather many wild vegetables, except for these corms. Some collect wild tangkong or halum (often in the flooded

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[13] Brown, op. cit., I, pp. 398-401.

are libgos, kolakdop, layat and tangogtangog. Amamakol is said to be available throughout the year while the layat, songadsongad and layalaya are gathered mostly in May and June.

Sometimes a lucky person finds a lot of mushrooms and sells them in the marketplace; they are quickly purchased. One day a young man came to Siaton poblacion with a half a gunny sack of libgos that he sold for five cents a hatful. Mushrooms are normally sliced and mixed with vegetables or fried in lard.

WILD FRUITS

Certain wild fruits are eaten in season. One popular fruit, somewhat similar to a cherry, is the lumboy (Tag: duhat; Syzygium cumini (Linn.) Skeels).[15] Lumboys ripen in April and May; children often gather large quantities and sell them in the poblacion. In Sitio Katogasan (Barrio Datag), lumboy trees are said to be very plentiful.

Wild guavas (bayabas) are fairly plentiful in Caticugan; they occur mostly in the nearby hills.[16]

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[15] An analysis of the mineral content and food value of fresh and oven-dried lumboy samples has been made. The analyses indicate that lumboy is a good source of calcium and fair in iron. Brown, op. cit., III, pp. 158-9.

[16] Guavas are one of the commonest and best known fruits in the Philippines, a native of tropical America that has become thoroughly naturalized. Brown, op. cit., III, pp. 152-3.

Guavas ripen in August and September. Rarely, the barrio-folk make guava dulce which is pulverized guava pulp, boiled in a frying pan filled with water until tender. The cooked pulp is eaten mixed with brown sugar. 222 252

The small round fruit of the ano-on tree is eaten usually in April. The fruit is red when mature, it is often gathered by the children although the tree is not abundant in the vicinity of Caticugan. Fruit of the kamansilis (Pithecolobium dulce (Roxb.) Benth) is also gathered and eaten, particularly by the children. Many kamansilis trees grow in Caticugan, especially along the Siaton River bank. The fruit is small and flat and only the inner pulp is eaten. The bark of this tree is used also in tanning.

Some small ~~wild~~ mangoes are gathered in August and September. The ~~domesticated~~ mango is quite popular in Siaton and the demand always exceeds supply. People who have large mango trees often send boxes of the fruit to Dumaguete where they bring a higher price than in Siaton poblacion. Sometimes low fires are built under the mango trees to force early production of fruit. [433] [438]

PALM FLOUR

A coarse flour can be made from the saksak, ediok and buri palms. This flour is an "emergency food" in Caticugan but some people in northern communities, like Dolog, use flour made from the saksak rather frequently before the first corn harvest. During the last war the 262 252

(kinogay), cooked in green bamboo tubes, or prepared in the sinakol manner (steam cooked), often mixed with tiktik or binlod (finely ground cornmeal). Sometimes the people from the northern barrios in the Siaton River valley come to Caticugan to barter this type of flour for corn and rice. This was not done, to my knowledge, during this field research.

Hunting and food gathering activities are related to the inadequate food supply of the barriofolk. The wild pig is not a serious agricultural problem in Caticugan and the meat is admittedly inferior to that of the domesticated pig. Most wild plants are considered as "emergency foods" to be gathered and eaten only when staples are low; i.e., when the corn and rice from the last harvest are low and new crops are not ready to harvest. For barriofolk during this period the foods collected may be important; however, this is true only of a minority in Caticugan unless there is a poor harvest or crop failure.

If the cultivated food supply were adequate all year long, hunting and, particularly, food gathering, probably would cease. Young men might continue to hunt wild pigs for sport and some wild foods would, most likely, be gathered (the "delicacies" such as mushrooms, lumboy, etc.). The role hunting and food gathering play in the daily life of the barriofolk of Caticugan today is a reflection of seasonal inadequacy of food supply and low living standards.

$275 in Ragay Gulf. These figures illustrate the inflation that has occurred in the Philippines since 1938.

Table XXXIV, at the end of this chapter, lists the local, English and scientific names (whenever possible) of fish caught in Siaton bonsods; Table XXXV gives the frequency of their catch and class accorded them by people living in both the barrio and Siaton poblacion.[1]

## Construction of the Fish Corral

Construction of bonsods in Siaton begins in late October or early November. Bonsods are built, for the most part, between Malabuhan and Salag Point; few bonsods are erected west of Salag Point because the coral sea floor makes it almost impossible to embed the posts. (See Plates XLIV and XLV.) In the past the long bamboos needed to build a bonsod could be cut in Caticugan and other barrios near the sea. Today bamboo is cut in Lamtoc, Balanan, and Casala-an and floated as rafts down the river since nearby bamboo resources have been exhausted. Some fish corral owners advance to the cutters in the barrios part of the money to be paid for the bamboo with full payment made on delivery. Long thick poles usually cost about twenty cents each; in Tanjay similar bamboos are reported to bring twice this amount.

Most of the rattan obtained to build the bonsods comes from Tolong municipality. The people said that once rattan grew abundantly in the hills near Caticugan;

[1] [See pp. 640-645 -- Analyst]

[2] [See pp. 586A and B, cat. 116 -- Analyst]

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today long trips must be made to more distant mountains to gather small supplies of rattan. Rattan cutting by Tolong barriofolk often results in conflicts between the rattan gatherers and individuals who have leased large tracts of forest for timber concessions.[56] Rattan

[56] To cut rattan legally a permit must be obtained from the Bureau of Forestry that states the number of pounds of rattan that may be cut in a designated area; the permit costs $2.50. Rattan licensees must also pay the municipality treasurer in which the rattan is cut a tax called gui-ya that amounts to about one cent a pound. An individual may be given permission to cut rattan in the same area where a timber concession has been granted.

Licensees frequently hired Bukidnons who live in the hills near Tolong to cut rattan in their concession. When these cutters are questioned by the employees of a lumbering concern to ascertain the legality of their activities, they give the name of the licensee who hired them. Sometimes Bukidnons cut rattan illegally and when discovered they give the name of an individual having a license to cut rattan but who has not hired them. The lumbering company may keep records of all licensed persons cutting rattan in their concession. The total rattan cut may be more than the permit allows if too many of these unauthorized cutters are included. The rattan licensee, too, may be purposely cutting more rattan than his permit grants. These irregularities may be reported to the local agent of the Bureau of Forestry in Tolong, who confronts the rattan licensee with violations of his permit that may be unknown to him. He may be fined or his permit cancelled. As a result, feuds develop between some rattan licensees and lumbering firms in southern Negros.

Rattan licensees who have been reported as illegally cutting excessive rattan may retaliate by reporting the presence of caingins in the area worked by the lumber concern; lumber concerns are legally required to prohibit caingins in the area they exploit. If caingins are reported, the firm may be fined or lose its license. Rattan licensees may also report illegal cutting or gathering of forest products not covered by timber concern's permit. As a result severe conflicts often occur between rattan cutters and timber concerns. This information was given me by Professor Oracion who knows the area intimately. Caticugan barriofolk cut rattan without a license but usually gather only small amounts for personal use.

prices vary according to size and quality. Needed supplies as wire and rope normally are purchased in Dumaguete. 226 458

Plate XLVI[1] illustrates the general shape and size of the typical Siaton bonsod. Bamboo poles (osok) used to make the bonsod walls (bolon and paniko) are sharpened at one end with a large bolo or saw; a small slit is made in the internodes of the bamboo that will be submerged. These slits permit water and sand to enter the bamboos making them heavier and easier to push into the sea floor. Usually a number of these internodes at the ends of the poles are filled with sand for the same purpose. A chisel (gobia) is used to make the slits. 226 335

From 120 to 130 bamboos are used to make the banata or matting of the bonsod. (See Plate XVLII)[2] Each section of the banata is from 78 to 84 feet long and about 30 feet wide. The bamboo splints (lag-e) that are woven together to make the banata are one-half inch wide. Sometimes the banata is called lag-e although, technically, the lag-e are the long bamboo splints of the banata. For the typical Siaton bonsod fourteen banatas are used. The banata enclose the bonsod to prevent the escape of the fish caught inside the corral.

Bamboo poles are split by the golayan. A long bamboo is split for a few feet at the end and a small piece of bamboo is jammed into the split end. The pole is placed on a raised platform consisting of two horizontal crossbars supported by two uprights. Two vertical bamboos are attached to the horizontal crossbars making

1 [See p. 589, cat. 226 or 335 -- Analyst]
2 [See p. 590, cat. 226 or 335 -- Analyst]

Sale of Fish Caught in the Bonsods

Most fish caught in the bonsods are sold in Dumaguete because of the higher prices paid in the city. Fish are taken to Dumaguete by the busses that run between Tolong-Dumaguete and Siaton-Dumaguete. The bonsod owner pays fifty cents for each box (about the size of an orange crate) of fish hauled to Dumaguete; a tax of one cent a pound is paid on fish sold in the marketplace. Large fish like tuna are tagged on the tail and sent individually to the city market. When the tagged boxes of fish arrive in Dumaguete marketplace they are taken by the owner's agent (in one case a woman) who receives 10 per cent of the profits.

If a large bonsod catch is made and no busses are available until the next day, Siaton operators may hire a small truck owned by a local resident. Since ice is not available, the fish must be sold quickly or they spoil. The lament of a cafe owner near the Siaton River bridge was that during fishing season busses and trucks rarely stopped at his place because they were usually carrying fish to Dumaguete. The drivers feared a leisurely trip might cause the fish to spoil.[62]

Marine fish never were plentiful in the poblacion marketplace during my residence--and fresh-water fish were

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[62] According to the Bell Report the Philippine fishing industry needs to be provided with "cold storage transportation to expand the market for fish, and...the development of freezer packers." The Bell Report, op. cit., p. 66.

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never sold there. The scarcity of fish may be somewhat atypical--although most residents claimed it was not--since the bonsod catches were small this year and the fish corrals destroyed earlier than usual. When the day's fish supply arrived in the marketplace, it was quickly sold; some days there were no fresh fish for sale. Since fish brings a higher price in Dumaguete even small amounts are taken to the city, draining Siaton of much of its fresh fish. For example, one afternoon a fish corral made a catch of more than thirty boxes of sardine. The owner sold a few boxes in Siaton, more from a sense of duty than for profit, at eleven dollars a box; the rest were sent to Dumaguete where they sold for thirteen dollars a box. As a result, whenever news comes to the poblacion that a large catch has been made, either in the bonsod or by netting, the people flock to the seashore to buy fish for their personal use or to sell in the local market.

FISH NETS IN SIATON

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Since the last war abaca nets have replaced the cotton twine nets once widely used in Siaton; twine nets are very expensive owing to inflation. In the past many large twine nets used were made in Japan whereas today most of them are said to be imported from the United States. Nets made of cotton twine are called pokot or sigin; those made of abaca are called sahid or sinsoro.

BOATS

Sakayan is the general term for all types of dug-out boats; there are two main classes. The banca (normally the bokaran and panahiran) is the larger group of boats, whereas the baroto, a smaller group, includes the begiw, tango, kayackagan, and solongan. The sailing boat, usually much larger than the banca, is called parkahan or parao. There were no paraos in Siaton although I saw some in Tolong poblacion. None of the boats in Siaton had inboard or outboard motors. 501

Many boats are made in Barrio Mangoto, Pamplona municipality; fishermen in Siaton rarely make their own boats because of lack of suitable timber in the vicinity. Sketches were made of the most frequently seen boats in Siaton; the panahiran, bokaran and begiw are the most numerous.[71] (See Plate LVII.)[1] 396 438 501

Barrio Mangoto is an hour's walk west of Pamplona coconut plantation, in Pamplona municipality. The community is situated in the hilly piedmont region of the Central Mountain range at the edge of a forest beset by caingins, 101

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[71] I am grateful to Pedro Solde, a prominent fisherman of Siaton poblacion, for his assistance in introductions to his friends in Tanjay. Acknowledgement is also made to Antonio Torres, a Tanjay boat contractor of several decades, who made a special trip to Mangoto with me and my assistant to introduce us to the people. Two days were spent in Mangoto gathering most of the information presented in this section on boat construction. The data were augmented by Siaton informants who had purchased boats in Mangoto.

1 [See p. 623, cat. 501 or 116 -- Analyst]

trimmed. Sometimes the wood cracks. To fill cracks, the dried sap of the bolitik tree is pounded, winnowed until very fine, and then mixed with kerosene. When this mixture dries it is hard and waterproof. 395

Smaller barotos are carried by hand to the Tanjay River and paddled down to the poblacion. Large boats are pulled to the river by carabaos. Some individuals conduct another pandita when the boat is launched; they kill a pig and offer food to the spirits. They mark a charcoal cross on the boat's bottom "so it will be easier to pull to the river and will not be damaged." A buyer may come to Tanjay poblacion to receive his boat, or the boat may be taken to the purchaser; this depends on the original contract. Larger boats are finished in Tanjay, and the mast, strakes, and motor mountings are added. Boats are made in Mangoto for owners who live in Panay, Cebu and Siquijor. 438 483

Types of Boats in Siaton

Bancas may be classified into three groups according to their length: the small class averages from 18 to 30 feet; medium class, from 30 to 35 feet; and the large class 35 feet or more. Names, however, are usually given according to their use. The bokaran is used mainly to net fish inside the bonsod. Bokarans do not have the outrigger (kateg); this makes them easier to handle inside a fish corral. For the same reason bokarans are usually used to retrieve bobos although the panahiran also is so 501

new slats installed. A local riddle accurately describes the general appearance of most of the Caticugan dwellings. 356 524

Since birth all patches. What is it? A house

(Sukad nabata tapak semina. Unsa man? Balay)

COST OF BUILDING A BARRIO DWELLING

The basic materials used to build a barrio dwelling are obtained in the locality, i.e., bamboo, nipa, house posts, rattan, etc. Wire, nails, and galvanized iron sheets are purchased in poblacion stores or, more frequently, obtained in Dumaguete. The use of wire, nails, iron roofing and cement, for example, in the construction of new dwellings in Caticugan, though still small, is increasing. More families would have purchased these materials during my residence except for highly inflated prices and restricted supplies. This trend toward using materials that are made and normally purchased outside the community (in contrast to going to the mountains to obtain materials) will continue to reduce the bartering that still persists in their basic economy and decrease the barriofolk's self-sufficiency. 435 178 438 342

In the past, a family who decided to build a new dwelling in Caticugan were assisted by neighbors and friends. Today, however, when an individual constructs a new house it is mainly a family task. If additional labor is needed the builder may hire local carpenters. House construction exemplifies the transitional process--from community cooperation, to family, and gradually to the 476 602 178 463

should point either east or south. The reasons for this custom have been forgotten; some speculated that maybe it was because when one floats bamboo down the river the larger ends point south. If rafters are made of timber instead of bamboo it is impossible to determine the "head" and people ignore the custom. 335 789 777

The next step is to install the abay-abay (Plate LXIV, 16) that strengthen the sablayan and balabag; however, if timber is used the abay-abay are omitted. The roof framework (pamalay) consists of a number of vertical and horizontal slats to which the nipa shingles (atop) are lashed. First the salagonting (Plate LXV, 27) then the hawak (Plate LXV, 26) and finally the katsaw (Plate LXV, 23) are added to the roof framework. The thickest end of the bamboo salagonting must be at the peak of the roof; otherwise it is believed the occupants will always be sickly. The katsaw should always alternate so the occupants will not suffer from nightmares. The hawak, that run the length of the roof, are tied under those that run the opposite direction; this is done to make it easier to add new nipa shingles. 335 342 [789 777]

Nipa shingles cost from $1.25 to $1.50 per 100 in Siaton. Nipa swamp owners not only sell shingles in the nearby barrios but also send them to Dumaguete. The Siaton bus often stopped along the road, just outside the poblacion, to pick up large bundles of nipa shingles that the owner was taking to Dumaguete. Some go to a nipa swamp and cut the leaves to make one's own shingles, paying 435 438

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the owner for the material. This is cheaper than buying the shingles ready-made.

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Shingles are made of strips of leaves "sewed" with rattan to a narrow bamboo slat. The leaves are doubled over the bamboo and rattan is interwoven below the stick to keep the leaves in place. Plate LXVI[1] illustrates how the shingles are attached to the roof; a nipa roof lasts from six to seven years. The barriofolk normally replace the rotted nipa shingles by twos and threes rather than reroof the entire dwelling; new shingles are added just before the start of a rainy season.

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When the roof framework is finished the roof is shingled. The first step is to put shingles on the silik (Plate LXIV, 10), the roof ridges. Before the first shingle is placed on the silik, a kapia snail shell and some river moss are placed under the shingle. As one informant explained:

> In putting on shingles I put a kapia and river moss under the first one. In doing this I say to myself: 'I'll put this kapia here as a lihi so during strong winds the roof won't be destroyed. And I am putting moss here so my house will not be destroyed by fire.'

Another informant said kapia shells are used because "they are very hard to pry off the rocks in the river." Some added a few leaves found floating in the river to serve the same purpose as the river moss.

Many barriofolk consider it unwise to cut rattan by biting it when making the first tie in building a dwelling. One Naga informant told me:

1 [See p.685, cat. 342 or 116 -- Analyst]

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# CHAPTER X

## BARRIO HANDICRAFTS

### INTRODUCTION

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In pre-Hispanic times Filipinos imported porcelains, copper, iron, silk and other textiles; handicrafts played a smaller role in the country's economy in comparison with other Asian nations. The contemporary curio and handicraft industry of the archipelago is of fairly recent origin. The Spaniards did little to stimulate the development of handidrafts; the American period saw the introduction of machines and other facilities that often discouraged traditional handicrafts.[1] Since the last war the Philippine Government has tried to stimulate barrio ~~handicrafts, often with~~ the assistance of United Nations' specialized agencies and the United States. Caticugan illustrates the decline of handicrafts in southern Negros and some problems that need be faced if local industries are to thrive.

Increasing dependence for their pottery, clothing, fishing equipment and other household and personal equipment, on poblacion stores and Dumaguete City, is characteristic of the district studied. Nearly all cooking

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[1] Spencer states, however, that "... the American period also has stimulated the development of regional specialities that perhaps more than offsets the elimination of particular products." Spencer, op. cit., p. 14.

Nearly all cooking pottery is purchased; most of it is made in Dumaguete for none of the local womenfolk make their own pottery. In the near vicinity of Caticugan only one woman regularly made pottery that she bartered for food. Weaving of fine fabrics from banana fibers has ceased completely in the barrrio; the weaving of abaca cloth is rapidly declining, though a few women still weave abaca for skirts, men's shirts, and a few other purposes. Abaca clothing, however, is quite unpopular with the younger generation and the barriofolk's style of dress is being changed by the post-war traffic in used American clothing.

Few baskets are made today in Caticugan. The winnowing basket that is used daily is normally purchased in the poblacion or in Dumaguete. I never saw a woman making such a basket, though several Naga women were said to weave them. Tin basins have taken the place of wooden basins and metal spoons and forks are rapidly replacing those made of coconut shell. The most widespread handicraft in Caticugan is the weaving of sleeping mats and bags from buri fronds; this handicraft appears to be threatened by a decrease in palms.

The decline of barrio handicrafts has been recognized by the Philippine government. School programs attempt to perpetuate and revive certain handicrafts; however, the school programs I observed do not promise to be very successful. Advice on the development or modernization of cottage industries has been given by American experts as one means of reducing the chronic

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underemployment of the barriofolk.[2] Most of these cottage industries aim at producing export handicrafts or luxury items. Perhaps most important is the changing attitudes of the barriofolk toward their own handicrafts. Abaca clothing is felt, by many young folk, to be a symbol of a rustic. The barriofolk claim that they can buy better and cheaper pottery than they can make. With the expanding role of money in the general economy, fewer people make handicrafts for bartering. As a result, in Caticugan, the younger generation, particularly women, grows up without training in basic handicrafts of their forefathers, and with an attitude that such training is neither desirable nor important.

[291 369] [437] [868]

This chapter deals with the following handicrafts that still exist in Caticugan and vicinity: (1) pottery; (2) buri weaving and basketry; (3) abaca weaving; and (4) woodwork, i.e., making wooden saddles and carved wooden bolo handles.

## POTTERY

There are an estimated 20,000 potters in the Philippines. "Much of the work is done by women who sit beneath 323

[2] Recently a crafts team was sent to the Philippines under the auspices of the Economic Cooperation Administration and the United Nations. It consisted of a furniture designer, a wood products designer, and a textile expert, Marianne Hammarstrom. The unpublished Hammarstrom report has been briefly, and somewhat inaccurately, summarized by Will Savoy, "Philippine Weavers Learn New Techniques," Department of State Field Reporter, I, No. 2 (September-October, 1952), pp. 13-4. I was able to secure a typescript copy of the original report.

owing to firing difficulties. Most of my material on techniques of pottery was obtained from this cooperative Datag potter. 323 178

Most clay cooking pots now used in Caticugan are made in Dumaguete city. In this city there is a district, Daro, that specializes in the manufacture of cooking pots, clay stoves and large waterjars for drinking purpose. Some pots sold in Siaton poblacion are made in Mayabon, Zamboanguita, but are regarded as inferior to Daro's products. Mayabon is situated in a small enclave of Dauin clay that may explain the small pottery industry. (See Plate X, page 64.) A family came to Siaton from Daro in 1951 and started to make clay pots for sale in the poblacion; the business did not succeed and after several months they left. 323 369 438 [134]

The decline of pottery in Caticugan and environs is due largely to improvement of transportation facilities in southern Negros. The superior clay wares of Dumaguete became easier to buy in Siaton poblacion. Better transportation facilities increased both the number and frequency of visits to the city. The pots became so cheap that the barriofolk preferred to buy rather than make them. One old woman of Caticugan explained: "I stopped making pots because it is hard work. I would get sick always having my hands in the cold clay, squeezing it. And they are very cheap to buy." 323 369 438 178 489

As older women ceased their pottery activities, their daughters were not taught the technique. With a 323 [868] 178

gradual increase of money circulating in the barrios over the years, funds were available for the purchase of pots Another reason that may have had some influence on the decline of pottery in this locality was the Japanese occupation of Negros. A number of women who before the war made pots to barter during the harvest, stopped because of their fear of meeting Japanese patrols; they never resumed this activity after liberation.

Four popular sizes of clay cooking pots are sold in Siaton poblacion; Table XLI indicates their capacity and cost.

TABLE XLI

CLAY COOKING POTS SOLD IN SIATON POBLACION

| Capacity (pounds of clean rice) | Cost (U. S.) |
|---|---|
| 1.5 | 5¢ |
| 2.25 | 8¢ |
| 4.5 | 10¢ |
| 10.0 | 15¢ |

Pots holding as much as 25 pounds of clean rice are made in Daro but they are rarely sold in Siaton. The local merchants will not risk bringing these large, expensive, and rather fragile pots from Dumaguete since breakage would mean a considerable loss. Larger pots are used when one cooks for a fiesta or wedding feast. Today, however, the 5-gallon kerosene can is replacing this large size pot. The smallest clay pots are called anlet in Siaton and anglet in Masbate Island.

barriofolk. Possibly the developing jute industry of the Philippines will replace buri plaiting in the future.

BARRIO BASKETS

Three major types of baskets used by the barriofolk of Caticugan are: (1) the harvest basket, bukag; (2) the winnowing basket, niggo or avagang; (3) and the shallow kalalaw used in abaca weaving. Several other types of baskets were made by schoolchildren in the poblacion but never used in the barrio; they are taught to make small bags and baskets that can be sold as curios. Basket-making is said to be predominately a woman's job, although some men make bukags. Baskets were made so rarely in Caticugan that I never saw any of these three types being plaited.

The bukag, previously mentioned in connection with the corn harvests, is a loosely plaited basket of thin strips of bamboo and rattan about 2 feet in height with an 18-inch opening. The bukag is roughly made and does not take much time to plait. This type of basket, to my knowledge, is always made by the barriofolk; I never saw any for sale in either the poblacion or Dumaguete. They are used, almost entirely, to carry unhusked corn from the fields to the house or storehouse.

The wide shallow basket used for winnowing the chaff from pounded rice or ground corn is called the niggo or avagang. This basket also is plaited from rattan and thin pieces of bamboo. An increasing number of them are

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purchased by the barriofolk in the poblacion or Dumaguete; I often saw women, sometimes from Caticugan, returning home on the bus with winnowing baskets purchased in Dumaguete. Dumaguete's public marketplace had many stores that sold this type of basket. Two women who lived in Naga were said to plait and barter niggo baskets during harvest-time but I never observed them doing so. Unlike the bukag, the niggo is made sturdily and lasts for years with proper care.

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Kalalaw are small baskets used to coil abaca thread during the weaving process. Since so few women plait in Caticugan, I never saw kalalaw being plaited. They are made, like the niggo, from thin strips of bamboo and rattan. They usually come in sets of three or four since each size is used for a specific type of abaca thread. I measured one set of kalalaw baskets; the figures are in Table XLII.

TABLE XLII

KALALAW BASKET MEASUREMENTS (Inches)

| Height | Width |
|---|---|
| 16-1/2 | 11 |
| 14-1/2 | 10-1/2 |
| 12-1/2 | 8-1/2 |
| 10-1/2 | 7 |

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ABACA WEAVING

The three major areas of hand-weaving in the Philippines are: (1) northern Luzon (Ilocos region and the Mountain Province); (2) southern Luzon (Rizal and Bicol

supports. (See Plate LXXII, 4 and 22.)[1] Unlike the looms in Ilocos that are built underneath the house, using the upright beams supporting the dwelling for part of the loom structure, Caticugan looms are kept inside the dwelling. The loom is a Malayan horizontal type with two foot treadles that manipulate two cord heddles for speedy intercalation of the spool shuttle.[11] The weaving product is a coarsely-woven stiff fabric called abaca (Cebuano: hinabol).

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Nearly all women who wove abaca said they learned the technique from their mothers; one informant said she was taught by her father who had learned from his mother. A few men were said to weave, although no men living in Caticugan did so.

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Stripping the fibers from the abaca plant and building the loom are a man's work, whereas the processing of the fiber, weaving and the final preparation of the cloth are a woman's work. Several older women in Caticugan were able to weave when they were in their early teens. There was one abandoned loom in Caticugan that the owner said was smaller than the normal loom; it had been used by a mother to teach the girl to weave. Normally, however a girl learns to weave on the regular-size loom.

No abaca is grown in Caticugan so the fibers must be purchased from abaca-growing communities. This may be a minor factor in the decline of weaving in Caticugan.

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[11] On this matter see the articles by H. Ling Roth, "Studies in Primitive Looms, Part III: 6. Indonesian Looms," The Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland, XLVII, 1917, pp. 323-66.

1 [See p.710, cat. 286 -- Analyst]

Most abaca used for weaving is bought in the northern barrios of Bantolinao and Nasig-id. Several women were furnished abaca by the owner who later received one-half of the cloth.

Fiber to be woven must be stripped from the abaca plant with special care; for example, no pulp should remain on the fiber. Often growers who sell abaca to the Chinese in Siaton poblacion purposely leave pulp on the fibers so the bundles will weigh more.

Dyes

Three vegetable dyes, tagun, taloto, and antipolo, were once used to dye colored weft thread for abaca cloth. Tagun (Indigofera suffruticosa Mill) grows wild in the nearby hills; once in the past it was cultivated as a source of black dye. Domesticated tagun, according to the barriofolk, made a better dye than the wild variety. Water was heated and tagun leaves were added; a little lime was then sprinkled into this mixture and care taken lest the water boil. "If the water boiled," one woman explained, "the dye was not any good because the leaves became tender right away." Bark of the taloto and antipolo trees was powdered to make a red dye. Red fibers were sometimes re-dyed with tagun "so they would be reddish and very shiny." Today these vegetable dyes are rarely, if ever, used. Weavers buy chemical dyes in the poblacion; a package of four different dyes costs ten cents.

discouraged most women who knew how to weave. Since no abaca is grown near Caticugan, it is necessary to make a long, tiring trip to the mountain caingins of the north. Weavers of Caticugan probably would have woven more if abaca had been cheaper and easier to obtain.

Second, abaca fabric is stiff and scratchy; soaking and pounding the material helps but it remains uncomfortable to wear. Third, the younger generation, for the most part, is prejudiced against abaca clothing that they regard as a symbol of rusticity. This attitude, with improved educational facilities and increased contacts with Dumaguete, may not be expected to decline. Most young people said they were ashamed to wear abaca clothing to church or to festive events such as the fiesta. As one informant explained:

> Some people will tease you if you wear abaca clothing. 'Why are you wearing abaca? You look like the old people in the ancient times'--this is what they may say.

Only the children of the poor wore abaca clothing to school in Siaton poblacion.

With the decline in the number of Caticugan weavers, young girls are not being taught to weave. I never saw a young woman weaving in the barrio; the weavers were always older women. Some young people said they did not wear abaca clothing because no one in their family could weave. Mothers explained their daughters were not interested in learning to weave for they preferred to wear clothing purchased in the poblacion stores. In the past a mature woman

who could weave skillfully was a more desirable mate than one who could not. Difficulties of obtaining abaca fiber, the cost, and the tedious and time-consuming processes of preparing thread, weaving, and processing the woven fabric--plus the growing satorial sophistication of the young generation--militate against weaving in Caticugan.

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The most recent event that probably has dealt the coup de grace to any increase of abaca weaving for clothing in the future is the sale of used American clothing; the barriofolk speak of this as "relief clothing." After the last war tons of used American clothing were sent to the islands for rehabilitation purposes. Some of the clothing was sold illegally to the people and a new post-war Philippine business was born. Today used American clothing is imported regularly to the Philippines with Cebu City as a distribution center for the Visayas. Agents go to the city to buy the clothing that they later sell in rural areas through Negros.

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Every Sunday in Siaton poblacion Dumaguete vendors came to sell used American cotton and silk dresses, blouses, and children's clothing. At every fiesta I attended there were vendors who had big piles of used American clothing through which the barriofolk hunted for correct sizes. My impression was that most of the clothing was for women or children. As a result a new source of inexpensive clothing competes with abaca garments--and is modifying the barriofolks' mode of dress. T-shirts are replacing the abaca shirt of the past as cotton trousers have already done.

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Men buy iron bolo blades in the poblacion or Dumaguete and make their own wooden handles. The only decorative wood carving found in Caticugan occurs on the ends of bolo handles. When the owners were asked what animal the carved head on the handle represented, they usually did not know. Most of the carved figures are quite similar in style. (See Plates LXXIXand LXXX.)[1]

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These carved heads on bolo handles in Caticugan may possibly derive from a modified version of the mythical Garuda of ancient Indian folklore and art. The Garuda figure probably was diffused to the Philippines from Indo-China or Indonesia during the ascendancy of Hindu empires in this area, e.g., Champa and Sri-Vishaya.

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Krieger writes:

> The art of metal work, as well as decorative motifs based on the lotus flower and other Hindu cult representations, are characteristic of influence from India [in the Philippines].[21]

Dwellings still exist in Panay that have carved exterior decorations showing Hindu influence.[22] Beyer writes: "The most cultured Philippine languages contain many Sanskrit words, and the native art a noticeable sprinkling of Indian design."[23] Magahats also carve heads of animals on their bolo handles that are quite similar to those of Caticugan.[24] It is my impression that carved bolo handles are found in most parts of the Philippines.

[21]Herbert W. Krieger, Peoples of the Philippines. War Background Studies No. 4. Washington, Smithsonian Institute, November 13, 1942, p. 30.

[22]A number of archaeological finds in the Visayas indicate Hindu influence in the area. For example, a small bronze image of the Hindu god Siva was found in Mactan, off Cebu, that probably dates from the time of the Madjapahit empire. Beyer, op. cit., p. 361.

1 [See p. 735 ff, cat. 531 or 412 -- Analyst]

[pp. 738 + 739 are missing -- Analyst]

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The barriofolk are quite unaware of the possibility that their Garuda-like carved bolo handles may symbolize Hindu influence in their cultural heritage. It is curious that only bolo handles are selected; none of the other weapons or personal equipment is carved for decorative purposes. Perhaps the explanation lies in the importance attached to a man's bolo in pre-Hispanic Philippines.

Various household articles are made by the barriofolk of Caticugan. Long pieces of bamboo are hollowed and used to carry water from the springs and river to the houses. Spoons and dippers of coconut shell are fixed with rattan to bamboo handles. A few young men made ukeleles from local woods, buying only the gut strings. I never saw parents make toys for their children.

SUMMARY

The meager barrio handicrafts in Caticugan are in a state of decline. Abaca cloth is woven less frequently than in the immediate past and certain types of weaving and fabrics have disappeared. Most barriofolk consider abaca a poor substitute for cotton garments; imported used American clothing is changing the people's mode of dress. Self-sufficiency of the barriofolk in pottery has been lost; today nearly all of them depend on pottery wares produced in Dumaguete. Bamboo drinking cups, plates and eating

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[23] Benitez, op. cit., pp. 21-2.

[24] Oracion, op. cit., p. 40.

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utensils (still used by the Magahats) have been replaced with glass- and tinware. However, in all of these examples the new products are functionally superior to those formerly made.

In each case the handicraft products have been replaced by items made outside the local community. Most cotton cloth, tinware, etc., sold in the Philippines (and Caticugan) are imported. Pottery comes largely from Dumaguete. With the development of the infant Philippine jute industry it is possible that buri weaving will decline. Gunny sacks make better bags than does buri.

These various changes have led to a diminution of the former independence and self-sufficiency of Caticugan's rural community. This trend has been described in other aspects of barrio life, fishing, agriculture, etc. The material products of the city are reaching the barrio as well as new attitudes and modified appreciations from the city folk.

In my opinion, only inexcusable sentimentality laments the passing of handicrafts that use obsolete equipment and time-consuming techniques to make inferior products. The barriofolk of Caticugan are enmeshed in the Machine Age; this is inevitable, desirable and long-delayed. Their growing dependence on the urban machine economy will not be reduced by revival of cumbersome, unproductive handicrafts. For revival or stimulation of weaving and pottery in Caticugan, for example, necessitates more than improved equipment and better designs. The pride and sense of achievement

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in handicrafts, an attitude usually transmitted by craftsmen to their children, have largely disappeared. Often inferior articles made in the United States are preferred to Philippine-made articles, even when the latter are of better materials and more careful workmanship. The most promising long-range program needed to raise barrio living standards is to increase the productivity of their major activity--more and better farmed land with more abundant harvests.

sold. The paddies of the average farmer in Siaton and Zamboanguita are so small that they cannot produce sufficient rice to last the families through the year. About 23 per cent of the cultivated land is also occupied by coconut palms. In Pamplona is one of the largest coconut plantations in Negros; it is owned and managed by Americans. Generally, however, coconut plantings vary from 5 to 15 acres and are owned by Filipinos. Many families have a few coconut trees that provide their chief cash income. Coconut palms usually appear along the littoral where the sandy soils are too well-drained for other crops and the internal drainage from the Central Mountain range favors coconut cultivation. Coconuts, however, are frequently planted along field boundaries and extend toward the interior of many parts of this region.

Coconut palms begin to bear as early as five years after planting and often produce nuts when a century old. The Laguna variety is common in this region; it is an early-bearing tree that usually produces nuts after eight or ten years. The fresh coconut meat is dried under the sun or in crude, smoky ovens, tapahans. The dried meat is known as copra and is the chief export of Dumaguete port; in 1951 it amounted to more than $5,000,000. The prosperity of this region is closely tied to copra prices. When prices are high, for example, enrollment in both public and private schools rises; but when copra prices fall school enrollments decrease

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The sugar-producing areas of Negros were expanding. In 1836 less than 300 tons of sugar had been produced while thirty years later the production had increased to nearly 12,000 tons. The declaration of Iloilo city as a free port in 1855 stimulated the infant sugar industry. "The total value of exports leaving the port of Iloilo... jumped from ₱82,000 [$41,000] in 1858 to over ₱1,000,000 [$500,000] in 1863, with most of this increase in exports coming from the shipment of sugar from Negros."[111] In the same periods (the 1860's) the sugar haciendas of Negros began to develop; some of them covered several thousand acres and supported their owners in luxury.

The Justices of the Peace in Siaton

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The year following the division of Negros into two provinces (1891), the first justice of the peace was appointed in Siaton. In 1885 a royal decree, a "concession to public opinion," had provided for the appointment of a justice of the peace to every municipality. This office previously had been filled by the capitans. "When such persons [lawyers or others 'whose position and circumstances warrant it'] could not be found the petty governors

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[111] Wernstedt, op. cit., p. 79. Walker states that in the early 1900's Iloilo owed its existence largely to Negros' sugar industry. Walker, op. cit., p. 10.

2a: Hart E-5 (195.) 1954 OA1 Philippines
Central Bisayan OA14



held, and at midnight Taft and his group left Dumaguete. 175*
Taft kept his word. The Negros Republic was dissolved and the provincial governments of Negros Occidental and Negros Oriental created. For the first time Negros' provinces were classified as civil provinces. Demetrio Larena was appointed civil governor of Negros Oriental.

Effective control by American forces of Bohol and Cebu was not accomplished until the last of 1901. Samar was one of the last islands to be pacified for in September, 1901, fifty American soldiers were ambushed and killed on the island.[160] In April, 1902, Batanga (Luzon) resistance collapsed and the Filipinos' fight for independence ended with an American victory.[161]

THE AMERICAN PERIOD (1898-1941)

The American period is an era of great expansion 175*
of Negros' sugar industry and population. The sugar- 433
producing regions of Negros had suffered during the 439
revolution. Political and military conflicts, local unrest, and a general paralysis of commerce discouraged the hacenderos from planting new crops. This period of indecision and stagnation lasted until 1909. Then the Payne-Aldrich Tariff Act opened American markets to a

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[160] Henry F. Pringle, The Life and Times of William Howard Taft. New York, Farrar and Rinehart, 1939, 2 vols., I, p. 198.

[161] Zaide, The Philippines Since the British Invasion, pp. 280-1.

limited amount (300,000 tons) of duty-free Philippine sugar; there were immediate increases in sugar production in the archipelago.[162] By 1921 the exporting of sugar had exceeded that of the Spanish period. With the inauguration of the quota system the output of Negros' sugar declined somewhat, but remained relatively stable until World War II.

Negros' population expansion was directly connected with the growth of the sugar industry. However, Panay, Cebu, and Bohol were becoming more overcrowded and Filipinos from these islands emigrated to Negros' less densely populared plains. Negros' population (excluding Siquijor) increased from 270,891 in 1887 to 509,766 in 1903.[163] In sixteen years the population of western Negros (approximately Negros Occidental province) had grown from 148,137 (1887) to 308,272 persons (1903) while the population of the eastern part of the island (approximately Negros Oriental) had expanded from 122,754 (probably including Siquijor) to 201,494 (155,471 excluding Siquijor). More people were settling in western than eastern Negros. With passing decades western Negros' population was to become nearly triple that of the eastern part of the island. An election

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[162] The 1913 Underwood Tariff Act, amending the Payne-Aldrich Act, permitting duty free entry of all Philippine products into the United States, irrespective of quantity, provided that not more than 20 per cent of the final product was of foreign origin or manufacture.

[163] Census of the Philippines: 1903, I, p. 87.

never sold there. The scarcity of fish may be somewhat atypical--although most residents claimed it was not--since the bonsod catches were small this year and the fish corrals destroyed earlier than usual. When the day's fish supply arrived in the marketplace, it was quickly sold; some days there were no fresh fish for sale. Since fish brings a higher price in Dumaguete even small amounts are taken to the city, draining Siaton of much of its fresh fish. For example, one afternoon a fish corral made a catch of more than thirty boxes of sardine. The owner sold a few boxes in Siaton, more from a sense of duty than for profit, at eleven dollars a box; the rest were sent to Dumaguete where they sold for thirteen dollars a box. As a result, whenever news comes to the poblacion that a large catch has been made, either in the bonsod or by netting, the people flock to the seashore to buy fish for their personal use or to sell in the local market.

FISH NETS IN SIATON

Since the last war abaca nets have replaced the cotton twine nets once widely used in Siaton; twine nets are very expensive owing to inflation. In the past many large twine nets used were made in Japan whereas today most of them are said to be imported from the United States. Nets made of cotton twine are called pokot or sigin; those made of abaca are called sahid or sinsoro.

largest stores in Siaton poblacion are operated by the Chinese as are the only two bakeries.[63] On the whole, the Chinese do not mix socially with the poblacion principalia (prominent persons).

The Spaniards called the Chinese Sangley from the Amoy word Sengli, i.e., trade.[64] In Siaton and Negros, the Chinese are called Inchek.[65] During the Spanish period in Siaton the Chinese wore their national dress. "They had long black pants which blew in the wind and coiled their hair on top of their heads." At first their stores sold only cloth, ~~such as~~ blankets (coverings would be a better word) with dragon designs. They also sold large tadyaos (clay ~~jars) with a~~ dragon design, used to make wine. Similar Chinese jars are fairly common among many of the primitive groups in the Philippines and are exceedingly costly. No such jars exist in Siaton today.

Sometimes the Chinese merchants fought among themselves. Then the Guardia Civil would tie the offenders' pig-tails together and drag them to jail. One incident was reported of a Chinese father who tried

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[63] In Manjuyod poblacion I visited a Chinese bakery and talked with the owner who said the Chinese from Macao and Canton are usually the bakers in Negros Oriental.

[64] Victor Purcell, The Chinese in Southeast Asia. Oxford University Press, 1951, p. 585.

[65] Cheng suggests two possible derivations of Inchek. First, when the Chinese were asked what was their race they jestingly replied to the questioner: "Their (in) uncle's (chek)." Second, that the Chinese referred to themselves as people of "foreign" (in) "nationality" (chek). Cheng, op. cit., p. 5.

Most barriofolk go to Omanod to work as harvesters while some women and young girls go to barter bread, matches, used American clothing and other wares for corn. These vendors rarely sell their wares for money. They barter for corn, and get more corn than they could if they sold their articles. Sometimes, when the harvest is over, the vendors will sell their remaining merchandise rather than carry it home. Others go to Omanod solely to buy corn for the price is lower than in Siaton poblacion. The people usually stay with relatives or friends in Omanod during the harvest period.

Unhusked corn is usually stored in the house, the ears piled in a corner of the room or in a bin. Corn is not husked until it is ready to be shelled and ground. Lagit stones or sea shells may be put with the corn to protect it from the weevils that often do considerable damage. Perhaps only one out of every twenty families in Caticugan has a separate storehouse for corn. The average family's corn supply is small and consumed steadily so individual storehouses are unnecessary. Storehouses that exist are usually built near the residences, although in a few cases they may be at the field's edge. Theft is rare because many would be afraid to steal corn for fear of barang.[50]

[50] Barang is the belief in the supernatural ability of certain persons to cause illness or death to their enemies. These specialists are said to own magical bees that are trained to penetrate the victim's body at their owner's command. Several cases of deaths allegedly due to barang motivated by thievery were reported by the barriofolk of Caticugan.

palm's trunk during the war when acute food shortages existed. Most of the bags and mats made in Caticugan are woven from the buri while the hats worn by the people come from Bohol.

The sale of guhang furnishes many barriofolk with their largest source of cash income. The Siaton poblacion map (Plate XVII)[1] shows the number of stalls selling guhang. The widespread use of the buri to make guhang is shown by the number of dead palms (576) cut in six weeks by the provincial agriculture office in just Siaton poblacion. Many dead buris were left standing at the end of this project. If Siaton's municipal ordinance that requires each owner of a guhang buri to pay a tax of $2.50 was effectively enforced, this local industry would bring a sizeable income to the municipality.

Older informants said when they were young little guhang was made in Siaton since only a few buris grew in the municipality. Some informants stated that the barriofolk of Siaton first learned how to make guhang from the people of Tolong. Once they learned the process they began to plant the palm. Other informants, however, said that Siaton men who worked in Dumaguete's Chinese bodegas (warehouses) learned to make guhang while in the city. When they returned to Siaton they introduced the process, teaching the people of Siaton how to make the mildly alcoholic drink. All available evidence, the possible derivation of Dumaguete's name (from manangguete, a specialist who makes guhang), the older settlement of Dumaguete,

[1] [this plate (p. 178) is missing]

Powdered tan-bark (tongog), purchased in the poblacion and pounded in the mortar, is added to the sap that has been collected in the jar. During the war when the tan-bark from Mindanao was unobtainable, the bark of the antipolo tree was used as a somewhat unsatisfactory substitute. Tan-bark is not grown locally, most of it comes from Mindanao, and costs about ten cents a pound in Siaton poblacion. The addition of the powdered tan-bark gives the guhang a golden color, improves its flavor, and is said to prevent diarrhea.

Guhang vendors are always young girls or women, reflecting the general barrio pattern that vending is a woman's job. The vendor's profits are small. A dama (17 to 18 quarts) of guhang wholesales from the buri's owner for about seventy-five cents. The standard price for a quart of guhang in Siaton poblacion is five cents; therefore, a vendor's profit on a dama is about ten to fifteen cents.

Profits of the vendors are limited not only by the price but by the supply of guhang. Often the stalls in Siaton poblacion would close early in the evening for lack of guhang. Every evening men, and a few women, usually residents of the poblacion, collect at the guhang stalls to drink and talk; I rarely saw intoxicated drinkers at these evening gatherings. A pleasant custom of the poblacion stall owners permits prospective customers to sample guhang to determine its taste, without cost, before buying.

March and April, tangkong sells for more than when a larger supply of kalamongay and other vegetables are for sale in the marketplace. When the price is high a small bunch of tangkong sells for five centavos (two and a half cents). When other vegetables are available one may buy three bunches of tangkong for that price.

Sometimes people will come to Barrio Caticugan from the poblacion or nearby barrios to buy tangkong. If they pick the vegetable they are given a cheaper price than if they purchase it from the owner. Normally the owners take their tangkong to the poblacion to sell; but three women and one man sold tangkong from their patches in Barrio Caticugan; the male vendor was a bayute. Vendors do not have much trouble selling tangkong, especially during the hot season when most vegetables are scarce. Tangkong is a good source of vitamins B and G and an excellent source of vitamin C; the leaves are said to have a mild purgative effect.[74]

Owners of tangkong patches sometimes let other vendors sell their greens in the poblacion and split the profits. This is done when the woman owning the tangkong cannot take her vegetables to the market. For example, one young mother, with a new baby, was unable to take her tangkong to the poblacion. She made an arrangement with a neighbor to sell her greens; the owner received a net

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[74] Brown, op. cit., III, p. 258.

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profit of $1.85 from her tangkong patch for one month (June 16 to July 16). By the middle of July tangkong often became so cheap that she fed much of it to the pigs.

The woman who had the largest tangkong patch in Barrio Caticugan kept a record of her sales, at my request, for one month (June 16 to July 16). She sold tangkong in the poblacion twenty days in this period, netting $5.60. During the same period she also sold sixty cents worth of tangkong to persons coming to her patch in the barrio. Her total profit for the month was $6.20. The previous year the same woman said her profit from the sale of tangkong was more than $25. In fact, the young woman and her brother, both unmarried, were building a new house; the neighbors said this was largely financed by the woman's tangkong profits.

Eggplant

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Eggplants (talong) are another fairly common vegetable grown in Caticugan. Nearly every family has a few eggplants that bear small fruits. Like most vegetables new eggplants are planted at the beginning of the rainy season; the old stalks are trimmed then so they will produce new fruits. Tomatoes (tamatis) are grown but they are very small and are often sold, or eaten, when they are partly green.

Other vegetables grown are gourds (upo: Logeriaria leucantha Linn.); green onions (sibuyas bombay); patola

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who could weave skillfully was a more desirable mate than one who could not. Difficulties of obtaining abaca fiber, the cost, and the tedious and time-consuming processes of preparing thread, weaving, and processing the woven fabric--plus the growing satorial sophistication of the young generation--militate against weaving in Caticugan.

The most recent event that probably has dealt the coup de grace to any increase of abaca weaving for clothing in the future is the sale of used American clothing; the barriofolk speak of this as "relief clothing." After the last war tons of used American clothing were sent to the islands for rehabilitation purposes. Some of the clothing was sold illegally to the people and a new post-war Philippine business was born. Today used American clothing is imported regularly to the Philippines with Cebu City as a distribution center for the Visayas. Agents go to the city to buy the clothing that they later sell in rural areas through Negros.

Every Sunday in Siaton poblacion Dumaguete vendors came to sell used American cotton and silk dresses, blouses, and children's clothing. At every fiesta I attended there were vendors who had big piles of used American clothing through which the barriofolk hunted for correct sizes. My impression was that most of the clothing was for women or children. As a result a new source of inexpensive clothing competes with abaca garments--and is modifying the barriofolks' mode of dress. T-shirts are replacing the abaca shirt of the past as cotton trousers have already done.

51:Hart E-3 (1950-1952)1954 OA1 Philippines
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of the 'poblacion', thanks to the deep and abiding interest of congressman.. in the welfare and well-being of the community.

A top government official of Negros Oriental province stated in his message printed in one fiesta program that he would be unable to attend the event because:

> I am leaving for Manila soon in the interest and welfare of our province.

The congressman of one of the districts of Negros Oriental praised a local official in his fiesta message, stating he

> (official's name) ..., is the guiding star that points to me the things needed by this town and hence I can say safely that the improvements and beautification of (the town)... is due mostly to the endeavor and sacrifices of our beloved.... (official's name).

The former Vice-President of the Philippines in his message printed on one fiesta program urged that the people work together because:

> Communal solidarity is necessary for the success of this affair just as national unity is essential for the growth of a nation.... To promote this unity, it is imperative for us to cultivate a community spirit against the factors that cause dissension and disorder among the people—corrupt practices of officials and individuals alike, such as abuse of authority and profiteering practiced by opportunists on the helpless masses. These corruptions can be remedied by the combined efforts on the part of the government authorities and the people.

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The fiestas stimulate local commercial activities. All who can afford it, and many who cannot, buy a new dress or a pair of trousers, clothing for the children, get a permanent wave, or purchase large supplies of food for their expected guests. Some Filipinos will borrow money or mortgage their land in order to have the means to entertain properly their visitors during the annual fiesta. So much personal and family prestige is involved that few measures are too drastic for some to maintain the expected level of hospitality; this is particularly true in the *poblacions*. Frugalities of the year, the penny-pinching to make ends meet, the saving for the unknown exigencies of the future, are discarded by many Filipinos for several days of "fun and frolic," of living fully.

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To the *poblacions* and *barrios*, even such as Caticugan but less so, come many itinerant vendors selling a variety of wares, normally unavaila-

51:Hart E-3 (1950-1952)1954 OA1 Philippines
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527 443 ble in the local stores. There are rosaries, religious pictures, ice cream, novel candies, etc. This is the time when the girls and women from the *barrios* make great mounds of rice cakes and sell them at the local fiestas, adding the small profit to the family exchequer. Some of the women from Caticugan went as far away as the fiestas of Giliga-on and Bonawon to sell their food, *guhang* (a mildly alcoholic drink made from the fermented sap of the buri palm), and vegetables. They set up little "cafes" near the fiesta area where one might buy food or drink. Vendors from Dumaguete come to the *barrios*, and particularly the *poblacions*, with their merchandize, establishing their temporary stalls along the roads near the cockpit or gambling area. A lucky catch in a *bonsod* (fish coral) during a *poblacion* fiesta can bring the owner a small fortune overnight.

527 436 The circulation of currency in the *barrios*— where the barter system is still prominent— is at its height during the fiesta. The vendors and gamblers and other activities of the fiesta require money; one cannot barter for a place at the gambling table or for admission to the dance. This is when the bamboo banks are broken and the money used to purchase the necessary fiesta supplies. The fiesta is one of the relatively few occasions (others are weddings, funerals, etc.) when the barriofolk slaughter pigs, goats, cattle and even carabaos. The family "fiesta pig" is killed for *lechon*, having been fattening all year. There is more fish and fresh meat in the market places than at any other time of the year. Young people often go to the city to earn sufficient money to spend during fiesta. The fiesta has become a secular, in ways commercial, enterprise, which requires currency in order for one to participate in many activities. During most of the year, many of the barriofolk in Caticugan earn or spend little money; they barter their way from one need to another need.

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517 181 In summary, the *barrio* or *poblacion* fiesta complex has a variety of functions. *First*, the fiesta is the "big blow-out" of the year, anticipated by young and old for often different reasons. There is a singing gaiety in the air, a lightness of step, and a mood of relaxation in a fiesta-invaded locality. As the writer was once told at a fiesta: "This is the time when 556 'thanks' is redundant." Second, the fiesta affords many persons, particu- 181 larly in the *poblacion*, an opportunity to validate their social position through a conspicious consumption of wealth, a lavish expression of hospitality. This association of hospitality with food may be traced back to the pre-Spanish culture of the Filipinos. Municipal and provincial officials, prominent visitors and other guests, are treated with extravagant courtesy and an overabundance of generosity. *Third*, the fiesta is an econo-

I often frequented guhang trees because they were excellent places to gather information; "mellowed" by the drink the people often enjoyed discussing and arguing over answers to questions. I never saw a group refused free drinks. If an owner were "greedy" with his guhang nothing would have been said at the time which the guhang owners know. This disgruntled individual might later return to the tree as "envious person"; generosity in Caticugan was usually sired of a warm heart and a practical mind.

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One of my most pleasant memories is sitting with the men at the top of the buri, under the little thatch covering, drinking, smoking and talking. Thirty feet above the ground the air was cooler and fresher and a breeze usually rustled the dead fronds. Below the community stretched out under its quilt-like fields. At the palm's base might be a small group of men and married women drinking guhang as it was lowered from the top in a bamboo container tied to a rope. If a few young dalagas passed, salacious wisecracks would usually be made by the young men with malicious cheerfulness and the girls might be so bold as to stop for a drink. In the distance one could hear the dull echo of a manenguete's "bamboo gong" (tambol), signaling the vendors who wished to purchase guhang that he was in his tree.

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When the groups gather at the guhang trees it is a time of relaxation, of gossiping, joking and discussing plans for tomorrow. A game of dama (similar to checkers) might be started.

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Calendars with pictures of the Holy Family or religious scenes are common in the dwellings; these calendars are distributed free by Dumaguete Chinese merchants. Photographs are fairly typical—pictures of weddings, funerals, relatives, school graduations, etc. A few houses had an aparado, a chest cupboard, often with glass doors.

Every Caticugan dwelling had a family or domestic altar. In some cases the altar was merely a religious picture or a cheap plaster figure of a saint placed on a small shelf or, in one case, on the top of a trunk. A few altars were quite elaborate with two or three religious figures and pictures, vases (often beer bottles) for flowers, and paper cut-out or tinfoil decorations. Some altars have a small tin container filled with coconut oil with a wick made from a twist of kapok or native cotton.[5] The most elaborate altar in Caticugan belonged to two unmarried brothers who lived together; both young men were considered to be bayutes, highly feminine-acting men.

Little care is given most altars; they are often dirty and disarranged. During a novena or the fiesta, however, the altars are cleaned, rearranged and fresh flowers put in the vases.

4 (Continued) and several pages of current events. Personal communication to the writer from Mr. B. Canete, Circulation Manager, Liwayway Publications, Inc., Manila, April 3, 1954. Typescript.

5 There are two varieties of tree cotton in Caticugan, gapas gamay and gapas dako; both were identified as Ceiba pentandra Gaertn. Also see Brown, op. cit., II, pp. 401-3.

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the landlord and tenant receive 25 per cent each. The workers have to carry the heavy bundles of fiber on their backs to the poblacion. If the landlord strips and processes the abaca planted and cared for by his tenant, he receives 75 per cent of the profits from its sale in the poblacion and the tenant 25 per cent. If the tenant processes the abaca the division of profits is reversed. One informant said the owners of the cainsin often urge their tenants to plant abaca in order to prevent soil erosion and the spread of cogon. The tenant receives all vegetables planted in the cainsin.

## CREDIT FACILITIES AND ARRANGEMENTS

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Nearly every comprehensive study of Philippine economic structure has urged that credit facilities be improved. Both the Joint Philippine-American Finance Commission (1947) and the Bell Mission (1950) stressed the need for improving and expanding agricultural credit facilities. The latest study of agricultural credit is briefly summarized as background material for Cateugan.[21]

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There is no government control or support of agricultural products in the Philippines, with the exception of the activities of the National Rice and Corn Corporation. Though this corporation limits price rises of rice to the

[21] John L. Cooper, "Report and Recommendations Concerning Agricultural Credit in the Philippines." Manila, United States of America Special Technical and Economic Mission to the Philippines, January 8, 1952, 88 pages. Mimeographed.

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consumer, it does not effectively stabilize the price the farmer receives for his rice. Farmer organizations or cooperatives are few in number and generally ineffective in helping the barriofolk. Those cooperatives that existed before the last war, for the most part, did not survive; at present there are only a few cooperatives connected with poultry and tobacco production. Cooper writes:

> Thus, most farmers have to depend upon private merchants. By having no control over marketing, the farmer cannot pledge his crop for credit until favorable market conditions prevail so he can obtain for himself the maximum amount for his crops. Instead this profit goes to middlemen.[22]

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Aliens, particularly Chinese, control approximately 65 per cent of the marketing of Philippine agricultural products. Chinese control is not always due to business acumen and shary practices, but often by Filipino default.

The majority of the seventeen registered financial organizations in the Philippines are located in Manila and confine their businesses to that general area. "Virtually all of their business is non-agricultural and is largely concentrated in import and export commerce."[23] Only two major institutions operate in the rural areas:

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[22] Ibid., p. 3.

[23] Ibid., p. 4.

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Only two major institutions operate in the rural areas: the Philippine National Bank and the Rehabilitation Finance Corporation (RFC). The Philippine National Bank has a branch office in Dumaguete City; the only bank in the city in 1951.

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In Siaton, as is usual, the municipal treasurer is the sub-agent of the Dumaguete branch of the Philippine National Bank. To him the people come to arrange for loans. Although they could go to the city branch, they must have certain statements regarding their security from the municipal treasurer. The borrower pays 10 per cent interest; 4 per cent goes to the municipal treasurer as his personal profit and 6 per cent to the bank. If a Torrens title to the land is not available, then a tax receipt will be accepted if free from any adverse claim for ten years. In Siaton when land is offered as security, without a Torrens title, all adjoining landowners must sign an affidavit that the borrower is the undisputed owner. Since the Philippine National Bank operates on a commercial banking basis it is quite difficult to obtain agricultural loans. Only in rare cases can a tenant qualify for a loan since he normally lacks the required security. Movable property is not accepted as security by the government-controlled Philippine National Bank.

The Rehabilitation Finance Corporation was established by the government in 1947. One major purpose of the RFC was "to provide long term credit for the rehabilitation and development of agriculture and industry." For

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a RFC loan a Torrens title for land is required. If a Torrens title is not available, then either a Torrens title to urban land of equal value or a pre-1894 Spanish title to the land for which the loan is requested is required; the interest on the loan is 6 per cent per annum.

There are no branches of the RFC in Negros; for the people of Negros Oriental the nearest branches are in Cebu City or Iloilo City. Between January 2, 1947 and September 30, 1951, fifty-six RFC agricultural loans were made in Negros Oriental, totaling $335,225; none were made to residents of Siaton municipality. For the same period agricultural loans in Negros Occidental totaled $6,835,077. Both sets of loans were mainly for rehabilitation of Negros' sugar industry. Of the twelve Visayan provinces, Negros Occidental received the largest amount of money (1947-1951) from the RFC; Negros Oriental was sixth.[24]

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Due to the stringent requirements of the Philippine National Bank and the RFC for agricultural loans the average farmer is forced to obtain agricultural credit from landlord, from private money lenders, local merchants, rice millers and other buyers of farm products. These loans often are made and repaid in kind. A farmer may obtain credit from a local merchant and later sell his palay to this merchant, who deducts the amount owed.

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[24] Ibid., p. 49.

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In Siaton the Chinese merchants loan rice or corn to the barriofolk before the harvest and the borrower is required to return twice the quantity borrowed. In the Philippines "interest paid by tenants on borrowed money is grossly onerous. Annual rates of 100 per cent are common and rates of 200 per cent and even higher are not unusual."[25]

Between 1907-1947 there were in the Philippines eleven attempts to establish agricultural credit facilities, cooperative credit or marketing organizations, special government corporations, or government-sponsored banking institutions. Of these eleven only two were successful, the RFC and the Philippine National Bank. There are a number of reasons for this dismal picture of agricultural credit. First, insufficient inducements were offered to encourage private investors to organize rural banks. Second, the cooperatives failed for lack of loaning capital, bad management, or non-support by their members. Third, none of the institutions established credit facilities available to the barriofolk who have to pay usurious interest rates to the private non-registered lenders. This includes the Philippine National Bank and the RFC. Fourth, these agencies approached agricultural credit problems with commercial banking procedures.

The need for agricultural credit has increased considerably since 1945. In many cases the farmer is worse off today than before the war because of the

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[25]Hardie, op. cit., p. v.

disparity between the prices he receives for the products produced and the goods he must purchase. There also are the lower level of agricultural production, and the war destruction of equipment and buildings. Most farmers were unable to liquidate their debts during the inflationary period which followed the war; many fell deeper into debt. 452 426

Siaton's municipal treasurer has been assigned the municipality for six years (1946-1951). During this period only twenty loans were arranged through the Philippine National Bank; the largest was $500 to one of the local government officials. The average loan was about $100 and 75 per cent were made to poblacion residents; other loans were made to residents of Malabuhan, Bonawon, and Giliga-on. All loans were for agricultural purposes. 452 655 426

During the "starvation months" some Caticugan barriofolk are forced to borrow money or supplies in order to live. As one woman said: "We live between one harvest and another on the supplies the Chinese advance us." Other occasions for borrowing are a death or wedding. For example, one man in Catiougan borrowed money from his elder brother's wife for the bride-price when his youngest son married. Fiestas also are occasions for borrowing. Not all "agricultural" loans are for agriculture. Sometimes parents borrow money to support a son or daughter in school in Dumaguete although the loan is said to be for 452 426

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"agricultural purposes." Some of the sari-sari stores in the poblacion permit individuals to have "charge accounts" without charging interest. For the most part, however, these are residents of the poblacion--often government employees--and their accounts run between monthly pay-checks.

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One common method of borrowing money is called arendo. There are two types of arendo. First, the borrower permits the lender to cultivate the field offered as security for the loan for a stated period; the harvest belongs to the lender who farms it. When the set period of arendo is over, the loan is considered repaid by the harvests and the field reverts to the original owner; there is no interest on the loan. For example, a saingin farmer in Pinac-an loaned thirty-five dollars to the owner of a 1.7 acre field in Barrio Caticugan. The owner ran a sari-sari store in Tanjay poblacion. The lender was to farm the land, receiving all crops until the loan was repaid. The Pinac-an farmer had been cultivating this field for several years for the owner never had made any payments on his loan.

In the second type of arendo the lender loans money and the interest rate is one-third of the harvest of the field offered as security. If the lender furnishes the borrower with seeds and the latter cultivates the field, the harvest division is 50-50; the owner becomes a tenant on his own land. When the loan is paid, the harvest shares are considered as interest. One man in Naga had

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By putting the field under arendo the owner is able to forestall its sale.

Sometimes land slowly passes out of the hands of barriofolk who need money, often due to emergencies. One man who mortgaged his field was unable to repay the principal so he put the field under arendo to his creditor, receiving no share of the harvest. When the arendo period was over, he needed more money. He put a second mortgage on the field to the original creditor and finally sold him the land. Generally speaking, arendo did not appear to be widespread in Caticugan. However, this is not the easiest type of information to collect.

Some barriofolk loan small sums of money under a verbal agreement; the interest rate usually is 10 per cent. There are also loans in kind, repaid in kind. One woman in Naga frequently loaned money and received the assistance of the barrio school-teacher in drawing up the receipt since she was illiterate. The two persons most active in loaning money in Naga were women.

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Credit sources in Caticugan were meager and the barriofolk usually lacked the security for loans that would enable them to receive assistance without resorting to usurious sources. Most barriofolk were badly in need of sources of credit for subsistence loans and production requirements (fertilizer, seed, etc.), and the benefits of cooperatives. If such sources of credit had been available, they might have reached a higher standard of living.

palm's sap started to flow April 14 and stopped June 22. The gross income of the owner was $54 of which $12 was spent for tan-bark, leaving a net profit of $42. The money from guhang sales, deposited in a "bamboo bank" (a pole of the house wall), was not counted until the buri died so the figures are probably accurate.

The price of a mature buri in Siaton ranges from $10 to $25. In the municipal tax records buri owners are assessed one dollar for each palm. If the mananguete is not the tree's owner, profits are divided in several ways. Sometimes the profits are split 50-50 after the owner has deducted what he considers the buri's value. In another case the mananguete received one-fourth of the profits plus all the free guhang his family could consume. The money from the sale of guhang from this buri was deposited in a bamboo bank kept in the palm. The owner said he did not want to keep the cash in his near-by dwelling "because I might be tempted to gamble with it."

The buri's value is also reflected in the number of disputes that often result concerning its ownership and use. Three court cases occurred during my residence concerning the illegal use of another person's buri. In one case the defendant was accused by the plaintiff of illegally using two of his buris to make guhang and asked $100 damage. There are many quarrels over buri palms that do not reach the local court. An example of such a quarrel that happened in Naga is given on the next page.

sold. The paddies of the average farmer in Siaton and Zamboanguita are so small that they cannot produce sufficient rice to last the families through the year. About 23 per cent of the cultivated land is also occupied by coconut palms. In Pamplona is one of the largest coconut plantations in Negros; it is owned and managed by Americans. Generally, however, coconut plantings vary from 5 to 15 acres and are owned by Filipinos. Many families have a few coconut trees that provide their chief cash income. Coconut palms usually appear along the littoral where the sandy soils are too well-drained for other crops and the internal drainage from the Central Mountain range favors coconut cultivation. Coconuts, however, are frequently planted along field boundaries and extend toward the interior of many parts of this region.

Coconut palms begin to bear as early as five years after planting and often produce nuts when a century old. The Laguna variety is common in this region; it is an early-bearing tree that usually produces nuts after eight or ten years. The fresh coconut meat is dried under the sun or in crude, smoky ovens, tapahans. The dried meat is known as copra and is the chief export of Dumaguete port; in 1951 it amounted to more than $5,000,000. The prosperity of this region is closely tied to copra prices. When prices are high, for example, enrollment in both public and private schools rises; but when copra prices fall school enrollments decrease

TABLE XXXIII

Cost of Building a Quinavite Fish Corral[54]
Ragay Gulf, Luzon - 1938

| Material and Labor | Quantity | Cost (Dollars) |
|---|---|---|
| **Materials** | | |
| Palma brava (bahe) @ 30¢ each | 500 | 150 |
| Bamboos (bolo or boho) @ $10 per 1,000 | 2,000 | 20 |
| Rattan @ $1.50 per 1,000 | 20,000 | 30 |
| Bamboo for raft (balsa) and bridge (vela) of the tawanik variety @ $6 per 100 | 200 | 12 |
| Cotton (twine) net (siguin) | 1 | 150 |
| Banca | | |
| Cost of splitting 2,000 bolo @ $10 per 1,000 | | 20 |
| **Cost of weaving mattings** | | |
| Body of 14 pieces (bantasan) @ $2.90 each[55] | 14 | 40.60 |
| Leader of 20 pieces(bantasan) @ $2.90 each | 20 | 58 |
| **Labor (contract)** | | |
| First maestro [foreman ?] | | 30 |
| Second maestro | | 25 |
| Seven men at $7.50 each | | 52.50 |
| Total Cost | | $713.10 |

Comparing the costs of the Quinavite of Ragay Gulf and the bonsod of Malabuhan, the materials for the former cost $212, for the latter $431. The cost of the fishing net and boat (banca) were $610 in Malabuhan and

[54] Umali, op. cit., p. 189. The date the fish corral was built is not given; the article was published in 1938.

[55] Each bantasan was about 69 feet long.

$275 in Ragay Gulf. These figures illustrate the inflation that has occurred in the Philippines since 1938.

Table XXXIV, at the end of this chapter, lists the local, English and scientific names (whenever possible) of fish caught in Siaton bonsods; Table XXXV gives the frequency of their catch and class accorded them by people living in both the barrio and Siaton poblacion.[1]

Construction of the Fish Corral

Construction of bonsods in Siaton begins in late October or early November. Bonsods are built, for the most part, between Malabuhan and Salag Point; few bonsods are erected west of Salag Point because the coral sea floor makes it almost impossible to embed the posts. (See Plates XLIV and XLV.) In the past the long bamboos needed to build a bonsod could be cut in Caticugan and other barrios near the sea. Today bamboo is cut in Lamtoc, Balanan, and Casala-an and floated as rafts down the river since nearby bamboo resources have been exhausted. Some fish corral owners advance to the cutters in the barrios part of the money to be paid for the bamboo with full payment made on delivery. Long thick poles usually cost about twenty cents each; in Tanjay similar bamboos are reported to bring twice this amount.

Most of the rattan obtained to build the bonsods comes from Tolong municipality. The people said that once rattan grew abundantly in the hills near Caticugan;

[1] [see pp. 640-645 -- Analyst]

[2] [See pp. 586A and B, cat. 116 -- Analyst]

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best months in the year to begin a new dwelling; then it is easier to dig the deep post holes, and follows the first corn harvest, a period of less activity. Whether these factors really are involved is not known; none of the people cited them as reasons for selecting September.

The important requirement is to start construction of the house during a favorable month; building activities can continue during unfavorable months. One man, working on a new house in August, was questioned if this were wise since the month is unfavorable according to Napta. He replied that it was all right for he had raised the house posts in June--a favorable month.[19]

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The construction of a barrio dwelling rarely continues without a break until the house is finished. Building activities often extend over a period of months. Posts may be erected and nothing done for a month until the family is able to buy or prepare materials for the framework and walls. Sometimes only the roof and kitchen walls are finished; one family was living in such a house in Talo-ot. In the poblacion another family began to purchase house posts and timber for a residence two years before actual construction began. Several Caticugan families lived in semi-completed dwellings for months. Often the kitchen is added long after the completion of the one-room dwelling; until then cooking is done under the house.

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[19] One poblacion informant, a member of the principalia, said it was all right to begin construction of a house during June but if one did his children would grow up selfish. He also told how he once warned a Chinese merchant in the poblacion not to begin his house during an unfavorable month; the warning was not heeded and a few weeks after the house was completed it burned to the ground. The Chinese had fallen asleep while smoking; his opium pipe fell from his mouth and started the fire.

spirits when he makes his palio. Usually he requests that the spirits punish any individual who tries to secretly interfere with the palio. The palio is performed by a man, but not necessarily by a specialist.

Oracion reports similar practices among the Magahats of Tolong in order to determine whether the spirits approve of a new caingin. In the proposed caingin site the Magahats place a pole and put at the top a small vine roll. The roll of vines is said to symbolize a crown and the stick the diwa (unseen spirits).[11] The cultivator returns home and his dreams for the next three days are interpreted as favorable or unfavorable signs. For example, if he dreams of sickness or death this is a bad omen and the caingin area is abandoned. Normally, however, the cultivators dreams are said to be favorable.[12]

Dream interpretation for selection of a caingin site appears to be more important among the Magahats than in Siaton. The writer did not inquire specifically whether dreams were used as omens in the selection of a caingin but the palio would seem to make dreams superfluous. The

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[11] Diwa was the name for idols in pre-Hispanic Philippines. "Others...reverenced most ugly idols made of stone or wood, which they called divatas." Luis de Jesus, Blair and Robertson, op. cit., XXI, p. 203. Caticugan barriofolk use diwata today as a synonym for "superstition" and as the name for a rite connected with the fish corral.

[12] Oracion, op. cit., pp. 46-7.

The caingin clearing is a man's job. Sometimes the women may be weeding an old caingin nearby. During the clearing and burning the cultivators from the lowland barrios live at their caingins in temporary shelters. Often they go to their caingins on Monday bringing sufficient food to last till Saturday when they return to the barrio. 241 [462]

Caingin Crops

Caingins are planted at the start of the rainy season in April or May and continuing to July. One caingin above Dolog was planted with rice as early as February while other nearby caingins were planted as late as August. Rice and corn are planted in hills with a dibble stick (gahok). A hole is made in the ground with the point of the dibble stick and as much rice as one can hold between the thumb and first or second finger is put in the hills that are separated about the distance of one handspan. Seed corn is planted four or five kernels to a hill and is mainly a woman's job, although the men may help. Several caingins were observed, however, in which the rice had been sowed broadcast. [412] [462]

The two major caingin crops are rice and corn; abaca is probably the most important associated plant. Other minor crops are camotes, ubi (Dioscorea esculenta Linn.); balanghoy (cassava: Manihot utilissima Pohl); bananas and tahores beans (tapilan phaseolus multiflorus Wild). The rice varieties planted are: Capayo (Capayong);

or two-fifths of all we dig and slice. The caingin owners are busy then making a new caingin, this is why they are glad to see us. It is as if we had planted our own cassava. We live there and help make slices. Some of the people bring their own food and others get food from the caingin owners. We live in their houses.

Last year my wife went to Dodong's field in Padang. Mostly women went because it was during the plowing season. It was March. I did not go, just my wife. Our share was four sacks of mixed dried cassava and camotes chips. People in Padang live differently than the people in Naga. In the mountains one can plant many things. Here we just plow in season. In the mountains one can plant red squash, gabi, pesula [a variety of squash] sikwa [commonly called patola: Luffa acutangula Linn.]. There are no big houses in the mountains. They are not permanent because after three years the caingin owners have to look for another place to caingin.

Women and children are usually the ones that go to the mountains to harvest the caingins. I was told by some informants that "men would be olao [ashamed or embarrassed] to harvest rice in someone else's caingin. The people would say they did not know how to make their own caingin." However, some men do go, particularly the unmarried men (olitaos) who are said to "follow the dalagas [unmarried] young women." This is an interesting comment, for a young man courts a girl in the barrio under many handicaps. To be able to work and talk with her, away from the surveillance of the family, would have many advantages.[14]

Rice is cut one stalk at the time with a small knife. Rice heads are put into small baskets strapped to the harvester's side; later they are emptied into larger baskets. Rice is threshed and corn is harvested by the

[14] I never observed a caingin corn or rice harvest.

(rice wrapped in coconut leaves and then boiled), one plate of cooked rice, and four bamboo containers of tuba made from either the coconut or ediok palms.[20] 241 574 801

Guests normally do not participate in the offering but stand or sit around the edges of the field. Some women may be inside the house preparing food for the meal that follows the ceremony. If the caingin owner feels confident, he may conduct the ceremony himself. Otherwise he will request a man well-versed in the ritual to make his offering. The "speech" given during the brief ritual, however, appears to be an improvisation and not a recitation that requires a nimble memory. Yet many people do not wish to perform the ceremonies for the loto or the dulot because they believe any mistakes might offend the unseen spirits they seek to please. 241 574 241 537

The ceremony is always conducted by a man. No cases were reported of a woman who made the loto or dulot; this is interesting because the magical rites connected with lowland agriculture are normally performed by women. The man goes to the center of the caingin and stands by by the table. Speaking to the spirits and kalags (souls) of the parents or relatives of the caingin cultivator, he invites them to dine on the proffered food. The specialist may repeat his invitation in a whisper or speak loudly. According to one female informant, what is said usually is: 241 537 [791] [462] 241 337 788

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[20] The Magahats offer one chicken, seven tilad, seven rice cakes, seven tinostos, two glasses of tuba, and three candles. Oracion, op. cit., p. 59-60.

early the seedlings may be transplanted early and if the rains are delayed the seedlings are permitted to grow longer than usual. When the seedlings are pulled for transplanting if they are too tall their tops are trimmed with a bolo. 243

Preparing the Rice Paddy (Pilapil) and Transplanting

Rice seedlings are usually transplanted in Caticugan in August and September at the peak of the rainy season. An "expert" can pull seedlings with both hands at the same time, although most people use only one hand. A small bunch of seedlings is pulled, perhaps five to ten per bunch, and the dirt shaken from their roots to make it easier to carry them to the paddies. The seedlings, often tied in small bunches, are carried to the fields in baskets. Pulling of the seedlings is done mostly by women and older children since the men are busy putting the last touches on the paddies. Paddies normally are fully prepared just before transplanting. If they are harrowed and leveled the day before transplanting the soil might become too dry before the seedlings are planted. [462]

Preparation of the paddies is a time-consuming task. Usually they have been plowed once before the heavy rains so that the soil will absorb water more fully. The low dykes built around the paddies may be repaired to prevent leakage, although the dykes in Caticugan are so low and well-packed (they are often used as paths) that their repair is a minor task.

20: Hart E-5 (1954) 1954 OA1 Philippines
Central Bisayan OA14



planters small, only part of the field is prepared for immediate transplanting. Sometimes several days are taken to transplant one paddy. A group may be transplanting in part of the paddy while in another part a man is harrowing or leveling the soil. 243

Transplanting is done by both sexes. Men transplant rice more noticeably than they plant corn. One reason is the back-breaking work of transplanting seedlings. If all the seedlings are not planted the same day, they are put in water and placed in the shade. 243 462

Cooperative transplanting groups are very rare in Caticugan. None was observed during my residence. It is considered cheaper today to pay one's helpers than to prepare and furnish the food and drink necessary for cooperative labor groups. Hired planters are paid fifty cents a day and given their breakfast and lunch. The few people who hired laborers to help transplant paddies in Caticugan were owners who lived in the poblacion. 243 476 [465]

Transplanting time is not a festive period it is said to be in some parts of the Philippines. In Caticugan there were no songs and music. A Philippine school song aptly describes the transplanting in Caticugan. 243

> Planting rice is never fun.
> Bent from morn till the set of sun.
> Cannot stand and cannot sit
> Cannot rest for a little bit[28]

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[28]Ortigas, Jr., op. cit., p. 1.

The most common corn variety planted in Caticugan's fields is Bisaya, also called Pakilab ("glittery") and Tiniguib. The provincial agriculture office classifies Bisaya corn as Cahu White Flint which was found in 1939 to be the second heaviest yielder in all seasons in the Philippines.[40] Some farmers in Datag, Sandolot and Casala-an plant a variety called Bagsiao in their lowland fields.[41] A few farmers plant Talariray and Kalipos, possibly additional names for Bisaya. Kalipos is said "to be like Bisaya but not pure" so it is probably a local strain. 243

Planting the seed corn is largely a woman's job. Usually the men are plowing the furrows while the women and children follow behind to plant the seed corn. Planting of corn is a tiresome task but not backbreaking like transplanting rice seedlings. However, this factor is secondary in explaining why the women do the planting. There is no feeling among the men that planting corn is a "woman's job." In fact when asked the men will reply "Oh, everyone plants corn." But this is not entirely correct. A record was kept of individuals and their sex who planted corn in Caticugan over a period of several weeks. These figures are given in Table XVII.[1] 243 462 [183]

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[40] Uichanco and Sacay, op. cit., I, p. 113.

[41] The barriofolk said no Bagsiao was planted in Caticugan because it took longer to mature and did not stand the heat as well as Bisaya.

1 [See p. 334, cat. 243 or 462 -- Analyst]

20: Hart E-5 (1951) 1954 OA1 Philippines
Central Bisayan OA14



TABLE XVII

Division of Labor by Sex

In Planting Corn in Caticugan, 1951

| Planters | Number |
|---|---|
| Women | 67 |
| Girls | 15 |
| Boys | 10 |
| Men | 9 |

More than 80 per cent of the corn planters observed in Caticugan for this 2-week period were females.

Planting corn is done with the feet. The planters walk down the furrow carrying seed corn in a coconut shell, bamboo container or straw hat. With bare feet they push away the larger clods and make a shallow depression inside the furrow. Four or five seeds are dropped in each hill. The seeds are then covered and the hill firmly pressed with the feet; the hands are never used. Since hills are planted one step apart, the distance between hills depends upon the pace of the planter. Sometimes, but not commonly, the field may be plowed in a grid pattern and the seed corn planted at the points where the furrows intersect.

There are lihis associated with the planting of corn. Many barriofolk prefer to plant their corn when the tide is high and during yayong--when the full moon rises immediately after sunset. Few people plant or work in their fields or paddies on Sunday for religious reasons.

The lihis for planting corn, like those for rice, are not rigidly structured. There are certain items that

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A green worm (tohob) often attacks young corn and is said to cause the leaves to turn yellow. One charm (sumpa) against this particular worm is to stick a few branches of the thorny bagakay bamboo in the field. Magahats also put bagakay bamboo in their rice fields to frighten away the maya birds.[43]

Several weeks after the corn is sowed, hills that did not germinate are replanted (pona). Replanting is done in the same manner corn is planted in the saingins; a dibble stick is used to make a hole into which new seed is dropped. This is usually a woman's job. [462]

When the corn is five or six inches high the fields are usually plowed for weed control. The first plowing for weeds is called abre binagsa (a corruption of abrir (Sp.) "to open or uncover" and binagsa (Ceb.) "first"). Plowing is done in a criss-cross manner between the hills or rows of corn. About a month later, when the corn is nearly head tall, the fields may be replowed, known as abre tagorha. Sometimes this is done like the first plowing; or two furrows may be made between the rows, throwing soil over the corn stalks' roots. While nearly all farmers plow their fields once, the second plowing is often omitted if the fields are not weedy. A few farmers make no attempt at weed control. One field in Talo-ot had weeds higher than the mature corn but this was exceptional.

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[43] Oracion, op. cit., p. 54.

passing the field said he thought sigbins were eating the corn because it was so early in the morning. Some barrio-folk thought this dawn harvest unfair and the owner was said to be "greedy." In two instances fields were harvested Sunday morning when many of the women were attending church in the poblacion; normally no work is done in the fields on Sunday. Another cultivator began to harvest a small cornfield and attracted the manalabangs; then other members of the family harvested a larger field. The small harvest decoyed the manalabangs away from the larger field. 243 476

These harvesters are mostly women and young children. Men rarely harvest corn other than their own crop; they are said to be ashamed or embarrassed to do so. Most manalabangs who harvested corn or rice in Caticugan came from the nearby barrios. Once a harvest begins the news spreads rapidly and the manalabangs scurry toward the field with folded sacks on their heads to carry home their share. A field that could be harvested in several hours by a family may have forty or fifty unrequested harvesters. 243 476 462 857

While the share of the manalabangs varies it is never large. Their share depends upon (1) the size of the field; (2) the amount of corn harvested; (3) the number of harvesters present, and (4) the generosity of the cultivator. Relatives of the cornfield's owner or cultivator usually get more than non-relatives although both groups do the same amount of work. Harvesters who arrive after the harvest is completed may be given a few ears of corn 243 476

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Corn stalks from the first paddy corn harvest are given to those who cut them. At this time the nearby grazing areas are green and fodder is plentiful. During the harvest or shortly afterwards men or young boys come to cut the stalks and carry them home for their animals. However, in the later corn and rice harvests the cultivators do not donate the harvested stalks. By this time the pastures have begun to dry up; the corn and rice stalks are retained by the owners for their own animals.

Local Harvest Migrations

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During July many people from Caticugan, the poblacion and nearby barrios go to Omanod to help in the corn harvest. Corn is usually harvested earlier in Omanod than in Siaton.[49] Omanod is situated in a small riverine plain in Sta. Catalina municipality, about three or four miles west of Barrio Bonawon. In 1951 people came from Bacong and Dauin to help in the Omanod corn harvest. Some took the bus and others from Siaton poblacion walked or rode horses. Women and young children outnumbered men. Several families in Caticugan and the poblacion left younger children under the care of an elder daughter while mother and father went to Omanod.

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[49]Siaton corn harvests sometimes occur before those of Omanod. Normally, however, the earlier rains of Omanod make it possible for the barriofolk to plant (and harvest) their corn before Siaton. However, in 1952, fewer harvesters went to Omanod from Siaton because both harvests occurred about the same period.

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rich man does not treat us kindly." Very few people in Caticugan knew this story. Possibly, in the past, the barriofolk may have believed corn had a "soul"; among some of the peoples of Southeast Asia (for example, Indo-China) rice is believed to possess a soul.

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The second paddy corn and the first non-irrigated corn harvests usually occur in August and September. Manalabangs do not present such a problem since they are busy in their own fields and there are more crops to harvest. This is a busy period for everyone, particularly the women. They travel to Sandolot, Casala-an and other nearby barrios to obtain corn to replenish inadequate supplies. It is difficult not to think of the statement made by Taft that "the best man in the Philippines is the woman" when one observes the activities of these female harvesters. Their untiring efforts to maintain food for their family make many of them quiet heroes.

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"Wet season" corn is harvested in August and the "dry season" corn, second non-irrigated crop, is normally planted in October. September is the climax month of the rainy season so the farmers wait until October when the monthly precipitation decreases considerably yet the fields are still moist enough to plow and plant. The second non-irrigated corn crop is normally harvested in Caticugan and environs in January or February. Some northern barrios, like Dolog, plant a third corn crop but the acreage is small.

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might be started. Noon is a popular time for these gatherings or just after the day's work is done. A buri-producing guhang is rarely without flies, bees and thirsty drinkers looking for a few "drinks on the cuff." At night the men may gather at the buri by the light of the lamp. Guhang trees are a sort of "rural poolhall" in Caticugan.

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Guhang lihis are always made by men. This is unusual since most of the other lihis in Caticugan, particularly in regard to agriculture, are held by women. However, there is a fairly general feeling among many of the barriofolk that it is not wise to permit a woman to ascend a guhang buri since she might contaminate it--especially if she is menstruating. Some believe a menstruating woman might cause the guhang to become malodorous or the sap to stop flowing. Other reasons why few women climb a buri are well summed up by this comment of one woman.

> There is nothing wrong if women climb guhang trees, only it is too dangerous for women to climb. Our skirt might be tangled in the thorns [of the tree] and there is danger of falling. We have a new guhang and just the other day I climbed our guhang because somebody came to buy some guhang and my son and my husband were out working in the field. Our guhang is quite short and nothing happened to the guhang [because she climbed the tree].

Another woman said:

> I have climbed our guhang many times. Others said that it is not good for women to climb the guhang for the guhang might become malodorous. But I do not believe in this because the tuba [guhang] of the guhang [buri] that I have climbed many times did not become malodorous.

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However, I never once saw a woman climb or sit at the top of a buri.

When the lihi is to be held the owner or a mananguete ascends the ladder to the top of the buri. The "eye" is retrimmed with a special bolo called ig-alabis and a small hole bored into its center. Many of the ingredients listed for the lihi (Table XX)[1] are put in a small bottle and mixed with vinegar and/or Mallorca. Most of this liquid is poured into the hole made in the "eye" and the bottle may be left in the palm. The pag-i tail and three small sharpened pieces of bagakay bamboo are put in the hole in the "eye"; sometimes a piece of paniawan vine is hung on one of the upper frond stems.

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Three days after this lihi the buri's "eye" is again retrimmed. A small groove now is cut in the "eye" to direct the flowing sap down a trough and into a large jar (tadyao). (See Plate XXVIII.)[2] Normally the "eye" is trimmed once if not several times each day.

> Fresh cuts [of the "eye"] should be made at frequent intervals, as the rate of the flow [of the sap] may be thus temporarily increased as much as 50 per cent. The rate also varies according to the thickness of the slice removed; at least, if the exudation is from the top of the trunk...As it flows from the tree and for a short time after, the sap is colorless, odorless, and neutral or slightly alkaline. After standing a viscous, followed by a putrid, fermentation develops when no precaution is taken to prevent it. The sucrose begins to invert in a few hours and the process is complete in about thirty hours. A comparatively small yield of alcohol results from the spontaneous fermentation of the sap; a greater portion of the reducing sugars being changed by the viscous, putrid, and other fermentations than by the alcoholic...[58]

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[58] Brown, op. cit., I, p. 298.

1 [See p. 380ff, cat. 273 + 245--Analyst]

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Powdered tan-bark (tongog), purchased in the poblacion and pounded in the mortar, is added to the sap that has been collected in the jar. During the war when the tan-bark from Mindanao was unobtainable, the bark of the antipolo tree was used as a somewhat unsatisfactory substitute. Tan-bark is not grown locally, most of it comes from Mindanao, and costs about ten cents a pound in Siaton poblacion. The addition of the powdered tan-bark gives the guhang a golden color, improves its flavor, and is said to prevent diarrhea.

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Guhang vendors are always young girls or women, reflecting the general barrio pattern that vending is a woman's job. The vendor's profits are small. A dama (17 to 18 quarts) of guhang wholesales from the buri's owner for about seventy-five cents. The standard price for a quart of guhang in Siaton poblacion is five cents; therefore, a vendor's profit on a dama is about ten to fifteen cents.

Profits of the vendors are limited not only by the price but by the supply of guhang. Often the stalls in Siaton poblacion would close early in the evening for lack of guhang. Every evening men, and a few women, usually residents of the poblacion, collect at the guhang stalls to drink and talk; I rarely saw intoxicated drinkers at these evening gatherings. A pleasant custom of the poblacion stall owners permits prospective customers to sample guhang to determine its taste, without cost, before buying.

Camotes

The farmers offer three major reasons why so few camotes (amotes) are planted in Barrio Caticugan. First, to intercrop camotes with the first corn would make it impossible to plant a second crop. Second, between the harvest of the first and the planting of the second corn crops the barriofolk permit their pigs to roam the locality. The most desirable land for camotes, from an edaphic (soil) viewpoint, is unfenced cornfields near the residences. Third, since there are only a few camote fields in the community, cuttings are sometimes difficult to secure; one must go to other barrios or even to mountain caingins to obtain plants. The barriofolk often barter one-half a ganta of salt for as many camote cuttings as they can carry home.

Fields to be planted with camote cuttings are usually plowed twice; the final furrows are made in a grid pattern. After the heavy rains begin these furrows are replowed to increase their depth. Men, women and children plant cuttings in these furrows; there does not appear to be any division of this labor by sex.

Lihis for camote planting are normally done by the person inserting the cuttings in the field; no specialist is needed. Some barriofolk take three shells of the first hatching of a hen (turtle egg shells are better but more difficult to secure), a little sugar and lime (made from snail or sea shells), pieces from the winnowing basket, stone chips from the sog-ang (the three stones used

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damaged by farmyard animals they receive no care. Rats are the greatest pest. Sometimes the ground under many trees is littered with fallen young nuts that rats have gnawed to eat the tender meat. In Caticugan no one attempts to protect their trees from the rats. In the northern barrios now and then I saw thorny vines wound around the trunk to keep the rats from climbing the palm.

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The first nuts of a palm are harvested without any ceremony. Normally in Caticugan the nuts are harvested every three months, by a man who climbs the tree using notches cut into the trunk. Nuts are either twisted from their stems or cut with a bolo. Husking the nuts is often done by the women. The nut is split and the meat extracted with a bolo or smaller knife; the meat is then dried on mats in the sun for three days. The copra (dried coconut meat) is sacked, carried to the poblacion and sold at any of several Chinese stores. Chinese copra dealers in Dumaguete send trucks along the National Road to pick up the copra from local stores.

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It is difficult to assess the income the barrio people receive from their copra. Copra prices vary from year to year as do the harvests. A farmer in Barrio Caticugan said forty trees earned him fifty dollars in one year; another reported an income of sixty dollars from fifty trees. The owner of the largest coconut grove was not willing to divulge data of income received from copra. However, a tenant said just from one harvest the owner got twenty sacks of copra weighing from 135 to 150 pounds

Vegetables and Other Garden Crops

Vegetables approximate guhang as the most important source of cash income for the majority of families in Caticugan. The majority of barriofolk have a small home garden, plagued by insects, farmyard animals and lack of care. The gardens are rarely fenced. A number of families plant vegetables mainly for sale in the poblacion. Gardens are usually tended by women, who also sell the vegetables. In a recent descriptive account of a barrio in Bulacanan province, Luzon, this fact is stated indirectly:

> At Anilao [the name of the barrio] day begins in the night's small hours, when the men rise to go fishing...When the men return home at dawn, the women are up, breakfast has long been ready...All morning the men sleep, while the women work the vegetable gardens or gather grass to sell to rig drivers.71

Nearly every morning a few women from Caticugan could be seen carrying vegetables to sell to the poblacion.

Vegetable gardens often are planted on the canal banks in Caticugan. This location is considered desirable because the ground is usually moist and better drained during the rainy season when many gardens die of flooding. Pieces of thorny bamboo are put in the ground to support stringbeans, gourds and squashes. A few women hang strings of seaweed on the bamboo supports of the gourds and squashes; these are said to repel insects.

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71"Life in Barrio Anilao," Philippines Free Press, XLIV, No. 40 (October 3, 1953), p. 28. This unsigned article consists mainly of photographs that present some realistic scenes of barrio life. Underlining in quotation by writer.

diet when there is no need to barter or sell them for more filling dietary necessities and when cultural factors favor vegetable production.

Though women predominate in gardening activities in Caticugan the poblacion school teaches only the boys to grow vegetables. It was an early American idea to add gardening activities to the elementary curriculum; the officials concerned did not realize that in the barrios gardening is mainly a female activity. This is probably because women, not men, are the vendors of vegetables. In fact, a man who would sell vegetables in Caticugan would be a deviant in the eyes of most of the barriofolk. One man who vended vegetables was known to all as a bayote, a name for very feminine-acting men. In southern Negros the school boys are being trained to do a girl's work in the barrios.

Kalamongay

The most commonly grown vegetable in Caticugan is kalamongay (Tag. Malungay: Moringa oleifera Linn.), a small tree-like plant that produces leafy branches. The branches are cut and stripped; the small tender leaves are cooked as greens. Kalamongay often grows so tall that small children can climb it or the top branches are cut with a small knife tied to a bamboo. When the rains come kalamongay is cut back and new cuttings planted. Sometimes ashes are spread around the base of the newly-planted

The task of taking the animals to the river to drink and bathe, or of moving them to another area to graze (if pegged) is often the duty of young boys. 231 [462]

Rinderpest was introduced to the Philippines in 1888 and ten years later the disease appeared in Siaton, killing many carabaos. In 1920 and again in 1940 rinderpest struck in Siaton decimating the carabao herd. There is no specific native medicine for rinderpest, although many owners treated their animals with the same medicines used for diarrhea or dysentery in humans. A white film sometimes grows over their eyes and, if not cured, results in blindness. One medicine applied by the barriofolk to eyes so afflicted is a mixture of salt, powdered clay pot, and crushed red peppers! Native veterinarian specialists are called mangalapon; there was none in Caticugan but one lived in Sandolot. To my knowledge he never came to Caticugan to treat a sick animal; this was done by the owner. 232

Carabaos are sometimes bitten by a poisonous spider (lawalawa). As a result of the bite, both humans and carabaos are reported to suffer a swollen abdomen and to be unable to urinate; death sometimes results. Treatment is the same for carabaos as for humans. The following ingredients are used: roots of the hono (Abrus precatorius Linn.), tubli (Derris), ongali (Uvaria rufa Blume) and pakobol vines; roots of the homokan, salowasowa (Citrus hystrix, family Rutaceae) and pauli trees, and roots from the taghoy bush, (Canthium gynochthodes Baill.). 278 232 757 824

uncooked leaves are itchy and the pigs will not eat them. 231
The food is put in a bamboo or stone trough placed under the house. Pigs are fed once a day, usually in the late afternoon. The job of preparing food and feeding them [462] usually is done by young girls and women.

One fairly widespread custom is the belief that a small turtle kept in kinilis water may prevent the pigs from becoming sick. The urine and feces of the little fresh-water turtles are said to have medicinal qualities and protect the pig from hog cholera. One family had three turtles in the kitchen kinilis can.

Stray pigs do a great deal of damage to vegetable gardens. In the poblacion the people explain the few vegetable gardens as due to stray pigs and goats. A local ordinance makes owners liable for their stray animals; now and then a drive is made by the police to fine owners of stray pigs. On the whole, however, the ordinance is not enforced, mainly because few people report violations. Many people complain but few take action. 231 244

Goats

Goats (kanding), like swine, are a pre-Spanish animal; Pigafetta writes that when Magellan's group landed at Cebu the people had pigs, goats and chickens. Goat meat is considered less desirable than pork by most of the people; the principalia of the poblacion would rarely serve goat meat to guests. However, the goats of Siaton 231

582

It is a frequent saingin volunteer and one could see plants growing in poblacion vacant lots. Igao has been studied so there is some information on its nutritional value.[11] The igao's petioles are boiled and fed to the pigs (but never eaten by the people in Caticugan) while the corms are gathered for food.

All wild corms are dug during the dry or hot season. When the rainy season appears the roots become very fibrous and less agreeable to eat. It is fortunate for the barriofolk that the corms are most palatable during the period when they are most needed. With the coming of the rains the igao leafs out and the corms turn black. They may still be dug to feed to pigs but this is not a common practice in Caticugan. Barriofolk regard the corms as most palatable in March and April.

Both men and women dig for wild roots. However, when the roots are shallow and easily dug, women and children normally dig them. If the vines are very thorny

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[11] Brown, op. cit., I, p. 344. The Tagalog name for igao is puñgapung. R. F. Bacon, "Starch Production in the Philippines," Phil. Journal of Science, A 3 (1908), states the highest yield of starch obtainable from the igao corms is 4.5 per cent; this study cited in Brown, ibid. More recent studies by Wester and Hermano give the following data on the constituents of the igao corm: moisture 77.8 (74.8) per cent; ash 1.3 (0.7); fat 0.13 (0.6); protein 1.4 (5.1); and giving 574 (1,000) calories per 2.2 pounds. Hermano's study is cited in Brown, op. cit., I, pp. 344-348. Hermano's figures are enclosed in (). P. J. Wester, The Food Plants of the Philippines. 3rd revised edition. Manila, Bureau of Agriculture Bulletin No. 39, Bureau of Printing, 1925, p. 218.

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Snails are gathered all year except when the river is flooded and too swift to collect them. Even during the rainy season, the snails are collected between floods. Another factor that discourages people from gathering snails during the rainy season is the appearance in the river of the poisonous golden-colored fish, lupo. When stepped on, this fish inflicts a painful wound.

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Both sexes gather snails in the river, although it is done mostly by women and young children. As one female informant explained: "Women are easier to group together than men and in the evening the men like to drink guhang." Snails are collected in the day or at night by moonlight or a flashlight.

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Kapia, Ungka and Bong-Bong are usually found on top of stones at night or under them during the day. The people explain that at night the snails come from under the stones to feed. Soso and Tibo-Tibo normally occur on the sandy river bottom. When snails are gathered during the day stones are turned over along the river edge where the water is shallow. The people wear a small bamboo container or carry a can in which to put the snails.

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Snails are boiled, sometimes with vegetables, to make soup (sabao). The meat is then extracted from the shell and eaten. Most houses have a nearby kitchen midden of discarded snail and clam shells.

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To make lime (apog) for betel nut chewing, snail shells are put in a half section of dry bamboo that is

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Marine mollusks are gathered mainly by women and young girls; men and young boys infrequently participate. The mollusks are gathered at low tide usually during or just before a full moon; the women enjoy collecting snails and clams. They bathe, gossip, playfully splash water on friends while dipping coconut shells into the sand for the clams. The marine clams most frequently gathered are Kalaykay and Toway; the marine snails are Tabono and Tapdaday.

At the July full moon I visited the seashore one afternoon. The most popular place to collect snails and clams is a rocky stretch of beach just east of the Siaton River mouth. About seventy individuals were hunting along the rocky beach; they were women or young girls and a very few elderly men. Ten were from Catiugan; others came from the poblacion, from Barrios Mantuyop, and from Sumalaring. Some dug in the sand for clams, and put them into a container or popped them into their mouths. When their mouths were full they walked to the beach and put these clams in a container. Some women dropped the clams into their blouse fronts.

The most abundant of all these marine snails and clams is the Kalaykay; about the size of a quarter. The Tapdagay, said to be "very good eating," are often collected on rainy days when they stick to stones in shallow water.

[222]

Barriofolk rarely go to the nipa swamps just to collect clams and snails. They usually combine this task with getting nipa leaves.

(See Plate XL. Figure B was seen in Pangasinan province, Luzon.)[1] Pana sa isda are usually from five to ten 227
inches long, the arrows from fifteen to twenty inches; posil-posil sa isda may be from one and one-half to five feet in length whereas the arrows are from twenty to forty inches long. I shot a posil-posil sa isda that hurled a 40-inch arrow 20 feet, penetrating half way through a medium-sized banana trunk. Often a posil-posil sa isda may have as many as four to six rubber bands to increase the arrow's velocity; some will shoot an arrow 150 feet, although after the first twenty or thirty feet the flight is not straight.

The posil-posil sa isda is used more for "shooting" 226
larger fish in the sea; the pana sa isda is for river fishing. Most boys as young as seven or eight years, 462
have a pana sa isda that they use with considerable skill. Women never and young girls rarely "shoot" fish, either in the river or the sea. Young boys go to the river wearing home-made goggles and stand for hours in the water, now and then ducking their heads beneath the surface to look for small fish. The goggles are made of wood with pieces of broken glass for lenses. The glass is sometimes affixed to the handcarved wooden frames with the wax of wild honeycomb. Usually a boy wears a bamboo container at his waist for catch.

Morning or afternoon, one might see two or three small boys, standing in the river, with their heads popping in and out of the water. Sometimes they stayed

1 [See p. 562, cat. 227 -- Analyst]

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Nearly all of the boats are equipped with a coconut shell or bamboo bailer. One baroto had a hole in the bottom of the hull, from which a wooden plug could be removed to empty the boat of water. Paddles (bossay) are made from a light, sturdy wood. When boats are beached they usually are covered with palm fronds to protect them from the heat and rain. Some large bancas are kept in palm leaf sheds when not in use.

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A young boy who lives in a seaside barrio becomes adept at handling a baroto; the young girls have less chance to learn. While women may ride as passengers in boats they rarely, if ever, go fishing; almost all aspects of pelagic fishing are masculine. No toy boats or small boats were seen in the fishing barrios for teaching young boys skills necessary when they become adults.

Summary

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Securing aquatic products, from creeks, rivers and sea, consumes more time on the part of the barriofolk than any other activity except agriculture. It is necessary to make traps and nets, keep them in repair, and inspect them for catches. The people of Caticugan, however, depended little upon the sea for aquatic foods although the community is near the coast. When the cost of a fish corral is known, it is apparent that most barriofolk lack the necessary capital for the initial investment in boat, nets, building supplies, etc. Although a bobo trap could be made by most of the Caticugan barriofolk, one reason why so few have bobos is the lack of a boat. No

These attitudes and customs associated with securing aquatic products in Siaton illustrate how Catholicism overlaid the ancient religious concepts. Animism and Catholicism operate in different conceptual frames of reference and barriofolk shift from one to the other without any severe conflict. This situation may explain the relative ease with which the Spanish padres "converted" Filipinos to Catholicism in the past.

The technology of aquatic products, like that of agriculture, also illustrates the sexual division of labor. Some activities are strictly male or female; for a male to participate in women's activities would render him suspect. For example, the only men in Caticugan who were vendors of vegetables, guhang or rice cakes, were individuals known to the barriofolk as bayutes, highly feminine-acting men. There are some activities that either a male or a female may perform as far as the participants' physical strength is concerned, or take into consideration the restricted mobility of most women. The concept of menstrual pollution is another factor; e.g., women should not climb guhang trees (spoil flavor of drink), approach men making boats (the wood might crack), or approach the fish corral (the bonsod's luck might be lost). Age may modify one's role in certain activities. For example, old men may and do help women gather clams and snails at the seashore, an activity in which most young men would not think of participating.

The religious concepts of Caticugan barriofolk are integrated into most aspects of their culture. Religion

high, with a capacity of about 8-1/4 pounds of clean rice; the largest was 9 inches high with a capacity of 4-1/2 pounds. It took her about two days to make the large pot; four or five of the smaller ones could be made in the same time--of course, after the clay had been gathered and prepared for working.

437 415 323

BURI WEAVING

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Weaving of buri (Cebuano: buli) palm bags and sleeping mats is the most widespread of all handicrafts in the Siaton River valley. Large buri bags (balayut), four or five feet high, serve to store rice or shelled corn. Smaller bags (bolugasan) are used to carry shelled corn to the poblacion mills for grinding for storage. Sleeping mats (banig) are about three to five feet in width and four to six feet in length. Plate LXX,[1] A and B, shows the type of weave used for making both the bags and sleeping mats. Drawing B (Plate LXX) shows how the edges of the sleeping mats are finished. Weaving buri bags and mats is strictly a woman's job, although men cut the fronds.

415 352 285 [462]

Preparing the Buri for Weaving

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Unopened immature buri fronds are cut from the tree's crown. The best time to cut the fronds was said to be the period of the new moon; if gathered at any other time the fronds are very brittle and difficult to weave. After the unopened fronds are cut, they are pulled apart and placed, fan-like, on the ground to dry for two or three days.

1 [See p. 703, cat. 285, or 116 -- Analyst]

barriofolk. Possibly the developing jute industry of the Philippines will replace buri plaiting in the future.

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BARRIO BASKETS

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Three major types of baskets used by the barriofolk of Caticugan are: (1) the harvest basket, bukag; (2) the winnowing basket, niggo or ayagang; (3) and the shallow kalalaw used in abaca weaving. Several other types of baskets were made by schoolchildren in the poblacion but never used in the barrio; they are taught to make small bags and baskets that can be sold as curios. Basket-making is said to be predominately a woman's job, although some men make bukags. Baskets were made so rarely in Caticugan that I never saw any of these three types being plaited.

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The bukag, previously mentioned in connection with the corn harvests, is a loosely plaited basket of thin strips of bamboo and rattan about 2 feet in height with an 18-inch opening. The bukag is roughly made and does not take much time to plait. This type of basket, to my knowledge, is always made by the barriofolk; I never saw any for sale in either the poblacion or Dumaguete. They are used, almost entirely, to carry unhusked corn from the fields to the house or storehouse.

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The wide shallow basket used for winnowing the chaff from pounded rice or ground corn is called the niggo or ayagang. This basket also is plaited from rattan and thin pieces of bamboo. An increasing number of them are

supports. (See Plate LXXII, 4 and 22.)[1] Unlike the looms in Ilocos that are built underneath the house, using the upright beams supporting the dwelling for part of the loom structure, Caticugan looms are kept inside the dwelling. The loom is a Malayan horizontal type with two foot treadles that manipulate two cord heddles for speedy intercalation of the spool shuttle.[11] The weaving product is a coarsely-woven stiff fabric called abaca (Cebuano: hinabol).

Nearly all women who wove abaca said they learned the technique from their mothers; one informant said she was taught by her father who had learned from his mother. A few men were said to weave, although no men living in Caticugan did so.

Stripping the fibers from the abaca plant and building the loom are a man's work, whereas the processing of the fiber, weaving and the final preparation of the cloth are a woman's work. Several older women in Caticugan were able to weave when they were in their early teens. There was one abandoned loom in Caticugan that the owner said was smaller than the normal loom; it had been used by a mother to teach the girl to weave. Normally, however a girl learns to weave on the regular-size loom.

No abaca is grown in Caticugan so the fibers must be purchased from abaca-growing communities. This may be a minor factor in the decline of weaving in Caticugan.

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[11] On this matter see the articles by H. Ling Roth, "Studies in Primitive Looms, Part III: 6. Indonesian Looms," The Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland, XLVII, 1917, pp. 323-66.

1 [See p.710, cat. 286 -- Analyst]

spirits when he makes his palio. Usually he requests that the spirits punish any individual who tries to secretly interfere with the palio. The palio is performed by a man, but not necessarily by a specialist. 241 [461] [463]

Oracion reports similar practices among the Magahats of Tolong in order to determine whether the spirits approve of a new caingin. In the proposed caingin site the Magahats place a pole and put at the top a small vine roll. The roll of vines is said to symbolize a crown and the stick the diwa (unseen spirits).[11] The cultivator returns home and his dreams for the next three days are interpreted as favorable or unfavorable signs. For example, if he dreams of sickness or death this is a bad omen and the caingin area is abandoned. Normally, however, the cultivators dreams are said to be favorable.[12] 241 787

Dream interpretation for selection of a caingin site appears to be more important among the Magahats than in Siaton. The writer did not inquire specifically whether dreams were used as omens in the selection of a caingin but the palio would seem to make dreams superfluous. The

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[11] Diwa was the name for idols in pre-Hispanic Philippines. "Others...reverenced most ugly idols made of stone or wood, which they called divatas." Luis de Jesus, Blair and Robertson, op. cit., XXI, p. 203. Caticugan barriofolk use diwata today as a synonym for "superstition" and as the name for a rite connected with the fish corral. [778]

[12] Oracion, op. cit., pp. 46-7.

20: Hart E-5 (1951) 1954 OA1 Philippines OA1
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[463]

catching pelagic fish in Siaton. Though all the people sell or barter their surplus fish, the bonsod and netting of fish are the most commercialized fishing activities in Siaton, requiring the largest capital investment. The material that follows does not describe the daily activities of the barriofolk of Caticugan, but rather the various commercial fishermen (many of whom live in the poblacion and are municipal officials) and the residents of the fishing barrios that huddle under the coconuts by the blue sea.

P 228

The basis for the Philippine government's present legal control over public waters was the Spanish Law of Waters (1866). What is commonly considered the basic fishing law of the Republic (Act No. 4003) was not passed until 1932. With passage of this Act, the scope of the national government's power and authority over exploitation, protection and conservation of the fishery resources of the Philippines was fully recognized.

> One important feature of Act No. 4003 is the dual authority exercised by both the insular government and the municipal government over fishing and fisheries...This dual authority...has been the cause of frequent controversies between the municipal governments, on the one hand, and the insular or national government on the other. These conflicts are inevitable, undoubtedly due to the political subdivisions of the state...the inherent right of each political subdivision [municipality] to own private or patrimonial property which may include portions of the sea, rivers, etc.; and the desire of the municipal corporations to increase their revenue.[32]

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[32] Jose Sanchez, "What You Should Know About Our Fishery Laws," Times-Mirror 3rd Annual Report on Agriculture and Industrial Progress. Manila, Manila Times-Daily Mirror, (October 30, 1952), p. 26.

new slats installed. A local riddle accurately describes the general appearance of most of the Caticugan dwellings. 356 524

Since birth all patches. What is it? A house
(Sukad nabata tapak semina. Unsa man? Balay)

COST OF BUILDING A BARRIO DWELLING

The basic materials used to build a barrio dwelling are obtained in the locality, i.e., bamboo, nipa, house posts, rattan, etc. Wire, nails, and galvanized iron sheets are purchased in poblacion stores or, more frequently, obtained in Dumaguete. The use of wire, nails, iron roofing and cement, for example, in the construction of new dwellings in Caticugan, though still small, is increasing. More families would have purchased these materials during my residence except for highly inflated prices and restricted supplies. This trend toward using materials that are made and normally purchased outside the community (in contrast to going to the mountains to obtain materials) will continue to reduce the bartering that still persists in their basic economy and decrease the barriofolk's self-sufficiency. 435 178 438 342

In the past, a family who decided to build a new dwelling in Caticugan were assisted by neighbors and friends. Today, however, when an individual constructs a new house it is mainly a family task. If additional labor is needed the builder may hire local carpenters. House construction exemplifies the transitional process--from community cooperation, to family, and gradually to the 476 602 178 463

732

most riders use a wooden saddle (siya sa kabayo). The only specialist who made and sold wooden saddles in the entire Siaton River valley lived in Barrio Casala-an. Nearly everyone who owned a wooden saddle in Caticugan had purchased it from this craftsman. (See Plate LXXVII.)[1]

Some ride bareback but 492 463.

Prices for saddles range from two to three dollars depending on the size and type of wood used. The Casala-an saddle-maker had made about twenty saddles in 1951 and his son was learning the trade. Saddles of narra wood are the most expensive; the two woods most frequently used are meten-ag (Kleinhovia hospita Linn. ), said to be light and not to crack easily, and baliwak.

Sometimes the wood is soaked in water for a week and then sun-dried before it is cut. Sections for the saddle are cut with a bolo and chisel; no glue is used. A small auger is employed to bore holes into which wooden pegs are driven. Wooden stirrups are made and tied to the saddle by rope. No attempt is made to carve decorative designs on the saddles.

## CARVED BOLO HANDLES

Various types of bolos are used in Caticugan. (See Plate LXXIII)[2] The Regular is the most widespread bolo type, employed in a dozen ways. The Sangot is used to cut rice heads during harvest whereas the Bonlay is a "weeding bolo," often used by caingin farmers. A few Balarao and Pisao were owned by men who described them as "fighting knives." The Ig-alabis is used to trim the "eye" of the buri guheng.

2 ( Should read LXXVIII, which see on p. 734 Cat. 412 - Analyst)

1 ( This plate (page 733) is missing - Analyst )

occurred in Negros until 1873.[72] To this day, however, fear of the Moros exists among the people of the area; many of them believe that the only "good Moro is a dead one."

175* [563]

The Growth of the Population of Negros: 1877

175* 161

The development of the sugar industry in Negros had two results. First, it became more important to establish law and order in the island for protection of the mills and growing wealth of the hacenderos. The Spanish officials in Manila began to take more interest in Negros and an attempt was made to stamp out outlaws. It was mainly the hacenderos who wished the protection of the American flag during the Philippine revolution, not because they were unsympathetic to the revolt against the United States but because they wished to protect their investments.

175* 161 464

Second, the development of the sugar-producing areas in Bais, San Carlos, and northern and western Negros made a larger labor force necessary. These workers were obtained, for the most part, from Panay, Cebu and Bohol. Echauz gives an interesting account of the recruiting of workers for the haciendas.[73] He writes of employers sending thirty or forty thousand pesos (one peso = fifty cents, U.S.A.) to Panay to requisition laborers.

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[72] Galang and Osias, op. cit., p. 405.

[73] Echauz, op. cit., pp. 83-5.

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> Twenty or thirty men come and apply for jobs during the milling season and talk with the 'capatas' or foreman, and express their willingness to work because the hacendero treats his men well. After a long talk the hacendero agrees to give seven or ten pesos for each laborer for fifteen days...The hacendero, then thinks that his problems are solved, but the next morning he wakes without the laborers who he has already paid because they fled during the night.[74]

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The expansion of Negros' sugar industry, the press of the people on the cultivable land of Cebu, Bohol, and Panay, and natural increase swelled the population of Negros from 58,000 in 1845 to 204,669 in 1877. The population of the major Visayan islands in 1877 is given in Table XIV.

TABLE XIV

Population of the Six Major[75] Visayan Islands - 1877

| Islands | Population |
|---|---|
| Panay | 777,777 |
| Cebu | 403,296 |
| Bohol | 226, 546 |
| Leyte | 220,515 |
| NEGROS | 204,669 |
| Samar | 178,890 |

In 1864 there were thirty-six cabezas in Siaton; each was responsible for about one hundred Filipinos[76] or

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[74]Echauz, op. cit., p. 84.

[75]Sawyer, op. cit., p. 296. Sawyer states he obtained these figures from "a Spanish record" that he does not fully cite. In 1860 Echauz writes there were 200,000 inhabitants in Negros with thirty pueblos. Echauz, op. cit., p. 35 and Ruiz, op. cit., p. 131.

[76]This information was given me by Santiago Tayko who had been appointed a cabeza when eighteen years old and still lives in Barrio Bonawon.

20: Hart E-6 (.95.) 1954 OA: Philippines
Central Bisayan OA.4



is sufficiently dried to be threshed. Rice harvesting is everyone's job. Wernstedt reports that in Negros men, women and children harvest the rice. One person can harvest about one *cavan* of *palay* per day; an acre producing twelve *cavans*, the average yield for Negros, requires twelve man-days to harvest.[32]

Caticugan's rice harvest attracts harvesters from as far as Zamboanguita and Dauin, although most of them live in neighboring *barrios* or *sitios*. Harvesters are paid according to the speed with which they work. Some cultivators may give their laborers one-seventh of the *palay* harvested, especially if they are in a hurry to have their paddies harvested and wish to attract help. Harvesters from other *barrios* who stay several days at one field furnish their own food. The common division of *palay* in Caticugan, however, is one *ganta* to the laborer for every eight harvested and threshed. The division is usually made at the end of each day's work.

This harvest practice in Caticugan seems to have developed during the last war when the people harvested their *palay* rapidly to avoid expropriation by Japanese patrols or guerrillas. For this reason division was made at the end of each day. The usual pre-war practice was to dry *palay*, put it in one large pile, and thresh all the grain at a later date. The common payment to harvest help was two *gantas* of rice for every day a man worked at

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[32] Wernstedt, *op. cit.*, p. 199.

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In Siaton the cabezas were also responsible for the forced labor called polo or prestacion personal, required by the Spaniards. Until 1884 the Spaniards required all male Filipinos from sixteen to sixty years of age to work forty days each year in building or repairing public bridges and roads, cutting timber, working in artillery foundries, shipyards, etc. One could escape the polo by paying a sum of money, called falla, in lieu of actual labor.[78] In 1884 the polo was reduced in the Philippines from forty to fifteen days.

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In Siaton, however, the polo was said to be only thirty days each year and the men were paid thirty centavos (fifteen cents) a week for their labor.

Cadiane, who once supervised these workers, said the men often paid a falla of two pesos (one dollar), the equivalent of ten hours of work. "Many just paid because the mud was sticky and knee-deep in the roads when it rained." The cabezas had to attend church every Sunday in the poblacion. If they failed to attend they were punished, sometimes whipped, by the Spaniards' in the poblacion. Zaide writes: "Every Sunday, after Mass, the gobernadorcillo, the cabezas de barangay, and other town officials...would repair to the convent, and, on bended knees, kiss the hand of the padre."[79]

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[78] Zaide, op. cit., pp. 172-3 and James L. Le Roy, The Americans in the Philippines: A History of the Conquest and First Years of Occupation with an Introductory Account of the Spanish Rule. New York, Houghton Mifflin Company, 1941, I, p. 45.

[79] Zaide, The Philippines Since the British Invasion, p. 164.

planters small, only part of the field is prepared for immediate transplanting. Sometimes several days are taken to transplant one paddy. A group may be transplanting in part of the paddy while in another part a man is harrowing or leveling the soil. 243

Transplanting is done by both sexes. Men transplant rice more noticeably than they plant corn. One reason is the back-breaking work of transplanting seedlings. If all the seedlings are not planted the same day, they are put in water and placed in the shade. 243 462

Cooperative transplanting groups are very rare in Caticugan. None was observed during my residence. It is considered cheaper today to pay one's helpers than to prepare and furnish the food and drink necessary for cooperative labor groups. Hired planters are paid fifty cents a day and given their breakfast and lunch. The few people who hired laborers to help transplant paddies in Caticugan were owners who lived in the poblacion. 243 476 [465]

Transplanting time is not a festive period it is said to be in some parts of the Philippines. In Caticugan there were no songs and music. A Philippine school song aptly describes the transplanting in Caticugan. 243

> Planting rice is never fun.
> Bent from morn till the set of sun.
> Cannot stand and cannot sit
> Cannot rest for a little bit[28]

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[28]Ortigas, Jr., op. cit., p. 1.

40: Hart E-5 (.95.) 1954 OA: Philippines
Central Bisayan OA.4



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[32] Wernstedt, op. cit., p. 199.

harvesting and threshing the rice, plus meals. Some, but not many, barriofolk still cling to this pre-war practice. Rising costs of food may be another reason for discontinuing the former method of harvesting rice in Caticugan. 243 465

To thresh the palay a large buri mat, often especially made for the job, is placed on the ground. A rough shelter of palm leaves usually is built over the mat to protect the threshers from the sun. A horizontal pole connects the two vertical poles that support the roof. The rice heads are then placed on the mat and the people rub them between their bare feet while grasping the horizontal pole for support. This is the common method of threshing rice in southern Negros. In Negros Occidental, the rice is usually threshed on a platform raised five to ten feet above the ground. The palay falls through the slatted floor of the platform to mats below. If a wind is blowing the palay is winnowed simultaneously. 243

The palay is gathered and winnowed in flat baskets to eliminate loose straw. The rice is then carried to the house and stored in large buri bags. There are not many separate storehouses in Caticugan; palay and unhusked or shelled corn, usually are stored in the houses. Rice stalks are fed to animals, often by merely turning horses and carabaos loose in the paddies. No other fertilizer is put on the paddies during my period of residence.

In the past the cut rice stalks in Caticugan were piled into stacks (tumpils). A mat of dried rice straw or coconut leaves was made on the ground with a tree

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In Caticugan, Sandolot and Datag, the average share of harvesters was 10 per cent of the total rice harvest. This is smaller than the share harvesters receive on upland rice caingins, which is usually 25 per cent of the total harvest. However, harvesting caingins is harder work and fewer laborers go to these fields than to the more conveniently located, easier-to-harvest lowland paddies. Actually, this percentage would be slightly higher if the few paddies harvested without helpers had been eliminated from this survey. In Caticugan, four paddies were harvested without outside help. As noted previously, most harvesters, as one farmer said, "take pity" on people with very small paddies or harvests that have been decreased by pests or inclimate weather.

CORN

Introduction

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Siaton is a part of the larger Southern Corn-Coconut region of Negros where corn is the dominant crop. Corn meal is usually eaten three times a day. In 1952, 3,196 acres of corn were planted in Siaton municipality producing an average yield of 11 bushels. In the same year 20,344 acres of corn were planted in the seven southern municipalities of Negros Oriental (Valencia to Tolong) with an average yield of 8 bushels. Since the

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After the paddies are flooded, they are permitted to dry for one or two days. Any standing water is drained for the farmers state if the paddies are sowed when flooded a beetle (amawikan) eats the seed corn. The first plowing of the paddies, bongkag, is followed by their harrowing. The second plowing, okay, is done in the opposite direction the field was first plowed. The paddy is again harrowed. The third and final plowing, todling, makes the furrows in which the seed corn is planted. The furrows are about 2 feet apart. Furrows are made closer together than in the regular non-irrigated cornfields because the corn stalks do not grow so large in the paddies.

In some of the paddies which have a very clayey soil the land is not plowed and harrowed before the seed corn is planted. Furrows are made only where corn is to be planted; the rest of the paddy remains uncultivated. In Dolog the pay for a day's plowing is one basket of unhusked corn or three gantas of seed corn, specially selected for planting. [465]

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The Philippine plow is a rather crude implement made entirely of wood except for the iron share--the so-called "square" type with a horizontal foot, curved handle, short sheath, strongly curved beam, and single mould board. (See Plate XXIV.)[1] Both Jagor and Kroeber suggest that the Philippine plow is of Spanish origin. However, the same plow type is found in Java, Bali, and the Celebes as well as in China and Japan while there is

[1 See p. 329 cat. 412 or 116 -- Analyst]

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The group performed this ceremony with much amusement. Then all the guests were served a meal, including food prepared for the dulot offering.

More visitors came later, although not as many as were expected. Pas said this was because six other dulots were being held in Lamtoc the same night! The visitors were given kinalopis to take home; the man who conducted the dulot received an additional gift of food.

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The spatial distribution of the dulot in Caticugan is quite interesting. The dulot is practiced in Talo-ot, by most of the people who cultivate fields west of the main canal in Barrio Caticugan, and in lower Naga. People living east of the main canal in Barrio Caticugan and in upper Naga generally do not hold a dulot before harvesting corn. While the distribution of the dulot in the upper Siaton River valley is not known in detail, it is far more widely practiced in these barrios than in Caticugan. Lamtoc is a small sitio yet in one night six different families were holding a dulot. This attempt to delimit the dulot areas in Caticugan is only approximate. One woman living in Talo-ot cultivated as a tenant, a field between the main path and Caticugan creek; she held a dulot.

It is difficult to determine why the dulot is not held in upper Naga. Many factors are involved. First, there are only a few fields in this area. Second, more people are giving up the dulot in Caticugan than in the more remote barrios fact to be discussed later. Third,

insight into the once greater abundance of food in Caticugan is given from an offering made during the last part of the Spanish period. This offering included one pig, fifteen or twenty chickens (with white feathers), a basketful each of bingka, bodbod, and puto (all varieties of rice cakes), three plates with ten eggs each, and large quantities of tuba. In the past the ritualist who performed the dulot in Naga often received a basketful of corn for his service; none of the ritualists receives this amount today.

Some individuals who stopped the dulot in Caticugan said they did so because "it is too expensive today." The food offering to the spirits was not as costly as feeding the guests. The dulot described in Lamtoc required much corn to make the cakes, beside the other food served. It is possible that since the corn yield in these northern barrios is nearly twice that of Caticugan the community dulot is less of a burden. One reason given for having only a family dulot in Caticugan is that the expense of guests is eliminated. Dulots held for Caticugan's irrigated corn harvests would attract a large number of people since they would occur during a seasonal period of food shortage.

This detailed discussion of the spatial distribution of the dulot in both Caticugan and the northern barrios of the Siaton River valley illustrates how many factors must be considered in explaining change in one custom. There is no "royal road" to a clear understanding

$275 in Ragay Gulf. These figures illustrate the inflation that has occurred in the Philippines since 1938.

Table XXXIV, at the end of this chapter, lists the local, English and scientific names (whenever possible) of fish caught in Siaton bonsods; Table XXXV gives the frequency of their catch and class accorded them by people living in both the barrio and Siaton poblacion.[1]

Construction of the Fish Corral

Construction of bonsods in Siaton begins in late October or early November. Bonsods are built, for the most part, between Malabuhan and Salag Point; few bonsods are erected west of Salag Point because the coral sea floor makes it almost impossible to embed the posts. (See Plates XLIV and XLV.) In the past the long bamboos needed to build a bonsod could be cut in Catiougan and other barrios near the sea. Today bamboo is cut in Lantoc, Balanan, and Casala-an and floated as rafts down the river since nearby bamboo resources have been exhausted. Some fish corral owners advance to the cutters in the barrio part of the money to be paid for the bamboo with full payment made on delivery. Long thick poles usually cost about twenty cents each; in Tanjay similar bamboos are reported to bring twice this amount.

Most of the rattan obtained to build the bonsods comes from Tolong municipality. The people said that once rattan grew abundantly in the hills near Catiougan;

[1] [see pp. 640-645 -- Analyst]

[2] [See pp. 586A and B, cat. 116 -- Analyst]

tugging the boat up a steep hill. The boat measured 63 feet in length and the widest part of the hull exceeded 3 feet.[72] For three days the group had been struggling to get the parao to the river from their destination. Each man received one dollar a day for both their labor and carabao.

396 501 483 [465]

Boat Construction

When the contractor has made all necessary arrangements the workers select a tree for the boat's hull. Trees used most frequently to make boats in Mangoto are magsinolog (white lauan), balangobang and lanitga (both species of red lauan). These woods are preferred by boat-builders for their lightness and durability.[73] In the past bay-ang trees were cut but today so few exist that they are not used. In the "old days," according to Siaton informants, many lanitga trees grew near Barrio Cabangahan

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[72] The bottom of the boat was 10 inches thick; the solid stern, where the motor was to be mounted, was 6 feet long.

[73] Magsinolog is probably Shorea eximia (Miquel) Scheffer, that is widely distributed in the Philippines. Reyes, op. cit., pp. 313-5. Reyes states S. eximia is sold in the local market as white lauan or almon "...and is an excellent wood for boat planking..." Lanitga is possibly Toona calantas Merrill and Rolfe, Reyes, op. cit., pp. 183-184. T. calantas is commonly known as kalantas but is called lanipga in Samar, Leyte and Cebu and grows in Negros; Reyes reports T. calantas is used to make boats. Balangobang is not listed by Reyes but was said to be a species of red lauan by the forestry officials in Tanjay. White and red lauan, according to Tamesis and Aguilar, is widely used in the Philippines for barato construction. Tamesis and Aguilar, op. cit., p. 64.

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assumption of certain skills by local specialists who are paid a cash wage.

Table XXXVIII[1] illustrates the itemized costs of three different dwellings built in Caticugan in 1951.[10] House C's cost probably comes closer to the cost of the typical Caticugan dwelling than the other two dwellings. This house had two rooms--sala and kitchen--lacked wooden shutters, cement post supports, and little lumber was used. Table XXXIX lists the items and cost of building a poblacion dwelling inhabited by a Siaton municipal official. No bamboo or nipa were used; the cost of the two dwellings illustrate the difference in dwellings between Caticugan barriofolk and Siaton principalia.

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[369]
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The owner of House C did not hire any carpenters; he held a palihog that cost eight dollars. The work accomplished by palihog assistants could have been done in half a day by two laborers. The palihog, in this case, is an example of how "... the prestige factor inherent in the giving of a feast compensates for the lessened efficiency and the lower return."[11] While precise figures cannot be

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1 [See p. 667ff, cat. 435 or 342--Analyst]

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[10] Some men of Caticugan make extra money by working for lumber firms in Dumaguete. For example, a father and son in Barrio Caticugan were hired by one firm to cut first-class timber (salay, gisok, sambulawan, yakal, and amoning) in the mountains a day's walk from their home. They were paid eight cents per board foot with an additional two cents per board foot for bringing the lumber from Pinac-an (where they worked a permit issued to the Dumaguete lumber firm) to the poblacion. Another group of four men in Barrio Caticugan worked four days cutting lumber from felled trees in the nearby mountains; they earned a total of twenty-five dollars, or a daily wage of about one dollar and fifty-five cents. These were the only two groups hired to cut timber in Caticugan.

[11] Melville J. Herskovits, Economic Anthropology: A Study in Comparative Economics. New York, Alfred A. Knopf, 1952, p. 107.

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[622]

In Siaton the cabezas were also responsible for the forced labor called polo or prestacion personal, required by the Spaniards. Until 1884 the Spaniards required all male Filipinos from sixteen to sixty years of age to work forty days each year in building or repairing public bridges and roads, cutting timber, working in artillery foundries, shipyards, etc. One could escape the polo by paying a sum of money, called falla, in lieu of actual labor.[78] In 1884 the polo was reduced in the Philippines from forty to fifteen days.

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[78] Zaide, op. cit., pp. 172-3 and James L. Le Roy, The Americans in the Philippines: A History of the Conquest and First Years of Occupation with an Introductory Account of the Spanish Rule. New York, Houghton Mifflin Company, 1941, I, p. 45.

[79] Zaide, The Philippines Since the British Invasion, p. 164.

when copra prices fall school enrollments decrease. For the most part, the Chinese control the buying and selling of copra. Their trucks come from Dumaguete to pick up copra from stores where Filipinos sell their small crops.

The Northern Corn-Coconut region begins in the south with Manjuyod municipality and continues to the north to Canlaon and Vallehermoso municipalities. A northern extension of this region includes Negros Occidental's eastern littoral. Both the southern and northern municipalities of this region are transitional to sugar cane agriculture. This northern region is larger than the Southern Corn-Coconut area; the former has about 743 square miles of which 239 square miles (32 per cent) are actively cultivated.

Many geographic factors typical of the southern region also characterize the Northern Corn-Coconut region. There is less level land in the northern region; the small riverine floodplains and narrow littoral account for most of it. While annual precipitation is greater than in the southern region, the northern area also is subject to droughts. Transportation facilities are not as adequate as in the south, and the northern region lacks an adequate port. The only sizeable port is at Cuihulngan where shallow-draft inter-island ships stop. The rest of the coast is lined with shallow inshore waters or offshore coral reefs.

Population densities are greater in the northern region with an average density of 289 persons per

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311
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## Cornfield Sizes and Yields

According to Siaton's municipal land records there are 580 acres classified as maizal (cornfields) in Caticugan, owned by 291 different persons. The records list 321 individual fields since some own more than one field; the average size was 1.9 acres. Of the owners of corn land 64 per cent live in Caticugan, 14 per cent in Siaton poblacion, 7 per cent in Sandolot, 5 per cent in Datag and 4 per cent in Mantuyop. The remaining owners live in Dumaguete, Zamboanguita, Maloh, Cabangahan, Omanod and Sta. Catalina poblacion. While 36 per cent of the owners of cornfields do not live in Caticugan, 51 per cent of the owners of paddies live in other communities.[51]

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I made a survey in Caticugan to check the accuracy of the municipal land records and obtain additional data on tenancy. Ownership and tenancy figures obtained through this survey indicate that tenancy is higher for paddy than cornfields. Information gathered from this survey is given in Table XVIII.

TABLE XVIII

Percentages of Ownership and Tenancy of Caticugan's Paddy and Cornfields -- 1951

| | Paddies | Cornfields |
|---|---|---|
| Owner | 50 | 60 |
| Owner-Tenant | 13 | 27 |
| Tenant | 37 | 13 |

[51] These are approximate figures; field sizes may not be accurately recorded or may be in other sitios of Caticugan, a fact not always noted on the records. However, special care was taken to check as thoroughly as possible the actual residences and not to include fields in other sitios. I am grateful to the municipal treasurer, Ramon Regalado, and the chief clerk of the municipio, for assistence in this matter.

434 245 [471] 273 472

The sale of guhang is the most important source of the cash income of many families in Caticugan. I estimate that about 25 per cent of the families living in Caticugan owned buri palms. Some of these families, however, owned trees that were too young to produce guhang. It is difficult to estimate the average income made by selling guhang from typical buri. Profits depend on many variable factors such as the length of time the sap flows, the quantity obtained, the amount of tan-bark used, the taste of the guhang (said to depend on the age of the tree and the soil), and the amount given to friends.

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Nearly all mananguetes agreed that the normal guhang buri produced for two to three months. One manangueta said he remembered a buri that gave sap for nine months but this was extraordinary. The process of obtaining sap "bleeds" the palm to death; after several months the buri is nearly dead and becomes somewhat dangerous to climb.

Profits from a buri producing sap for two to three months were estimated by some to be between $50 to $100. These estimates seem somewhat high. One guhang buri in Naga produced sap for five weeks; the gross profit from this palm was $24, of which $4 was spent for tan-bark. One buri in Barrio Caticugan flowed for one month netting the owner only $8 "because so many of my relatives wanted free drinks that I had little to sell."

Through the cooperation of the owner, I was able to keep an account of one guhang-producing buri. This

say Lavagay that escape will not return to the sea for seven years. 226

The Tolo crab is usually found around rocks in shallow water; more live in the river than in Caticugan Creek. They are caught in the balantak, ta-an and asag along with the Hipon, shrimp and fish. 226 136

The Alimango is a large crab, growing to the size of a small coconut, that lives in nipa and mangrove swamps or in the tidal reaches of the river. They are caught by digging them from their holes in the sand or mud. Another method is to put a fish trap baited with chicken guts or fish in the swamp. One man living in Baybay caught eight good-sized Alimangos in two days with such a baited trap.

River fish, shrimp and crabs form a considerable part of the aquatic food. Caticugan barriofolk eat more aquatic food from the river and creek than from the sea. As one travels to barrios farther from the sea, the importance of the sea as a source of food diminishes. The sea food eaten in Casala-an, for example, consists mainly of dried fish or canned sardines bought in the poblacion. Caticugan people do not prefer river to marine aquatic food; they often lack money to buy sea fish in the marketplace. During the rainy season the supply is often inadequate for the demand, whereas prices are higher. Although the people of Caticugan live only a mile from the sea they lack the necessary equipment to 226 262 433 435 226 471

catch fish in the sea and the money necessary to construct a fish corral.

## PELAGIC FISHING: INTRODUCTION

The South Mindanao Sea is considered one of the richest fishing grounds in the Philippines, according to Dr. Villadolid, Director, Bureau of Fisheries. This section describes the methods of catching fish, types caught, and commercial aspects of pelagic fishing. In the past, cattle was the "big business" of Siaton municipality. Today, with the depletion of the herds during the last war, the fish corral has become the municipality's "big business."[31]

Four major methods of catching sea fish are used in Siaton municipality. First, the bonsod or bongsod (fish corral); second, various types of twine or abaca nets; third, the bobo fish trap; and fourth, hook and line fishing from small boats. As has been noted previously, piscicides cannot be considered a major method of catching pelagic fish in Siaton.

[31] I did not live in a fishing barrio. However, I spent a great deal of time in Baybay and Malabuhan, often staying in the villages for several days at the time, observing and talking with the residents. Most commercial fishermen lived in the poblacion. Mr. Francisco Baldebrin, vice mayor of the municipality, was one of my most intelligent and willing informants; he managed several fish corrals off Baybay. Other fishermen such as Mr. Pedro Solde and Carding Alonzo, Malabuhan, spent a great deal of time with me, showing me their equipment and explaining their work. For comparative data on Philippine fish traps, types of nets, etc., vide Agustin F. Umali, Guide to the Classification of Fishing Gear in the Philippines. Research Report 17. Washington, D. C., Fish and Wildlife Service, United States Department of the Interior, Government Printing Office, 1950.

20: Hart E-5 (1951) 1954 OA1 Philippines OA1
Central Bisayan OA14



CB 228 [470] [463]

catching pelagic fish in Siaton. Though all the people sell or barter their surplus fish, the bonsod and netting of fish are the most commercialized fishing activities in Siaton, requiring the largest capital investment. The material that follows does not describe the daily activities of the barriofolk of Caticugan, but rather the various commercial fishermen (many of whom live in the poblacion and are municipal officials) and the residents of the fishing barrios that huddle under the coconuts by the blue sea.

P 228

The basis for the Philippine government's present legal control over public waters was the Spanish Law of Waters (1866). What is commonly considered the basic fishing law of the Republic (Act No. 4003) was not passed until 1932. With passage of this Act, the scope of the national government's power and authority over exploitation, protection and conservation of the fishery resources of the Philippines was fully recognized.

> One important feature of Act No. 4003 is the dual authority exercised by both the insular government and the municipal government over fishing and fisheries...This dual authority...has been the cause of frequent controversies between the municipal governments, on the one hand, and the insular or national government on the other. These conflicts are inevitable, undoubtedly due to the political subdivisions of the state...the inherent right of each political subdivision [municipality] to own private or patrimonial property which may include portions of the sea, rivers, etc.; and the desire of the municipal corporations to increase their revenue.[32]

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[32]Jose Sanchez, "What You Should Know About Our Fishery Laws," Times-Mirror 3rd Annual Report on Agriculture and Industrial Progress. Manila, Manila Times-Daily Mirror, (October 30, 1952), p. 26.

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Nearly all of the boats are equipped with a coconut shell or bamboo bailer. One baroto had a hole in the bottom of the hull, from which a wooden plug could be removed to empty the boat of water. Paddles (bosay) are made from a light, sturdy wood. When boats are beached they usually are covered with palm fronds to protect them from the heat and rain. Some large bancas are kept in palm leaf sheds when not in use.

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A young boy who lives in a seaside barrio becomes adept at handling a baroto; the young girls have less chance to learn. While women may ride as passengers in boats they rarely, if ever, go fishing; almost all aspects of pelagic fishing are masculine. No toy boats or small boats were seen in the fishing barrios for teaching young boys skills necessary when they become adults.

Summary

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Securing aquatic products, from creeks, rivers and sea, consumes more time on the part of the barriofolk than any other activity except agriculture. It is necessary to make traps and nets, keep them in repair, and inspect them for catches. The people of Caticugan, however, depended little upon the sea for aquatic foods although the community is near the coast. When the cost of a fish corral is known, it is apparent that most barriofolk lack the necessary capital for the initial investment in boat, nets, building supplies, etc. Although a bobo trap could be made by most of the Caticugan barriofolk, one reason why so few have bobos is the lack of a boat. No

one in the barrio owned a boat. One man had a partnership with a resident of a seaside barrio; the former made the bobo, the latter furnished the boat and they shared the catch equally. This was the only such partnership discovered in Caticugan. The barriofolk of Caticugan depend largely on products of the creek and river for their proteins. Data of diet indicate that pelagic products are not common in the daily diet. The small fish, eels, shrimp, crabs and snails obtained from the creek and river compose the bulk of aquatic foods eaten in Caticugan. The importance of this source of food for rural Filipinos has been overlooked almost entirely.[75]

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As with agricultural and food-gathering activities, pre-Hispanic animism appears in aquatic techniques. The ceremonies related to the construction of boats, fish corrals and the rituals connected with the installation of these devices, reflect deep-rooted beliefs in unseen spirits who are the titular owners of sea products. While some poblacion residents who finance fish corrals are sceptical of these concepts, they usually are tolerant of their workers' attitudes. Perhaps these more sophisticated individuals, not thoroughly convinced of the falsity of these beliefs, take the attitude that "most superstitious practices do no harm and may do some good," a Cebuano saying. These attitudes and customs associated with securing

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[75] The Rivera-McMillan report includes several pages of "typical menus of rural households" (Appendix C) that make no mention of fresh-water shrimp or snails. However, one picture is included (p. 162) that shows a small family eating "rice, small shrimp, and snail for supper." The lack of this information in the typical menus may be due to the barriofolk's hesitation to admit eating snails. Rivera-McMillan, op. cit., pp. 212-3.

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The sale of guhang is the most important source of the cash income of many families in Caticugan. I estimate that about 25 per cent of the families living in Caticugan owned buri palms. Some of these families, however, owned trees that were too young to produce guhang. It is difficult to estimate the average income made by selling guhang from typical buri. Profits depend on many variable factors such as the length of time the sap flows, the quantity obtained, the amount of tan-bark used, the taste of the guhang (said to depend on the age of the tree and the soil), and the amount given to friends.

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Nearly all mananguetes agreed that the normal guhang buri produced for two to three months. One manangueta said he remembered a buri that gave sap for nine months but this was extraordinary. The process of obtaining sap "bleeds" the palm to death; after several months the buri is nearly dead and becomes somewhat dangerous to climb.

Profits from a buri producing sap for two to three months were estimated by some to be between $50 to $100. These estimates seem somewhat high. One guhang buri in Naga produced sap for five weeks; the gross profit from this palm was $24, of which $4 was spent for tan-bark. One buri in Barrio Caticugan flowed for one month netting the owner only $8 "because so many of my relatives wanted free drinks that I had little to sell."

Through the cooperation of the owner, I was able to keep an account of one guhang-producing buri. This

palm's sap started to flow April 14 and stopped June 22. The gross income of the owner was $54 of which $12 was spent for tan-bark, leaving a net profit of $42. The money from guhang sales, deposited in a "bamboo bank" (a pole of the house wall), was not counted until the buri died so the figures are probably accurate.

The price of a mature buri in Siaton ranges from $10 to $25. In the municipal tax records buri owners are assessed one dollar for each palm. If the mananguete is not the tree's owner, profits are divided in several ways. Sometimes the profits are split 50-50 after the owner has deducted what he considers the buri's value. In another case the mananguete received one-fourth of the profits plus all the free guhang his family could consume. The money from the sale of guhang from this buri was deposited in a bamboo bank kept in the palm. The owner said he did not want to keep the cash in his near-by dwelling "because I might be tempted to gamble with it."

The buri's value is also reflected in the number of disputes that often result concerning its ownership and use. Three court cases occurred during my residence concerning the illegal use of another person's buri. In one case the defendant was accused by the plaintiff of illegally using two of his buris to make guhang and asked $100 damage. There are many quarrels over buri palms that do not reach the local court. An example of such a quarrel that happened in Naga is given on the next page.

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March and April, tangkong sells for more than when a larger supply of kalamongay and other vegetables are for sale in the marketplace. When the price is high a small bunch of tangkong sells for five centavos (two and a half cents). When other vegetables are available one may buy three bunches of tangkong for that price.

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Sometimes people will come to Barrio Caticugan from the poblacion or nearby barrios to buy tangkong. If they pick the vegetable they are given a cheaper price than if they purchase it from the owner. Normally the owners take their tangkong to the poblacion to sell; but three women and one man sold tangkong from their patches in Barrio Caticugan; the male vendor was a bayute. Vendors do not have much trouble selling tangkong, especially during the hot season when most vegetables are scarce. Tangkong is a good source of vitamins B and G and an excellent source of vitamin C; the leaves are said to have a mild purgative effect.[74]

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Owners of tangkong patches sometimes let other vendors sell their greens in the poblacion and split the profits. This is done when the woman owning the tangkong cannot take her vegetables to the market. For example, one young mother, with a new baby, was unable to take her tangkong to the poblacion. She made an arrangement with a neighbor to sell her greens; the owner received a net

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[74] Brown, op. cit., III, p. 258.

profit of $1.85 from her tangkong patch for one month (June 16 to July 16). By the middle of July tangkong often became so cheap that she fed much of it to the pigs.

The woman who had the largest tangkong patch in Barrio Caticugan kept a record of her sales, at my request, for one month (June 16 to July 16). She sold tangkong in the poblacion twenty days in this period, netting $5.60. During the same period she also sold sixty cents worth of tangkong to persons coming to her patch in the barrio. Her total profit for the month was $6.20. The previous year the same woman said her profit from the sale of tangkong was more than $25. In fact, the young woman and her brother, both unmarried, were building a new house; the neighbors said this was largely financed by the woman's tangkong profits.

Eggplant

Eggplants (talong) are another fairly common vegetable grown in Caticugan. Nearly every family has a few eggplants that bear small fruits. Like most vegetables new eggplants are planted at the beginning of the rainy season; the old stalks are trimmed then so they will produce new fruits. Tomatoes (tamatis) are grown but they are very small and are often sold, or eaten, when they are partly green.

Other vegetables grown are gourds (upo: Lagenaria leucantha Linn.); green onions (sibuyas bombay); patola

to initiate improvements; the lack of these improvements is often given as a justification for defrauding the government.[41]

An average bonsod requires considerable capital; consequently many of them are financed through partnerships. The bonsod can be very profitable but it is also a gamble against an errant typhoon, and a gamble that the capital invested will be recovered before the southwest monsoon's arrival. It is also a gamble that large catches will be made on holidays (such as fiestas) when fish bring higher prices.

Table XXXII[1] shows the cost of three bonsods built by different persons in Siaton in 1951. The costs indicated vary; large bamboos of last year's bonsod, destroyed by the monsoon, may be washed ashore and reused. Some builders use iron anchors (sinipits); others make them locally from wood. If one uses a twine instead of an abaca net the initial investment is larger. For the two bonsods in Table XXXII[1] the cost of a twine and abaca net and a banca are included; these items do not have to be purchased each year. A banca was said to last three or four years, the iron anchors four to five years, and the abaca net seven or eight years. If one

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[41] Robert Redfield, Tepoztlan: A Mexican Village: A Study of Folk Life. Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 1930, p. 67.

1 [See p. 583, Cat. 228 or 435 -- Analyst]

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One story was told of a man named Jose who found a bamboo section with no visible holes yet contained black ants. Jose loaned the bamboo to a bonsod owner who promised him all the free fish he could eat. Later Jose was asked by the bonsod owner's brother why he was receiving so much free fish. He explained and the owner's brother scolded Jose "in front of many people." As a result Jose took back his bamboo charm; after this incident the bonsod never caught many fish.

Bonsod Financing and Profits

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Various arrangements exist in Siaton for paying bonsod workers and dividing the profits among both workers and partners. One method is to pay the workers wages while building the bonsod and after completion to share with them part of the profits. One bonsod owner shared 10 per cent of the net profits with his helpers. Another bonsod was owned by two partners. Before any division of profits, the cost of constructing the fish corral was deducted. The partner who owned the net received 20 per cent of the net profits; the remainder (80 per cent) was divided in half and shared equally by the two partners (20 per cent each) and their workers (40 per cent among them). Under another arrangement the owner receives two-thirds of the gross sales and his helpers one-third; the cost of the bonsod is not deducted prior to the division of profits. In all cases the bonsod workers are given fish for their families.

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Since many fish corrals are built and operated by partners, books are kept to record the sales in order to divide the profits. It is difficult to obtain details on these figures. When a bonsod owner is "lucky" the fish corral is a profitable investment. One operator said he made $4,000 from two bonsods in 1950. Another said he made $2,000 from one bonsod after deducting construction cost. One fish corral owner showed me his "real figures" that indicated in 1950 his profit from two bonsods were: December (1949), $430; January, $1,463; February, $705; and March, $723. By January, 1952, the same owner had made $1,669 from two bonsods he operated in the first class zone.

Bonsods are still a gamble. In some years bonsods may not return the cost of their construction. This was the case with many fish corrals in 1951. Most of the owners were hoping to retrieve their investments before the corrals were destroyed by the southwest monsoon; then a typhoon came and most of them lost their investments. One owner spent nearly $1,000 (including the purchase of a new net and boat) to get started in the bonsod business. He had sold only $100 worth of fish before his fish corral was ruined by the typhoon; the owner sat on the beach and wept unashamed. The 1952 typhoon was an expensive storm for the bonsod operators. Catches had been poor this year; many owners had not regained their investment before the typhoon's arrival. Before the typhoon a profit was improbable for the bonsod operators; May and June are normally poor fishing months.

When fish corrals are partially destroyed, early in the season, some owners make temporary repairs. Damaged or destroyed banatas, for example, are replaced with coconut fronds. Early destruction or an unprofitable season is harder on the bonsod workers who depend largely on the fish corral for their meat and cash income; many have no land to cultivate. The price of fish is higher when the fish corrals are destroyed or suffer a poor season. Most fresh fish sold in Negros Oriental is obtained from fish corrals.

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Types of Fish Caught in Fish Corrals

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Pelagic fish caught most commonly in fish corrals are the "floating" or "surface" species. Umali writes that herring, mackerel, bageye, round scad and bonito are the migratory species frequently caught in fish corrals and other marine fish traps in the Philippines.[60] In Siaton mackerel is said to be most abundant in April and May, herring in January and February, runner (Elagatis bipinnulatus) from February to May, anchovy from February to March and sardine from December to February. Considerable tuna are caught in the bonsods, particularly the yellowfin and striped varieties.[61] Table XXIV[1] gives additional data on the frequency of catches in Siaton fish corrals.

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[60] Umali, op. cit., p. 180.

[61] Herbert E. Warfel, Outlook for Development of a Tuna Industry in the Philippines, Research Report 28. Washington, D.C., United States Department of Interior, Government Printing Office, 1950. This publication contains a map showing the distribution of the yellowfin and striped tunas in the Philippines.

1 [See p.644, cat. 228 -- Analyst]

Sale of Fish Caught in the Bonsods

Most fish caught in the bonsods are sold in Dumaguete because of the higher prices paid in the city. Fish are taken to Dumaguete by the busses that run between Tolong-Dumaguete and Siaton-Dumaguete. The bonsod owner pays fifty cents for each box (about the size of an orange crate) of fish hauled to Dumaguete; a tax of one cent a pound is paid on fish sold in the marketplace. Large fish like tuna are tagged on the tail and sent individually to the city market. When the tagged boxes of fish arrive in Dumaguete marketplace they are taken by the owner's agent (in one case a woman) who receives 10 per cent of the profits.

If a large bonsod catch is made and no busses are available until the next day, Siaton operators may hire a small truck owned by a local resident. Since ice is not available, the fish must be sold quickly or they spoil. The lament of a cafe owner near the Siaton River bridge was that during fishing season busses and trucks rarely stopped at his place because they were usually carrying fish to Dumaguete. The drivers feared a leisurely trip might cause the fish to spoil.[62]

Marine fish never were plentiful in the poblacion marketplace during my residence--and fresh-water fish were

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[62]According to the Bell Report the Philippine fishing industry needs to be provided with "cold storage transportation to expand the market for fish, and...the development of freezer packers." The Bell Report, op. cit., p. 66.

more frequently it must be sunned. If not dried the average bobo lasts two or three months, but if properly cared for one lasts five to six months. 228

Bobo prices vary from five to fifteen dollars. The minata bobo sketched (Plates LIII-LIV)[1] costs ten dollars to build. In some cases the owner furnishes materials to build a bobo and the maker is paid for his labor. Some bobos are purchased from Zamboanguita, but most of them are made in Siaton. One fisherman in Malabuhan had eight bobos; he shared one-half of the catch from his traps with the men who surfaced and beached them. Another fisherman furnished the materials to make the bobos; the builders and helpers who cared for the traps (the same group) received one-half of the catch. The record catch for one bobo was said to have sold for $125. Often a bobo is surfaced with only a few or no fish inside. 228 [435] 472.

Several families living in Barrio Caticugan had bobos sunk off Salag Point. One old man spent several weeks leisurely making a bobo in Barrio Caticugan. However, only a few barriofolk of Caticugan have bobos.

## Beliefs Associated with Bobos

The pa-anod already has been described (see Pages 597, 598 and 599).[70] Some said that if a pig were killed 228

[70] Most associated beliefs described in this chapter are almost identical with beliefs held by fishermen of Tayasan poblacion. The pa-anod in Tayasan is called patlao, although the ceremony is nearly the same; sometimes a patlao is made when a trap's catch is consistently small. Hester R. Jason, "Religious Beliefs in a Filipino Community," Dumaguete, Negros Oriental, Silliman University, 1951, pp. 12-3. Typescript. A term report prepared by an anthropology student of Professor Oracion.

1/ See p. 615 ff, cat. 116 -- Analyst

boat-builders and a nearby sawmill. Large areas, *cain-gins* of the past, are covered with cogon grass; corn is the principal crop. The region is full of stumps and charred or decaying tree trunks. Many house walls are made of bark peeled from trees in the nearby forest. Mangoto is a community of Christian farmers many of whom have specialized in boat construction. 101

Arranging for the Purchase of a Boat

It is customary for a Siaton fisherman who wishes to buy a boat to contact a Tanjay contractor. One boat contractor, who had been in the business for nearly 30 years, reported there were three "old-timers in Tanjay besides the newcomers." Usually the buyer tells the contractor the type of boat desired and what he will pay. The buyer depends on the contractor to see that the boat is properly built and delivered within the agreed period. 437 396 472 675

Some buyers, however, go to the *barrio* with the contractor to discuss the boat with the workers and even to select the tree. Often the buyer pays down one-half of the price; the remainder of the fee is paid upon delivery. However, one Siaton informant stated:

> This is not often done. Many workers cannot be trusted. This is why you need a contractor who will see that the work is done properly and the workers do not loaf.

When the contractor is paid one-half of the boat's full price he may share part of this money with his workers. Other buyers refuse to give either the contractor or the

workers an advance on an order. One Siaton fisherman paid some workers in this community one-half of the contracted price for a boat that never was delivered. 437 396 472 675

The contractor usually discusses the order with the workers he plans to employ. As one contractor said; "I talk with them to see if they feel the arrangements I made are reasonable." The contractor receives no fixed percentage for his middleman activities; "what he gets depends upon the generosity of the buyer and the workers." Actually the contractor's bargaining position is excellent; he can contract with another group to build the boat if he does not anticipate a fair share of the profit. The boat-makers in Mangoto are farmers who earn money by building boats during slack periods.

The contractor's percentage appears to vary from 10 to 20 per cent of the total contracted price of a baroto, and from 10 to 15 per cent for a banca. In 1950 one contractor arranged for the construction of more than twenty boats; he received from $1.75 to $2.50 on a baroto and from $10 to $20 on a banca. Boat prices vary with their size. Before the last war a baroto sold for as little as three dollars whereas a banca brought between $25 to $30. Today's prices are inflated. A baroto costs $10 to $15 and a banca $75 to $200.

Some good-sized boats are built in Mangoto; I saw a large parao being pulled to the Tanjay River. This parao had been built for a Cebu fisherman who stayed in the barrio during its construction. Thirty carabao were 396 501 483

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The buri's top fronds are cut while the lower ones are left on the palm. On these lower stems a rude bamboo platform is built where the manangueto stands to collect guhang and people sit while drinking in the tree. (See Plate XXVIII.)[1] Usually a few fronds are used to make a roof over the buri's "eye" (mata or talobtob), shading both the "eye" and drinkers from the sun.

The pith on the exposed top of the trimmed buri is carefully cut away until the "eye" is exposed. The "eye" or "heart" is the inner part of the bole (parenchyma) where the sap flows. Cutting of the "eye", the manangueto warns, must be done with extreme care or the "eye" splits ruining the buri. After making a small exposure of the "eye" the manangueto usually waits for three days--some say a week--until the lihi is performed. One should wait until young sprouts begin to grow in the "eye." If the "eye" is too liberally trimmed before this time, the buri "leaks" at its base.

> The sap is obtained from the buri palm in two ways. Apparently the more usual way is to cut an inflorescence near its base...and collecting the sap which flows from the cut surface, in small earthen jars. The second method, used in Tayabas [Luzon] and some other provinces, but not known to a great many localities, is employed on trees which have not flowered and which may, indeed, be very far from maturity. The trees are stripped of leaves and then cut so that the heart of the tree is exposed. The surface thus exposed is cut and channeled, furnishing a clean tissue which is continually exposed to the air, but protected from the sun by a covering of thatch. In three or four days, sometimes one, the sap begins to flow steadily and rapidly...56

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56 Brown, op. cit., I, p. 296.

1 [See p. 378, cat. 245 or 116 -- Analyst]

passengers get off and empty wooden boxes are left by the roadside for the fishermen of Malabuhan. On the return trip the boxes will be filled with fresh fish for sale in Dumaguete. About a quarter of a mile south is Sitio Malabuhan, a fishing village with houses lining a sandy shore and many beached boats covered with coconut fronds.

The bus continues, past Inalad school and is ferried over the placid Canaway River, to arrive at Siaton poblacion. (See Plate XVII.)[1] The business center of Siaton poblacion is strung for several blocks along the National Road here named George Washington Road. There are general stores, a corn mill, and a marketplace. A card game may be in progress in a small store while the guhang "bar" already has patrons, lounging on bamboo benches. A bus from Tolong poblacion may be waiting for its passengers to finish their breakfast at the several cafes in the marketplace while the driver helps a woman to load a squealing pig for Dumaguete market. Other thin pigs root at the roadside or around the marketplace while lazy dogs sleep on the warm asphalt road, moving only when the bus is nearly upon them.

On the plaza's north side is the termite-ridden municipio with offices for the mayor and other officials and a tiny jail with bamboo bars. The church was rebuilt in 1952 but the old stone walls of the former church are seen vine-covered and shaded by giant acacia trees

[1] this plate (p.128) is missing -- ANALYST]

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consumer, it does not effectively stabilize the price the farmer receives for his rice. Farmer organizations or cooperatives are few in number and generally ineffective in helping the barriofolk. Those cooperatives that existed before the last war, for the most part, did not survive; at present there are only a few cooperatives connected with poultry and tobacco production. Cooper writes:

> Thus, most farmers have to depend upon private merchants. By having no control over marketing, the farmer cannot pledge his crop for credit until favorable market conditions prevail so he can obtain for himself the maximum amount for his crops. Instead this profit goes to middlemen.[22]

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Aliens, particularly Chinese, control approximately 65 per cent of the marketing of Philippine agricultural products. Chinese control is not always due to business acumen and sharp practices, but often by Filipino default.

The majority of the seventeen registered financial organizations in the Philippines are located in Manila and confine their businesses to that general area. "Virtually all of their business is non-agricultural and is largely concentrated in import and export commerce."[23] Only two major institutions operate in the rural areas:

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[22] Ibid., p. 3.

[23] Ibid., p. 4.

planters small, only part of the field is prepared for immediate transplanting. Sometimes several days are taken to transplant one paddy. A group may be transplanting in part of the paddy while in another part a man is harrowing or leveling the soil. 243

Transplanting is done by both sexes. Men transplant rice more noticeably than they plant corn. One reason is the back-breaking work of transplanting seedlings. If all the seedlings are not planted the same day, they are put in water and placed in the shade. 243 462

Cooperative transplanting groups are very rare in Caticugan. None was observed during my residence. It is considered cheaper today to pay one's helpers than to prepare and furnish the food and drink necessary for cooperative labor groups. Hired planters are paid fifty cents a day and given their breakfast and lunch. The few people who hired laborers to help transplant paddies in Caticugan were owners who lived in the poblacion. 243 476 [465]

Transplanting time is not a festive period it is said to be in some parts of the Philippines. In Caticugan there were no songs and music. A Philippine school song aptly describes the transplanting in Caticugan. 243

> Planting rice is never fun.
> Bent from morn till the set of sun.
> Cannot stand and cannot sit
> Cannot rest for a little bit[28]

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[28]Ortigas, Jr., op. cit., p. 1.

Many people of Caticugan continue the corn harvest ceremony of their pre-Spanish ancestors but perform it within the privacy of the family group. I know of families in Caticugan who absolutely denied holding a dulot yet whose neighbors said they did. In the northern barrios there was no embarrassment in discussing the dulot. It was a barrio custom. In Caticugan many barriofolk recognized the dulot as a backward unchristian custom, yet they do not feel entirely secure in discarding it; to discard the dulot means to challenge their beliefs in encantos, kolisaos and kataos.

The decline of the dulot also reflects the growing individualism so noticeable in Caticugan. The group has been losing the firm control once held over the individual. This change is apparent in the role of the family in courting and marriage customs. The old cooperative labor groups have almost disappeared in Caticugan; with increasing population and subdivision of land through inheritance the fields are often so small that volunteer labor activities are less necessary today. It also has become cheaper to pay for help than to furnish workers with meals. Caticugan is en medias res of a gradual transition from a bartering to a money economy that stimulates the growth of individualism.

The population of Caticugan has expanded considerably over the years, but the yield of the fields appears to have decreased. The acreage yield of corn in the northern barrios is more than twice as large as in Caticugan. An

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future cornmeal cooked. Both of these weeds are crawlers that cover the ground with many runners, and busikad is said to have a baking powder-like quality. The bow and arrow are included so one will "always feel full" after eating cornmeal.

The corn harvest lihi is almost identical with the one described for rice. Before the corn harvest (sangui) crosses are put in each corner of the field, although some put only one cross in the center. Several unhusked corn ears are hung on each cross and others add a bit of bendita palm. Prayers are usually repeated; however, some barriofolk said if the person did not know any prayers the mere putting of the crosses sufficed. When the harvest is finished the crosses are collected and taken home for use next year. It was my impression that this lihi was made more casually than the rice lihi.

The Manalabangs

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In Caticugan and other barrios it is nearly impossible to harvest corn or rice without accepting the assistance of the manalabangs or harvesters. This is particularly true of Barrio Caticugan's first paddy corn harvest for it occurs when there is a seasonal food shortage. Basically, the custom of harvesters in this area is a method of forced sharing of food. Some farmers resort to tricks to get their grain harvested without the knowledge of the manalabangs.

The cultivators do not announce when they plan to harvest their grain. So the harvesters keep a careful watch over paddy corn fields when harvest-time approaches. Some will take siestas or even sleep overnight by a field they believe may be harvested soon. They may wait in a friend's house near the field while the children play outside until the harvest begins. 243 476

Most cultivators of cornfields and paddies in Caticugan and environs could easily harvest their crops without the assistance of the manalabangs. Yet they rarely refuse the helpers. When questioned about this matter they often replied "The manalabangs have to live like us" or "They also have intestines." If a cultivator refuses their assistance, the harvesters will comment, "Well, I am going to help you anyway. It is up to you whether you pay me or not." Under the circumstances one can hardly refuse to give the manalabangs a share of the harvest.

While it is not customary to turn away the harvesters, some owners attempt to harvest their corn without having to share the crop. A few begin the harvest at dawn or even on a bright moonlight night. Since most fields can be harvested by a few persons in several hours, the harvest is over before the news reaches the manalabangs. Some helpers do not like dawn harvests, however, because of danger from centipedes or poisonous spiders. [136]

One man in Barrio Caticugan harvested his first paddy corn crop at dawn to avoid manalabangs. A man

passing the field said he thought sigoins were eating the corn because it was so early in the morning. Some barriofolk thought this dawn harvest unfair and the owner was said to be "greedy." In two instances fields were harvested Sunday morning when many of the women were attending church in the poblacion; normally no work is done in the fields on Sunday. Another cultivator began to harvest a small cornfield and attracted the manalabangs; then other members of the family harvested a larger field. The small harvest decoyed the manalabangs away from the larger field. 243 476

These harvesters are mostly women and young children. Men rarely harvest corn other than their own crop; they are said to be ashamed or embarrassed to do so. Most manalabangs who harvested corn or rice in Caticugan came from the nearby barrios. Once a harvest begins the news spreads rapidly and the manalabangs scurry toward the field with folded sacks on their heads to carry home their share. A field that could be harvested in several hours by a family may have forty or fifty unrequested harvesters. 243 476 462 857

While the share of the manalabangs varies it is never large. Their share depends upon (1) the size of the field; (2) the amount of corn harvested; (3) the number of harvesters present, and (4) the generosity of the cultivator. Relatives of the cornfield's owner or cultivator usually get more than non-relatives although both groups do the same amount of work. Harvesters who arrive after the harvest is completed may be given a few ears of corn 243 476

for consolation. Manalabangs who have fairly large cornfields are often given free corn even though they offer to purchase it. In the end, however, the giver loses nothing since his "gift" will be returned when the recipient's field is harvested. The manalabang harvest shares range from several ears of corn to as many as twenty ears. 243 476

When the paddy corn is harvested corn prices are at their peak in Siaton poblacion for this is the "starvation period"--the period when many family's last harvest corn supply is running low and the new crop is still immature. The harvesters also try to buy corn from the owner; some women come just to buy or barter fish or tuba for corn. Usually the owners are not eager to sell since most of them will have to buy cornmeal before the next harvest. Yet few refuse to sell or barter some of their harvest, although they often limit the amount a person may buy. To refuse to sell some of their corn harvest would mean some barriofolk would call them "greedy." 243 433 476 435 432

Manalabangs collect a small pile of corn ears they have harvested and sit down with a definite air of possession. This is the corn they insist on buying. In one case the owner refused to sell the manalabangs the amount of corn they had requested. Collecting all the individual corn piles, he resorted them into new piles, eliminating about a third of the corn. He asked fifteen cents for each pile of corn but settled for ten cents after the women bargained. These female manalabangs had already received their share for helping in the harvest; the 243 476 432

owner was definitely annoyed that he had to sell part of his harvest. 243 476 432

The price of corn varied in the harvests. Two handsful of ears for two or three cents, fifteen ears for the same price and a centavo an ear are a few examples of the prices. Relatives are normally sold more corn and at a cheaper price than non-relatives. The other harvesters do not object. One woman gave the mother of her son's girl-friend a basketful of corn to win her favor. People often eat the corn they harvest on the spot; the husked ears are roasted on hot coals. 243 476 435 [264]

Another reason why the harvesters' assistance is normally not refused is the widespread belief in "envious people." "Envious people" can do harm to one's person or crops through magic. If the manalabangs' help were refused one of them might attempt revenge on the cultivator or his crops. Older manalabangs may silently pray as they work that the cultivator may enjoy good health and abundant harvests in coming years. As one woman said, "the manalabangs just wish good for the owner while they work." 243 476

Corn is harvested by pulling the ears from the stalks. Harvested ears are collected in a basket called bukag. Helpers never know what their share will be until the harvest is completed. If the farmer is a tenant the owner is usually present to assist in the division of the harvest. No arguments over the manalabangs' shares were ever witnessed; they may think their share is too small but they do not complain openly. [427]

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Corn stalks from the first paddy corn harvest are given to those who cut them. At this time the nearby grazing areas are green and fodder is plentiful. During the harvest or shortly afterwards men or young boys come to cut the stalks and carry them home for their animals. However, in the later corn and rice harvests the cultivators do not donate the harvested stalks. By this time the pastures have begun to dry up; the corn and rice stalks are retained by the owners for their own animals.

Local Harvest Migrations

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During July many people from Caticugan, the poblacion and nearby barrios go to Omanod to help in the corn harvest. Corn is usually harvested earlier in Omanod than in Siaton.[49] Omanod is situated in a small riverine plain in Sta. Catalina municipality, about three or four miles west of Barrio Bonawon. In 1951 people came from Bacong and Dauin to help in the Omanod corn harvest. Some took the bus and others from Siaton poblacion walked or rode horses. Women and young children outnumbered men. Several families in Caticugan and the poblacion left younger children under the care of an elder daughter while mother and father went to Omanod.

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[49] Siaton corn harvests sometimes occur before those of Omanod. Normally, however, the earlier rains of Omanod make it possible for the barriofolk to plant (and harvest) their corn before Siaton. However, in 1952, fewer harvesters went to Omanod from Siaton because both harvests occurred about the same period.

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[774]

rich man does not treat us kindly." Very few people in Caticugan knew this story. Possibly, in the past, the barriofolk may have believed corn had a "soul"; among some of the peoples of Southeast Asia (for example, Indo-China) rice is believed to possess a soul.

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The second paddy corn and the first non-irrigated corn harvests usually occur in August and September. Manalabangs do not present such a problem since they are busy in their own fields and there are more crops to harvest. This is a busy period for everyone, particularly the women. They travel to Sandolot, Casala-an and other nearby barrios to obtain corn to replenish inadequate supplies. It is difficult not to think of the statement made by Taft that "the best man in the Philippines is the woman" when one observes the activities of these female harvesters. Their untiring efforts to maintain food for their family make many of them quiet heroes.

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"Wet season" corn is harvested in August and the "dry season" corn, second non-irrigated crop, is normally planted in October. September is the climax month of the rainy season so the farmers wait until October when the monthly precipitation decreases considerably yet the fields are still moist enough to plow and plant. The second non-irrigated corn crop is normally harvested in Caticugan and environs in January or February. Some northern barrios, like Dolog, plant a third corn crop but the acreage is small.

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the tenancy for both paddy and cornfield in Caticugan is 55 per cent owner, 20 per cent part owner, and 25 per cent tenant. These figures bear out my opinion and that of other informed observers that in Siaton the tenancy rates are lower than the average for the province.

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I made a similar survey to determine the average yield, field size, and the harvester's share in the Siaton River valley barrios. In Dolog only the two landlords (the present mayor of Siaton and the former deputy governor of the province, both brothers) were interviewed for they own most of the cultivated land. The figures, combined with those of Caticugan, are given in Table XIX.

TABLE XIX

Cornfields: Average Sizes and Yields and Harvesters' Shares in Siaton River Valley - 1951[53]

| Community | Average Size Of Fields (Acres) | Average Yield Per Acre (Bushels) | Harvesters Share of Total Harvest (Percentage) |
|---|---|---|---|
| CATICUGAN | 1.2 | 6 | 15.5 |
| Datag | 1.5 | 7 | 15.0 |
| Sandolot | 1.2 | 12 | 13.0 |
| Casala-an | 1.2 | 12 | 15.3 |
| Dolog | - | 20 | - |

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Table XIX indicates that corn yield per acre increases as one goes up in the Siaton River valley. Yields

[53] The survey included 71 acres in Casala-an, 44 acres in Sandolot and 47 acres in Datag. The two landlords of Dolog gave me information on their fields that totaled 35 acres. Data obtained from Datag, Sandolot and Casala-an were gathered by my assistant who took two days to collect the figures. Obtaining such information is often difficult when the barriofolk are not well acquainted with the field worker. For this reason I felt my assistant, a former school-teacher in Sandolot, well-known and respected by most of the people, could collect the data more accurately.

in Casala-an and Sandolot are twice those of Caticugan while in Dolog the yield is more than triple. These figures bear out my opinion that cornfields in the north look healthier, the stalks were taller and the number of ears per stalk greater. Of all the growing corn I saw in the Siaton River valley Dolog's fields appeared to be the best. More fertile soils and greater precipitation with less chances of drought periods are some explanatory factors. 243 433

Methods of preparing the land, seed selection, corn varieties, and care of the planted fields do not differ significantly among the barrios. As stated in Chapter II, the annual precipitation in the northern barrios is greater than in Caticugan and Siaton poblacion. In the northern part of the Siaton River valley the soil is rich, well-drained sandy loam. Caticugan's corn often suffers, as in 1951, from lack of rain during the growing season. In 1951 I was sure that the first non-irrigated corn was going to be a near total loss for lack of rain. While this did not occur some fields and parts of other fields had to be replanted because the young corn died. 243

A certain standardization of the harvesters' share appears to exist in the Siaton River valley. One might imagine, as I did, that their harvest shares would be larger in the northern barrios where the yield is greater. The manalabangs' share in the rice harvest was only 10 per cent, a reasonable difference since rice is scarcer and of greater value than corn. 243 476

For those who have no boars (botakal) the breeding fee is one pig from the resulting litter. Owners of many pigs give some of their females to friends to tend. If the female is small, the caretaker gets one-half of every litter produced by the pig while under his care. When the mature pig is killed, he gets one-half of the meat. Individuals in the poblacion often "farm out" a number of their pigs to friends in the barrio under these arrangements. 231 476

There is an amusing riddle about a mother pig and her litter known in Caticugan. 524

The one ahead is marching,
Those following are making music. What are they?

(Ang nag-uan gamarcha,
Ang nanga ulahi gasonata). Unsa man?

Young male pigs are usually caponized by their owners. The pig is caught, the legs tied, and the testes removed with a small knife. Some put the testes in a banana stalk so the pig will become "as big and fat as the banana tree." The juice of talong leaves is often squeezed on the wound to prevent infection. 232

The most common method of preparing pig food (lalog) is to cut a banana stalk into very thin slices and then pound the slices to a mush in the rice mortar. This mush is mixed with water that has been used to clean rice or cornmeal before cooking or to wash kitchen utensils. Nearly every kitchen has a container where this water (kinilis) is poured to be used for pig food. Tahop (chaff from ground corn) is often added to the pig's food. Cooked gabi leaves are fed the pigs for the 231

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A bamboo pole against the tree enables the chickens to climb into the branches, although most of them can fly. The chickens are rarely fed by their owners and are lean and tough when eaten. Nests are usually found in the silong (space under the raised house), among the rafters, or in a corner of a room. Plate XXXI[1] shows one type of nest used in Caticugan. A large bamboo is split and the splints woven apart with rattan; dried grass is often put inside. There is a constant battle to shoo the chickens from a house, since they try to sneak into the kitchen to eat uncovered food.

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The barriofolk eat few eggs, not that they dislike eggs, but eggs bring a good price in the poblacion--five cents each in 1951. Sale of a dozen eggs enabled the vendor to purchase several gantas of cornmeal that go farther in feeding the family. Eggs not sold are normally used for settings. In the poblacion chickens sell for fifty to seventy-five cents and scores of chickens are sold each week in Dumaguete.

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The Bolhon and Palihog: Cooperative Labor Groups

The growing individualism in Caticugan life, already cited, includes agriculture. I shall describe some of the cooperative agricultural practices of the past and indicate reasons for their decline in present-day Caticugan.

During Lucas Ege's period there were two types of cooperative labor groups in Caticugan, the bolhon and

1 [See p.432, cat. 231 -- Analyst]

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palihog. A bolhon was a group of people, usually working adjacent fields, who cooperated in various agricultural tasks--planting, plowing, harvesting, etc. Both relatives and neighbors were included in a bolhon. The group spent only a certain period, usually one day, helping each member plant or harvest his field. If a field were large, the following day the group began a new field, even though the large field was not finished. This made for an equal distribution of labor. A member with a large field could not require the group to finish his field if the allotted period was insufficient. If he wished, he could hire members to work until the job was done. Then a day's pay for farm work was about thirty cents or its equivalent in rice; the amount of rice depended on the current price in the poblacion Chinese stores.

Each member of a bolhon fed the other workers when they labored in his field. The food was furnished and prepared by the farmer's family. While some got drunk on tuba, the bolhon was not a festive affair. "The workers were too tired and dirty to sing and dance at night after work" explained an informant who had worked in Lucas Ege's bolhons.

Normally only Lucas Ege's tenants participated in the bolhon. Other residents of Caticugan had smaller fields--and maybe were members of an "out-group"--so they could do their work without assistance. Bolhon groups of the past were never large because normally members were only those whose fields were adjacent.

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In contrast to the bolhon, which was generally organized for cooperative agricultural labor, is the palihog. The palihog is assistance of neighbors or friends in doing a job which one cannot do alone. The workers are fed by the individual who requested their assistance. Palihogs are most frequently held for the construction or repair of residences. While the bolhon has disappeared the palihog is still practiced. Two palihogs occurred in Caticugan during my residence. Both palihogs were held for the repair or construction of dwellings.

One palihog was formed to replace rotten house posts. This is quite a task; men pull the house with ropes to a more erect position. The other palihog was to help the owner place the posts in the holes for a new house. The palihog is said to be held sometimes when a man is late in plowing or planting and wants to accomplish the task speedily; while several fields were planted late in 1951 because the cultivators were sick, no palihog occurred. Immediately after the last war, according to the barriofolk, due to the carabao shortage, there was a resurgence of the palihog. However, once the shortage was alleviated the palihogs rapidly decreased.

One palihog was held in Barrio Caticugan by a family who had dug the post holes for their new house. They needed help to get the long timbers into the holes. There were about ten men in the palihog besides the

members of the family. Two men with the assistance of the man and his son could have done the job. The meal was prepared by the husband while his wife scoured the barrio for items for the post hole ceremony. (See Chapter VIII.) The palihog started around noon and lasted about two hours, although the job took less than an hour; after finishing the men ate and talked. Later several of their wives and children arrived to eat lunch.

In part, the decline of the bolhon and palihog is due to the fact that Caticugan's population has increased relatively to cultivated land. Many fields have been subdivided among heirs; thus the fields became smaller and there was less need for cooperative activities.

Post-war inflation discourages the bolhon and palihog. As a young man said: "The palihog costs too much today. It is cheaper to hire people and pay them wages." The rise in wages has been less than the increase in food costs. One can hire a farm worker in Caticugan today for fifty cents and two meals a day; several decades ago the wage for a day's work was about thirty cents. Prices of corn, rice, pig and cattle have more than tripled.

There are some cooperative activities that tradition perpetuates although hired labor could accomplish the job more cheaply. Prestige and social standing may be gained from holding these activities; this factor was not entirely absent in the motivation for the palihog just described. (See Chapter VII.) Most of the barriofolk of Caticugan, however, consider the cost first in getting help in their fields or to repair or construct dwellings.

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Some builders use more bamboo to make the fish corral walls stronger.

The togdan is usually from 150 to 200 feet long; the bamboos are firmly fixed to the dalamba. The togdan guides the fish into the bonsod; once inside the fish rarely escape through the open entrance by which they entered. The togdan does not have a banata for the bamboos are close enough to guide the fish into the bonsod.

The next step is to make platforms (lantay or banko) at the ends of the bonsod. (See Plates XLVI and XLVII.[1] These platforms are where the men stand when they net the catch inside the fish corral. Some bonsods (none in Siaton) have a small hut on one of the platforms where a man stays at night to watch and call the workers if a school of fish enters. In Siaton the practice is to send a man in a boat to see if the bonsod caught any fish during the night.

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The final step is the installation of the banata; this process normally calls for a ladlad. To install the banata more men are needed for one day than employed to construct the fish corral. A ladlad is a traditional feast given by the builder mainly to attract volunteer workers to help install the banata. Table XXXVI[2] presents a breakdown of the cost of one ladlad given when the banata was installed in a bonsod off Sitio Baybay.

1 [See pp. 589, 590, cat. 226 or 335 -- Analyst]

2 [See p. 595, cat. 226 or 476 -- Analyst]

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TABLE XXXVI

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Ladlad Expenses, Sitio Baybay, 1951

| Food Items | Cost (Dollars) |
|---|---|
| Small pig | $12.50 |
| Tahores (beans) | .30 |
| Spices (for pig) | .20 |
| Cornmeal | 3.75 |
| Bread | .40 |
| Guhang | 2.00 |
| | $19.15 |

This ladlad attracted only three volunteer workers and the host invited friends from the poblacion whom he did not expect to help with the banata's installation. I asked him if it would not have been cheaper to have paid wages to the three volunteer workers than to have held a ladlad. He replied: "Oh, yes. But the ladlad is traditional"; the prestige gained was adequate compensation to the host. Usually, however, ladlads attract more volunteer laborers and is cheaper than paying for extra workers.[57]

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After eating, the workers put the banata rolls on the raft and float them to the fish corral. A roll is pushed from the raft into the water and slowly maneuvered by swimmers to the proper position alongside the bonsod wall. Several men, standing on the bonsod catwalk, push the banata roll with a pole until it floats vertically,

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[57] In Tanjay the ladlad is called labod. One Tanjay informant said it was necessary to kill the labod pig inside the fish corral; this is not done in Siaton to my knowledge. Some Siaton informants, however, said it was wise to stain the banata with pig blood before they were installed.

new slats installed. A local riddle accurately describes the general appearance of most of the Catiougan dwellings. 356 524

Since birth all patches. What is it? A house
(Sukad nabata tapak sanina. Unsa man? Balay)

COST OF BUILDING A BARRIO DWELLING

The basic materials used to build a barrio dwelling are obtained in the locality, i.e., bamboo, nipa, house posts, rattan, etc. Wire, nails, and galvanized iron sheets are purchased in poblacion stores or, more frequently, obtained in Dumaguete. The use of wire, nails, iron roofing and cement, for example, in the construction of new dwellings in Catiougan, though still small, is increasing. More families would have purchased these materials during my residence except for highly inflated prices and restricted supplies. This trend toward using materials that are made and normally purchased outside the community (in contrast to going to the mountains to obtain materials) will continue to reduce the bartering that still persists in their basic economy and decrease the barriofolk's self-sufficiency. 435 178 438 342

In the past, a family who decided to build a new dwelling in Catiougan were assisted by neighbors and friends. Today, however, when an individual constructs a new house it is mainly a family task. If additional labor is needed the builder may hire local carpenters. House construction exemplifies the transitional process--from community cooperation, to family, and gradually to the 476 602 178 463

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assumption of certain skills by local specialists who are paid a cash wage.

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Table XXXVIII[1] illustrates the itemized costs of three different dwellings built in Caticugan in 1951.[10] House C's cost probably comes closer to the cost of the typical Caticugan dwelling than the other two dwellings. This house had two rooms--sala and kitchen--lacked wooden shutters, cement post supports, and little lumber was used. Table XXXIX[1] lists the items and cost of building a poblacion dwelling inhabited by a Siaton municipal official. No bamboo or nipa were used; the cost of the two dwellings illustrate the difference in dwellings between Caticugan barriofolk and Siaton principalia.

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The owner of House C did not hire any carpenters; he held a palihog that cost eight dollars. The work accomplished by palihog assistants could have been done in half a day by two laborers. The palihog, in this case, is an example of how "... the prestige factor inherent in the giving of a feast compensates for the lessened efficiency and the lower return."[11] While precise figures cannot be

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1 [See p. 667ff, cat. 435 or 342--Analyst]

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[10] Some men of Caticugan make extra money by working for lumber firms in Dumaguete. For example, a father and son in Barrio Caticugan were hired by one firm to cut first-class timber (salay, gisok, sambulawan, yakal, and amoning) in the mountains a day's walk from their home. They were paid eight cents per board foot with an additional two cents per board foot for bringing the lumber from Pinac-an (where they worked a permit issued to the Dumaguete lumber firm) to the poblacion. Another group of four men in Barrio Caticugan worked four days cutting lumber from felled trees in the nearby mountains; they earned a total of twenty-five dollars, or a daily wage of about one dollar and fifty-five cents. These were the only two groups hired to cut timber in Caticugan.

[11] Melville J. Herskovits, Economic Anthropology: A Study in Comparative Economics. New York, Alfred A. Knopf, 1952, p. 107.

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When the holes[1] are dug, the posts are laid beside them. Their tops point in a particular direction, depending on the month. Napta states that for January, February and March the posts must face the northeast, for the following three months the southwest, for the next three months to the east and for the last three months toward the northeast. The directions correlate with the southwest and northeast monsoons. This custom is to prevent accidents to the house such as fire or flood.

Some informants said that the tops of the posts should be pointed with the wind. Two dwellings in Caticugan were begun in June and the posts were pointed toward the southwest before they were placed in their holes. Sometimes the post ends are charred to prevent termites from eating the wood after it is in the ground.

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Putting heavy posts in their holes appears to be one of the few occasions for a palihog; several palihogs were witnessed in Caticugan for this task. In one case friends and neighbors of one man were invited to help him and his son put posts in holes already dug. Eight men came; when they finished the job, which took about an hour, they ate a meal prepared by the owner. After the meal the men went home but not until some of their wives and children also had come to eat.

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There are different ways of erecting bamboo house posts. (See Plate LXIII.)[2] Since bamboo rots quickly in the ground a few barrio houses had bamboo house posts that rested on stone foundations. In one case short

workers an advance on an order. One Siaton fisherman paid some workers in this community one-half of the contracted price for a boat that never was delivered. 437 396 472 675

The contractor usually discusses the order with the workers he plans to employ. As one contractor said; "I talk with them to see if they feel the arrangements I made are reasonable." The contractor receives no fixed percentage for his middleman activities; "what he gets depends upon the generosity of the buyer and the workers." Actually the contractor's bargaining position is excellent; he can contract with another group to build the boat if he does not anticipate a fair share of the profit. The boat-makers in Mangoto are farmers who earn money by building boats during slack periods.

The contractor's percentage appears to vary from 10 to 20 per cent of the total contracted price of a baroto, and from 10 to 15 per cent for a banca. In 1950 one contractor arranged for the construction of more than twenty boats; he received from $1.75 to $2.50 on a baroto and from $10 to $20 on a banca. Boat prices vary with their size. Before the last war a baroto sold for as little as three dollars whereas a banca brought between $25 to $30. Today's prices are inflated. A baroto costs $10 to $15 and a banca $75 to $200.

Some good-sized boats are built in Mangoto; I saw a large parao being pulled to the Tanjay River. This parao had been built for a Cebu fisherman who stayed in the barrio during its construction. Thirty carabao were 396 501 483

tugging the boat up a steep hill. The boat measured 63 feet in length and the widest part of the hull exceeded 3 feet.[72] For three days the group had been struggling to get the parao to the river from their destination. Each man received one dollar a day for both their labor and carabao.

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Boat Construction

When the contractor has made all necessary arrangements the workers select a tree for the boat's hull. Trees used most frequently to make boats in Mangoto are magsinolog (white lauan), balanggbang and lanitga (both species of red lauan). These woods are preferred by boat-builders for their lightness and durability.[73] In the past bay-ang trees were cut but today so few exist that they are not used. In the "old days," according to Siaton informants, many lanitga trees grew near Barrio Cabangahan

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[72] The bottom of the boat was 10 inches thick; the solid stern, where the motor was to be mounted, was 6 feet long.

[73] Magsinolog is probably Shorea eximia (Miquel) Scheffer, that is widely distributed in the Philippines. Reyes, op. cit., pp. 313-5. Reyes states S. eximia is sold in the local market as white lauan or almon "...and is an excellent wood for boat planking..." Lanitga is possibly Toona calantas Merrill and Rolfe, Reyes, op. cit., pp. 183-184. T. calantas is commonly known as kalantas but is called lanipga in Samar, Leyte and Cebu and grows in Negros; Reyes reports T. calantas is used to make boats. Balangobang is not listed by Reyes but was said to be a species of red lauan by the forestry officials in Tanjay. White and red lauan, according to Tamesis and Aguilar, is widely used in the Philippines for barato construction. Tamesis and Aguilar, op. cit., p. 64.

trimmed. Sometimes the wood cracks. To fill cracks, the dried sap of the bolitik tree is pounded, winnowed until very fine, and then mixed with kerosene. When this mixture dries it is hard and waterproof. 395

Smaller barotos are carried by hand to the Tanjay River and paddled down to the poblacion. Large boats are pulled to the river by carabaos. Some individuals conduct another pandita when the boat is launched; they kill a pig and offer food to the spirits. They mark a charcoal cross on the boat's bottom "so it will be easier to pull to the river and will not be damaged." A buyer may come to Tanjay poblacion to receive his boat, or the boat may be taken to the purchaser; this depends on the original contract. Larger boats are finished in Tanjay, and the mast, strakes, and motor mountings are added. Boats are made in Mangoto for owners who live in Panay, Cebu and Siquijor. 438 483

Types of Boats in Siaton

Bangas may be classified into three groups according to their length: the small class averages from 18 to 30 feet; medium class, from 30 to 35 feet; and the large class 35 feet or more. Names, however, are usually given according to their use. The bokaran is used mainly to net fish inside the bonsod. Bokarans do not have the outrigger (katig); this makes them easier to handle inside a fish corral. For the same reason bokarans are usually used to retrieve bobos although the panahiran also is so 501

few miles west of Zamboanguita poblacion. By 1948 the first class road reached Siaton poblacion. In 1951 only a second class road connected Siaton and Tolong. 491

Informants living in Siaton said that the busses from Dumaguete terminated at Zamboanguita until 1928; they did not continue to Siaton because of poor roads. A resident of Siaton poblacion reported: 494

> Before 1928 there were a few autos which came to Siaton but only for the use of the wealthy. Maybe they came as early as 1924. But regular busses did not start until 1928 and then the schedules were not as regular as today. Of course, there was practically no travel for autos or trucks during the rainy season.

The chief clerk of the provincial engineer's office, who has held this position for nearly three decades, said on April, 1930, the first busses from Dumaguete reached Barrio San Francisco (then known as Manalongan), now in Sta. Catalina municipality. It seems, therefore, that the first effective bus facilities between Siaton and the provincial capital were established around 1930. Dumaguete has been accessible to the barriofolk by bus for about twenty years. Improved transportation facilities changed the distribution of population in Siaton municipality.

The Traffic Flow map of Negros Oriental illustrates the annual average daily flow of commercial, 484 489

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animal-drawn and private vehicles for 1952.[54] (See Plate XII.)[1] This map shows the relative position of Siaton in the general traffic flow pattern of Negros Oriental. The heaviest traffic flow is between Bais and the provincial capital due mainly to the trucking of copra to Dumaguete's port, the better roads and population concentration. As one travels north of Bais and south of Dumaguete the traffic flow decreases. In the vicinity of La Libertad the "pull" of San Carlos becomes greater than Dumaguete and the traffic flow increases considerably in this northern direction. Zamboanguita is the half-way mark in the southern traffic flow; the traffic between Zamboanguita and Dauin is nearly twice that between Zamboanguita and Siaton.[55]

The Traffic Flow map reflects a number of factors. The closer to Dumaguete the cheaper the bus fare, the shorter the trip, the greater the number of busses running, and the more frequently the rural residents go to the city. Much of the traffic between Bacong and

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[54] The gap on the Traffic Flow map between Bacong-Dumaguete and Sibulan-Dumaguete is because there are two sets of maps--one for Dumaguete city and another for Negros Oriental province. In 1952 the 24-hour traffic between Bacong (the southern city boundary) and Dumaguete was 340, of which 48 per cent was commercial and 45 per cent animal-drawn.

[55] The 1936 district engineer's road map of Negros Oriental showed a proposed road to Bonbonon in this year with a third class road existing in 1948. The road connecting Bonbonon with the National Road in 1951, however, was quite comparable with the latter highway.

1 [See p. 78, cat. 484 + 489 -- Analyst]

20: Hart E-5 (1951) 1954 OA1 Philippines
Central Bisayan OA14

Plate XII

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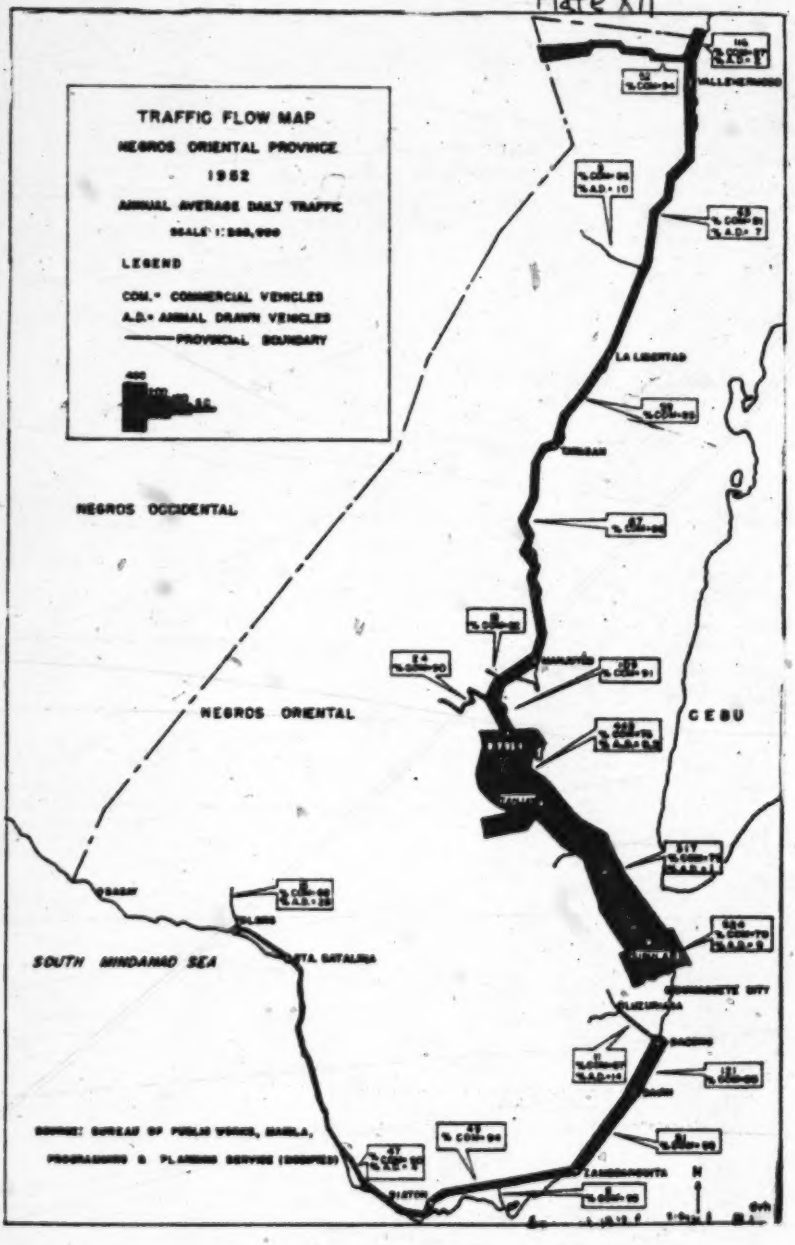


p. 78

Dumaguete or Dumaguete and Sibulan is animal-drawn carts that take firewood to be sold in the capital. For example, in 1952 the 24-hour traffic between Dumaguete and the northern boundary of the city (to Sibulan municipality) consisted of 2,635 vehicles of which 16 per cent were commercial and 70 per cent animal-drawn. The thick traffic flow line between Bais and Dumaguete reflects the constant trucking of copra to the port for shipment. The Traffic Flow map clearly records the economic "pull" of Dumaguete: literally, all roads lead to the provincial capital.[56]

The National Road from Dumaguete to Siaton poblacion (named on the official maps as the Dumaguete South Road) is classified as a first class road, although

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The Philippine bus, called "trucks" by the people in Siaton, does a herculean job in the Republic.

> With the few private automobiles, for the use of only a very small share of the population, the bus has become far more important than in many countries. Generally speaking, Philippine bus-transport economy compares with that of almost any place in the world. Likewise it compares in services to its customers. Except for a few of the long-run 'limited' schedules, a bus will stop anywhere to pick up or discharge passengers. Most lines will carry any small cargo on the ticket, often include freight in small consignments on their regular runs, and operate fairly fast schedules. Most busses are regular truck-rolling stock, with Philippine-built bodies adapted to people of smaller girth and stature than most Americans.[58]

Though normally the busses are overcrowded, dusty, and maintained with makeshift repairs, without them the mobility of the average Filipino would be greatly reduced. The 484 overwhelming dependence of the average Filipino in southern 489 Negros in 1952 on the public transport system is shown in

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[57] "The Chinese Question." A series of letters from various readers in the Philippines Free Press, XLIII, No. 29 (July 26, 1952), p.3. Underlining by writer.

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Table VI by the percentages of commercial (which also includes "cargo" trucks), private automobiles, and animal-drawn carts. The larger percentage of animal-drawn vehicles between Bacong and Dumaguete are the carts of the firewood sellers and the tartanillas--the "local taxis."

TABLE VI

Percentages of Annual Average Daily Traffic Flow

Negros Oriental, 1952

| Between | Vehicles Commercial | Private | Animal-Drawn |
|---|---|---|---|
| Tolong - Siaton | 90 | 6 | 4 |
| Siaton - Zamboanguita | 94 | 6 | 0 |
| Zamboanguita - Dauin | 88 | 12 | 0 |
| Dauin - Bacong | 89 | 11 | 0 |
| Bacong - Dumaguete | 48 | 7 | 45 |

The traffic flow statistics of the Siaton toll bridge shown in Table VII[1] include both east and west traffic. These figures do not include vehicles coming from Dumaguete that terminate at Siaton poblacion. The termination points for most of the commercial traffic west of Siaton are either Sta. Catalina or Tolong; the latter is the busiest commercial center in southern Negros. Though vehicular travel does not decrease during the southwest monsoon as much as one might expect on a second class road, the rains do depress the traffic flow.[59] During the peak of the rainy season

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1 [see p. 54, cat. 484 + 489 -- Analyst]

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automobile and truck travel drops considerably but the decrease in bus service is small. A typhoon greatly reduces traffic flow for a short period, e.g., the typhoon "Amy" which occurred in December, 1951. The period of heaviest traffic is between December and May with certain exceptions. These are the "fiesta months" and the period when the fish corrals are operating. Extra busses go to the fiesta communities and the more affluent come from Dumaguete in automobiles or jeeps. More jeeps and trucks ~~are~~ also run to transport the fish caught in the corrals to Dumaguete. These statistics vividly illustrate the predominance of commercial over private transport and how this National Road is a vital artery of transportation and communication for the barriofolk of southern Negros.

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TABLE VII

Traffic Flow Figures from the

Siaton Toll Bridge

1951

| Month | Automobiles | Busses | Trucks | Jeeps | Other vehicles (A) | Rainfall (inches) | Fiestas |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Jan. | 17 | 303 | 101 | 28 | 18 | 0.04 | 3 |
| Feb. | 44 | 370 | 125 | 47 | 31 | 0.5 | 3(B) |
| Mar. | 39 | 316 | 123 | 27 | 15 | 0.3 | 6(C) |
| Apr. | 48 | 362 | 146 | 42 | 15 | 0.8 | 3(D) |
| May | 18 | 351 | 125 | 27 | 1 | 2.2 | 3 |
| June | 14 | 317 | 86 | 20 | 9 | 11.7 | 0 |
| July | 15 | 311 | 105 | 24 | 0 | 13.9 | 0 |
| Aug. | 8 | 321 | 130 | 23 | 2 | 15.5 | 2 |
| Sep. | 10 | 310 | 101 | 14 | 0 | 14.5 | 0 |
| Oct. | 6 | 303 | 139 | 23 | 0 | 11.7 | 1 |
| Nov. | 30 | 321 | 130 | 24 | 0 | 6.3 | 1 |
| Dec. | 20 | 240(E) | 105 | 30 | 21 | 12.7(E) | 4(F) |
| Monthly Average (Rounded) | 22 | 319 | 118 | 27 | 9 | | 2 |

A. "Other vehicles" include trailers, graders, pick-ups, wagons, and a bull-dozer.
Road repairs were being made at this time.
B. The fiestas included in this column are those which occurred west of the Siaton River with the exception of Siaton poblacion.
C. Barrio Giliga-on fiesta.
D. Barrio Bonawon fiesta.
E. The typhoon "Amy" occurred on December 9-10.
F. Sta. Catalina and Siaton poblacion fiestas.

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There are two commercial airports in Negros, one in Dumaguete and the other in Bacolod with flights to other islands. It is not possible, however, to fly directly between the two capitals of Negros; one must first go to Cebu City. The Philippines Air Lines (PAL), 000

these differences the barriofolk of Caticugan, and Negros Oriental, are mainly Cebuanos with dialect and customs different from those of Panayanos of Negros Occidental. 101

Recent improvements in transportation have brought most of the barriofolk of Caticugan closer to Dumaguete, the provincial capitol where American cultural patterns are most heavily concentrated. Yet they live on the periphery of the major traffic flow of this province. With their undeveloped technology and crude implements, the Caticugan barriofolk have adjusted their economy to the seasonal rhythms of the southwest and northeast monsoons, the former beginning their agricultural cycle. This chapter has described the general scenery of the "stage" where the barriofolk of Caticugan act out their lives. 484 489 177 221 000

An American visitor in Dumaguete would find much in the city to remind him of the United States. New Fords, modern buildings, the mode of dress, Hollywood cinemas and Silliman University with its American professors and English-speaking students would be visible signs of American influence. As he left Dumaguete for the rural areas of Negros, he would quickly enter a new milieu and the farther south he travelled the fewer clues he would find to suggest familiar scenes of his country. 369 177

Today one can catch an early morning bus from Dumaguete to Siaton poblacion. The faded green bus 494 484

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parks in front of a general merchandise store across the street from the busy marketplace. The wooden benches of the bus are often full an hour before it departs, but the conductor continues to appeal to passers-by for more fares. Finally the crowded bus leaves but circles hopefully around the marketplace in search of a few more passengers.

There is an excellent paved road from Dumaguete to Bacong poblacion so the driver races along the highway, honking furiously at the two-wheeled tartanillas with their little ponies hauling passengers or firewood to the city. Outside of Dumaguete the bus passes a [263] muscovado sugar mill, a relic of the past, that makes the unrefined brown sugar that most barriofolk buy. In Negros, "Sugar Bowl of the Philippines," refined sugar is too expensive to be used by the majority of the rural people. Stilted bamboo and nipa-roofed houses line the road with gay potted plants in the windows. Copra, shelled corn or palay may be drying on woven buri mats along the roadside; over the rickety bamboo fences hangs the family wash. To the east through the dark green of coconut groves is the blue sea, and beyond lies Siquijor Island.

The bus passes through Bacong poblacion with its plaza, little kiosk (bandstand) and white-washed statue of Jose Rizal, the "George Washington" of the Philippines. The marketplace is filled with people buying and selling. Small groups are having morning coffee and bread;

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large glass jars filled with golden guhang (a native drink) await thirsty customers. There are the massive stone church modernized with a tin roof, the school building with its shell windows, and tidy vegetable gardens which boys so dislike to cultivate. Outside of Bacong the road is rougher and dustier. Through Dauin and Zamboanguita poblacions speeds the bus, leaving behind a whirling cloud of dust to settle on the bright green banana leaves. The bus passes over a sturdy Spanish bridge or fords a shallow stream where women are beating their wash with wooden paddles. Children play in the water, while in another part of the stream a young man in white shorts is splashing water on a grateful carabao.

After leaving Zamboanguita the bus turns west, passing through the small semi-circular plain of Mayabon with its paddies and brick-red pots drying under a burning sun. The narrow road winds up the Bondo incline and traverses an undulating plateau with waving dry grasses and isolated clumps of stunted trees. To the south is the sea again and Mindanao's faint blue outline. To the north are the tall forested mountains of southern Negros over which, wreathed with clouds, towers the ancient volcano Cuerno de Negros.

The bus stops at the road to Barrio Bonbonon to discharge passengers and then continues down to the riverine plain of Inalad. The driver stops at the western base of Bondo before a small group of houses. More 000

passengers get off and empty wooden boxes are left by the roadside for the fishermen of Malabuhan. On the return trip the boxes will be filled with fresh fish for sale in Dumaguete. About a quarter of a mile south is Sitio Malabuhan, a fishing village with houses lining a sandy shore and many beached boats covered with coconut fronds.

The bus continues, past Inalad school and is ferried over the placid Canaway River, to arrive at Siaton poblačion. (See Plate XVII.)[1] The business center of Siaton poblacion is strung for several blocks along the National Road here named George Washington Road. There are general stores, a corn mill, and a marketplace. A card game may be in progress in a small store while the guhang "bar" already has patrons, lounging on bamboo benches. A bus from Tolong poblacion may be waiting for its passengers to finish their breakfast at the several cafes in the marketplace while the driver helps a woman to load a squealing pig for Dumaguete market. Other thin pigs root at the roadside or around the marketplace while lazy dogs sleep on the warm asphalt road, moving only when the bus is nearly upon them.

On the plaza's north side is the termite-ridden municipio with offices for the mayor and other officials and a tiny jail with bamboo bars. The church was rebuilt in 1952 but the old stone walls of the former church are seen vine-covered and shaded by giant acacia trees

[1] this plate (p.128) is missing -- ANALYST]

few miles west of Zamboanguita poblacion. By 1948 the first class road reached Siaton poblacion. In 1951 only a second class road connected Siaton and Tolong.

Informants living in Siaton said that the busses from Dumaguete terminated at Zamboanguita until 1928; they did not continue to Siaton because of poor roads. A resident of Siaton poblacion reported:

> Before 1928 there were a few autos which came to Siaton but only for the use of the wealthy. Maybe they came as early as 1924. But regular busses did not start until 1928 and then the schedules were not as regular as today. Of course, there was practically no travel for autos or trucks during the rainy season.

The chief clerk of the provincial engineer's office, who has held this position for nearly three decades, said on April, 1930, the first busses from Dumaguete reached Barrio San Francisco (then known as Manalongan), now in Sta. Catalina municipality. It seems, therefore, that the first effective bus facilities between Siaton and the provincial capital were established around 1930. Dumaguete has been accessible to the barriofolk by bus for about twenty years. Improved transportation facilities changed the distribution of population in Siaton municipality.

The Traffic Flow map of Negros Oriental illustrates the annual average daily flow of commercial,

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animal-drawn and private vehicles for 1952.[54] (See Plate XII.)[1] This map shows the relative position of Siaton in the general traffic flow pattern of Negros Oriental. The heaviest traffic flow is between Bais and the provincial capital due mainly to the trucking of copra to Dumaguete's port, the better roads and population concentration. As one travels north of Bais and south of Dumaguete the traffic flow decreases. In the vicinity of La Libertad the "pull" of San Carlos becomes greater than Dumaguete and the traffic flow increases considerably in this northern direction. Zamboanguita is the half-way mark in the southern traffic flow; the traffic between Zamboanguita and Dauin is nearly twice that between Zamboanguita and Siaton.[55]

The Traffic Flow map reflects a number of factors. The closer to Dumaguete the cheaper the bus fare, the shorter the trip, the greater the number of busses running, and the more frequently the rural residents go to the city. Much of the traffic between Bacong and

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[54]The gap on the Traffic Flow map between Bacong-Dumaguete and Sibulan-Dumaguete is because there are two sets of maps--one for Dumaguete city and another for Negros Oriental province. In 1952 the 24-hour traffic between Bacong (the southern city boundary) and Dumaguete was 340, of which 48 per cent was commercial and 45 per cent animal-drawn.

[55]The 1936 district engineer's road map of Negros Oriental showed a proposed road to Bonbonon in this year with a third class road existing in 1948. The road connecting Bonbonon with the National Road in 1951, however, was quite comparable with the latter highway.

1 [See p. 78, cat. 484 + 489 -- Analyst]

20: Hart E-5 (1951) 1954 OA1 Philippines
Central Bisayan OA14

Plate XII

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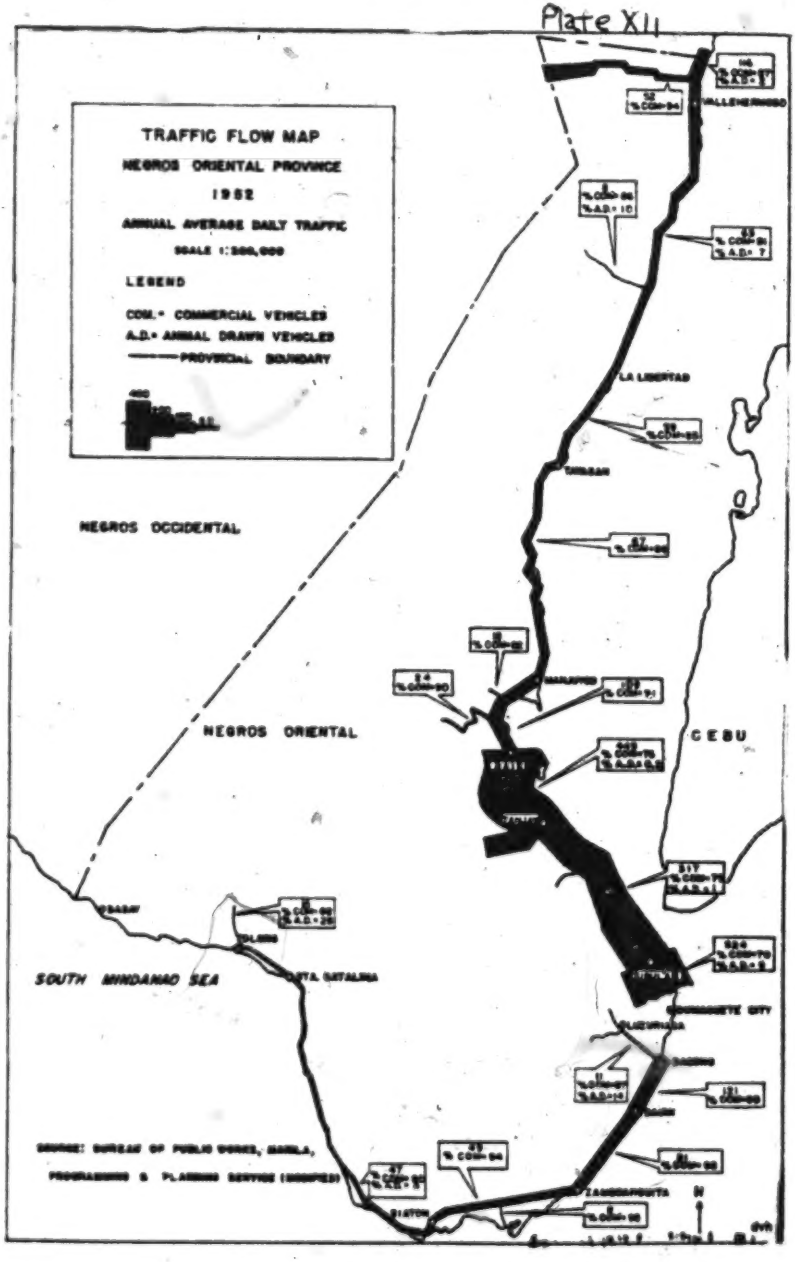


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when copra prices fall school enrollments decrease. For the most part, the Chinese control the buying and selling of copra. Their trucks come from Dumaguete to pick up copra from stores where Filipinos sell their small crops.

The Northern Corn-Coconut region begins in the south with Manjuyod municipality and continues to the north to Canlaon and Vallehermoso municipalities. A northern extension of this region includes Negros Occidental's eastern littoral. Both the southern and northern municipalities of this region are transitional to sugar cane agriculture. This northern region is larger than the Southern Corn-Coconut area; the former has about 743 square miles of which 239 square miles (32 per cent) are actively cultivated.

Many geographic factors typical of the southern region also characterize the Northern Corn-Coconut region. There is less level land in the northern region; the small riverine floodplains and narrow littoral account for most of it. While annual precipitation is greater than in the southern region, the northern area also is subject to droughts. Transportation facilities are not as adequate as in the south, and the northern region lacks an adequate port. The only sizeable port is at Guihulngan where shallow-draft inter-island ships stop. The rest of the coast is lined with shallow inshore waters or offshore coral reefs.

Population densities are greater in the northern region with an average density of 289 persons per

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[1] this plate (p.128) is missing -- ANALYST]

Sale of Fish Caught in the Bonsods

Most fish caught in the bonsods are sold in Dumaguete because of the higher prices paid in the city. Fish are taken to Dumaguete by the busses that run between Tolong-Dumaguete and Siaton-Dumaguete. The bonsod owner pays fifty cents for each box (about the size of an orange crate) of fish hauled to Dumaguete; a tax of one cent a pound is paid on fish sold in the marketplace. Large fish like tuna are tagged on the tail and sent individually to the city market. When the tagged boxes of fish arrive in Dumaguete marketplace they are taken by the owner's agent (in one case a woman) who receives 10 per cent of the profits.

If a large bonsod catch is made and no busses are available until the next day, Siaton operators may hire a small truck owned by a local resident. Since ice is not available, the fish must be sold quickly or they spoil. The lament of a cafe owner near the Siaton River bridge was that during fishing season busses and trucks rarely stopped at his place because they were usually carrying fish to Dumaguete. The drivers feared a leisurely trip might cause the fish to spoil.[62]

Marine fish never were plentiful in the poblacion marketplace during my residence--and fresh-water fish were

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[62]According to the Bell Report the Philippine fishing industry needs to be provided with "cold storage transportation to expand the market for fish, and...the development of freezer packers." The Bell Report, op. cit., p. 66.

owing to firing difficulties. Most of my material on techniques of pottery was obtained from this cooperative Datag potter.

Most clay cooking pots now used in Caticugan are made in Dumaguete city. In this city there is a district, Daro, that specializes in the manufacture of cooking pots, clay stoves and large waterjars for drinking purpose. Some pots sold in Siaton poblacion are made in Mayabon, Zamboanguita, but are regarded as inferior to Daro's products. Mayabon is situated in a small enclave of Dauin clay that may explain the small pottery industry. (See Plate X, page 64.) A family came to Siaton from Daro in 1951 and started to make clay pots for sale in the poblacion; the business did not succeed and after several months they left.

The decline of pottery in Caticugan and environs is due largely to improvement of transportation facilities in southern Negros. The superior clay wares of Dumaguete became easier to buy in Siaton poblacion. Better transportation facilities increased both the number and frequency of visits to the city. The pots became so cheap that the barriofolk preferred to buy rather than make them. One old woman of Caticugan explained: "I stopped making pots because it is hard work. I would get sick always having my hands in the cold clay, squeezing it. And they are very cheap to buy."

As older women ceased their pottery activities, their daughters were not taught the technique. With a

20: Hart E-5 (1951) 1954 OA1 Philippines
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**Transportation**

Inadequate transportation facilities are one of the major problems of the Philippines.[45] The Bell Report states: "Present road transportation, and especially bridges, are inadequate. Existing roads are not properly maintained."[46] In June 30, 1951, there were only 17,334 miles of first, second and third class national, provincial and city roads in the Philippines.[47] In 1949, there were 16,883 miles of all classes of roads in the Philippines. While nearly 500 miles of new roads have been built within the last 18 months, the need for more and better roads is still pressing. PHIBRA (Philippine Better Roads Association) has an apt motto: "Better Roads Mean Better Living." A brief summary of Negros' transportation facilities gives one a better understanding of the relative isolation of Caticugan and why certain changes have occurred in their way of life in recent decades.

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[45] Spencer, op. cit., p.79.

[46] The Bell Report, U. S. Economic Survey Mission's Report. Manila, Philippine Book Company, 1951, p.76.

[47] P. J. Dayrit, "For Better Roads," The Manila Times and Daily Mirror 3rd Annual Report on Agriculture and Industrial Progress. Manila (October, 1952), p.61.

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Of the Visayan islands, southeastern Panay and northwestern Negros probably have the best developed road system; both areas have large plains devoted mainly to sugar cane.[48] Before the last war Negros Occidental was classified as one of the few provinces in the Philippines with a well-established transportation system. The Bacolod-Linaon National Road is 88 miles long with concrete paving as far south as Hinigaran.[49] The transportation facilities of Negros Oriental are inferior to those of its sister province. The major highway is the National Road which hugs the coastline of the province from its northern boundary to Tolong. (See Plate XI.)1

Except for the northward extension of the National Road, the only other connection linking Negros Occidental and Negros Oriental is the Valleshermoso-La Castellana road which passes through Canlaon municipality. This road was officially opened in 1939. Future roads are planned between Tolong and Bais, Tolong and Kabankalan, and Kabankalan and Bais. These roads were proposed in the early 1930's but little has been accomplished. When

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[48] Hainsworth and Moyer, op. cit., pp. 7, 26-7.

[49] Alicante and others, op. cit., p.12.

1 [See p. 73, cat 491 -- Analyst]

20: H— E-5 (1951) 1954 OA1 Philippines
Central Bisayan OA14

Plate XI

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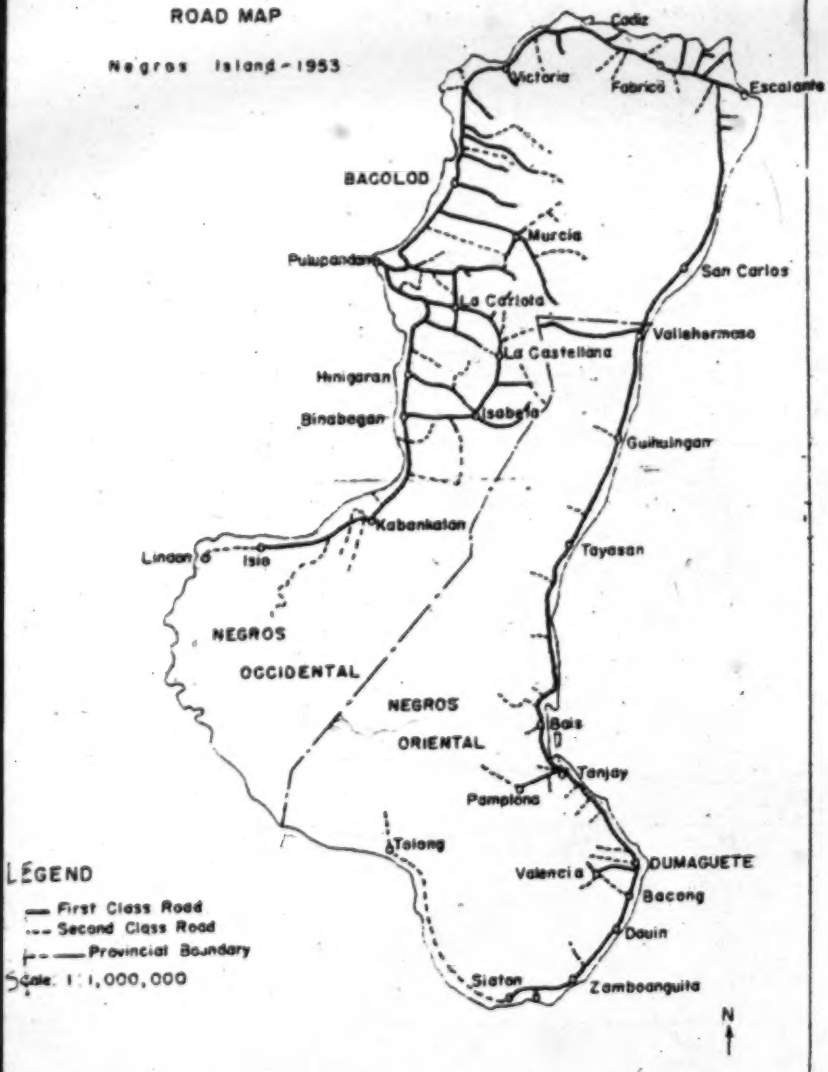


Source: 1960 Road map & Prov. Eng. Offices (1958)

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these highways are completed, new areas of land now almost inaccessible will be available for agriculture.[50]

In 1951 there were almost 264 miles (553.7 kilometers) of all classes of national and provincial roads in Negros Oriental. Siquijor subprovince had 80 miles (129.7 kilometers) of roads. About 66 per cent of Negros Oriental's roads (excluding Siquijor) are first class highways.[51] The roads are maintained by the caminero system.

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[50]Whether this land will be available to the small farmer when it becomes accessible is questionable. Already large blocks of undeveloped land in these areas have been purchased by wealthy individuals in both Negros and Cebu. Another difficulty in the construction of new roads is reflected in the following excerpt of a situation which is not unique to Negros Oriental. "In Dumaguete City several months ago, we were also informed of a glaring case of abuse of public works funds. Our informant stated: 'We have a congressman in this province who had a road constructed out of public works money. There is absolutely nothing wrong with building a highway. But what shocks us in this case is that the road leads to his hacienda!'" Leon O. Ty, "The Liberals Lost a Weapon," Philippines Free Press, XLIII, No. 30, (July 26, 1952), p.5.

[51]"Semi-Annual Report of Road Diagram and Bridge List Revised as of December 31, 1951," District Engineer's Office, Dumaguete, Negros Oriental, Philippines, n.d. Ozalid report. First class roads, normally surfaced with concrete, asphalt, macadam, or gravel, are well-graded, drained, and constantly maintained. These roads are passable at all times except during typhoon periods. Second class roads are fairly graded, partially or naturally surfaced, and intermittently maintained. While bridges and culverts are usually complete, there are temporary structures. These roads are continually passable during the dry season but more or less impassable during the rainy season. Third class roads are usually narrow, poorly graded, and generally impassable during the rainy season. Domingo Guanio, Bureau of Public Works Manual. Manila, Bureau of Printing, 1935, p.153. While this is the official classification, road maps are often inaccurate for some second class roads in Negros Oriental are as adequate as first class roads.

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> The caminero system still is used for maintenance [of roads in the Philippines], by which one workman has permanent charge of a small section of highway. Weed cutting, ditch and culvert cleaning, surface patching, and other duties--all are done by the individual caminero after the main construction and surfacing of the road have been completed. The surfacing especially suffers from caminero care because of inadequate tools and improper methods.[52]

The earliest map of southern Negros (1899) that I located indicating roads, showed a camino carreteros (cart road) from Dumaguete to Zamboanguita with an extension to an unnamed location east of Bonbonon Bay. A sendero (path) connected Zamboanguita and Siaton along the route of the present National Road. A horse trail (Id. herradura: horseshoe) was indicated between Siaton and Bawayan (the present Tolong).[53]

Maps in the provincial engineer's office at Dumaguete were examined to study the development of roads in southern Negros. A 1936 map showed a second class road between Siaton and Zamboanguita while the latter was connected to Dumaguete by a first class highway. In this year the road from Siaton to Tolong was shown as segments of a second class and proposed highway. In 1939 the first class road had been extended only a

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[52]Spencer, op. cit., p.77.

[53]José Algué, S.J., Atlas de Filipinas: Colección de 30 Mapas Trabajados por Delineantes Filipinos Bajo la Dirección Algué. Manila, 1899. Edited by Henry S. Pritchett. Special Publication No. 3. Washington, D.C. Treasury Department (U. S. Coast and Geodetic Survey), United States Printing Office, 1900, Map No. 21. No pagination.

few miles west of Zamboanguita poblacion. By 1948 the first class road reached Siaton poblacion. In 1951 only a second class road connected Siaton and Tolong. 491

Informants living in Siaton said that the busses from Dumaguete terminated at Zamboanguita until 1928; they did not continue to Siaton because of poor roads. 494 A resident of Siaton poblacion reported:

> Before 1928 there were a few autos which came to Siaton but only for the use of the wealthy. Maybe they came as early as 1924. But regular busses did not start until 1928 and then the schedules were not as regular as today. Of course, there was practically no travel for autos or trucks during the rainy season.

The chief clerk of the provincial engineer's office, who has held this position for nearly three decades, said on April, 1930, the first busses from Dumaguete reached Barrio San Francisco (then known as Manalongan), now in Sta. Catalina municipality. It seems, therefore, that the first effective bus facilities between Siaton and the provincial capital were established around 1930. Dumaguete has been accessible to the barriofolk by bus for about twenty years. Improved transportation facilities changed the distribution of population in Siaton municipality.

The Traffic Flow map of Negros Oriental illustrates the annual average daily flow of commercial, 484 489

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Dumaguete or Dumaguete and Sibulan is animal-drawn carts that take firewood to be sold in the capital. For example, in 1952 the 24-hour traffic between Dumaguete and the northern boundary of the city (to Sibulan municipality) consisted of 2,635 vehicles of which 16 per cent were commercial and 70 per cent animal-drawn. The thick traffic flow line between Bais and Dumaguete reflects the constant trucking of copra to the port for shipment. The Traffic Flow map clearly records the economic "pull" of Dumaguete: literally, all roads lead to the provincial capital.[56]

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The National Road from Dumaguete to Siaton poblacion (named on the official maps as the Dumaguete South Road) is classified as a first class road, although

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[56]Private vehicles (automobiles) make up the difference between the sum of commercial and animal-drawn vehicles and 100 per cent. It was not until 1948, through the cooperation of the U. S. Bureau of Public Roads, that a traffic counting program was started in the Philippines. "The control and coverage stations have been selected and established at the different strategic sections of the country's highway network. These are operated by actual manual count on a continuing cyclical basis--the control stations four times or cycles a year and the coverage stations two cycles a year, coinciding with the schedules of the control stations during the first and third cycles. The control stations are operated 17 days of a 8-hour duration per cycle and arranged in such a way that when completed we have representatives of one-24-hour Sunday traffic, one 24-hour Saturday traffic, one weekday 24-hour traffic (Wednesday), and 16-hour traffic (from 8 a.m. to 12 midnight) for the remaining four weekdays." The margin of error is estimated at 10 per cent. A personal communication to the writer from Rodolfo Maslog, Programming and Planning Engineer, Bureau of Public Works, Manila, June 13, 1952.

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most of it better fits the second class description, 491
(See footnote No. 56, Page 79.) The road, however, is usually passable during the normal rainy season. The highway from Dumaguete to Bacong poblacion is asphalt emulsion macadam; from here to Tolong it is a dirt-surfaced coral rock bed highway. All the bridges from Dumaguete to Siaton were rebuilt by 1953. Many of the war-damaged bridges between Siaton and Tolong, however, were not rebuilt by 1951.

Normally two busses originate and terminate 494
daily in Siaton poblacion. One bus leaves about six in the morning for Dumaguete while the other leaves the city for Siaton about the same time. In mid-afternoon the former bus returns to Siaton while the latter returns to the city. There is no bus service during the night. There are other busses coming from the west and east which one may ride if there are seats. Particularly those coming from Tolong or Sta. Catalina reach Siaton poblacion filled to capacity. In 1951 eight busses operated out of Tolong, four making a daily trip to Dumaguete and four returning from the city to Tolong. The 70-mile trip from Tolong to Dumaguete takes about eight hours.

Another rather important means of transportation is the "cargo trucks," normally operated by Dumaguete Chinese merchants to pick up copra or abaca in the poblacions and barrios in southern Negros. As one

Table VI by the percentages of commercial (which also includes "cargo" trucks), private automobiles, and animal-drawn carts. The larger percentage of animal-drawn vehicles between Bacong and Dumaguete are the carts of the firewood sellers and the tartanillas--the "local taxis."

TABLE VI

Percentages of Annual Average Daily Traffic Flow

Negros Oriental, 1952

| Between | Vehicles | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| | Commercial | Private | Animal-Drawn |
| Tolong - Siaton | 90 | 6 | 4 |
| Siaton - Zamboanguita | 94 | 6 | 0 |
| Zamboanguita - Dauin | 88 | 12 | 0 |
| Dauin - Bacong | 89 | 11 | 0 |
| Bacong - Dumaguete | 48 | 7 | 45 |

The traffic flow statistics of the Siaton toll bridge shown in Table VII[1] include both east and west traffic. These figures do not include vehicles coming from Dumaguete that terminate at Siaton poblacion. The termination points for most of the commercial traffic west of Siaton are either Sta. Catalina or Tolong; the latter is the busiest commercial center in southern Negros. Though vehicular travel does not decrease during the southwest monsoon as much as one might expect on a second class road, the rains do depress the traffic flow.[59] During the peak of the rainy season

[59] In 1951 there were about 50 unbridged creeks or fairly good-sized rivers crossed by the road between Siaton and Tolong. During the rainy season the bus driver stops at an unbridged river, wraps the engine and then the outside hood with gunny sacks, and tries to cross the river before the engine floods. Sometimes the bus stalls in the middle of the river and the passengers must push it across. I have ridden in busses which forded rivers so deep that the water ran across the floorboards.

The Philippines Air Lines (PAL),[85] the largest domestic operator, carries between 240,000 and 300,000 passengers per year in its domestic service.[60] Interisland vessels stop daily at Dumaguete where ocean-going ships also load copra. Bais and San Carlos have facilities for ocean liners. The most important port in Negros Occidental is Pulupandan where the ships plying between Manila and Iloilo usually dock. Ocean-going steamers call at Pulupandan and Escalante to load sugar. Sailboats carry goods and passengers between Manapla and Ajuy, Iloilo.[61] Foreign vessels load lumber from Fabrica at Sagay and medium-size interisland steamers dock at Banago pier in Bacolod.[62]

The roads of Negros are vital arteries of cultural change. In Negros, Dumaguete and Bacolod are the major mobilization centers of western culture. In these cities are concentrated the hospitals, high schools and universities, the magic of the cinema, magazine and book shops, stores crowded with merchandise unavailable in rural areas. South of Dumaguete in 1951 there was only one physician and no dentist. In the provincial capital barriofolk may see new automobiles, and crews from French or Norwegian ships, listen

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[60] Spencer, op. cit., p.254.

[61] Carlos L. Locsin and Filomeno T. Tabayoyong, Soils of the Victorias Milling District: A Handbook for the Planters of the District. Bacolod, Negros, Nalco Press, 1953, p.14.

[62] Alicante and others, op. cit., p.12.

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to the latest news on the radio or jukebox records, visit the United States Information Services library where free pictures are shown, hear the newest political rumors, or visit their children who have begun a new life with electricity, flush toilets and monthly salaries. The closer to Dumaguete, the better are a child's chances of longer life and a more adequate education. Children in the vicinity of the capital cities, for example, have no problem of paying for room and board while they attend high school.

One major problem in the Philippines is to extend beyond these few urban centers the nation's medical facilities, educational opportunities, and mass communication media which normally are not available to barriofolk. As one leaves Dumaguete and travels toward Caticugan, high school education and the basic medicines of the drugstore become more remote, electricity and medical services disappear, newspapers and magazines become rarer, and different outlooks and desires widen the gap between the barriofolk and their urban cousins. This limited spread of Twentieth-century technology and attitudes decreases arithmetical for the barrios along the National Road from Dumaguete to Siaton. The diminution is geometrical as one goes north of the National Road toward the barrios in the Siaton River valley. New roads open new land and new cultural horizons.

trees. The new unpainted wooden residence of the parish priest is near the church. The plaza of Siaton is unimproved except for a circle of cement used for fiesta dances, now covered with pungent copra, and a basketball court. Across the street from the plaza is a small wooden building which houses the telegraph and postoffice and offices of the municipal agricultural agent and the government midwife. To the rear of the postoffice building is a neat wooden Protestant church.

The new elementary school is the pride of the community and the center for social gatherings--functions usurped from the church. There are three painted wooden buildings, but the other structures are temporary classrooms of bamboo and nipa. The schoolyard is covered with a green lawn and there are cement paths lined with oleander and small shrubs. By the domestic science building is a struggling rose garden which every "progressive" school must have. Across the street from the school buildings are several sari-sari stores which cater to the appetites of the school children. Farther west a new concrete bridge spans the wide, shallow (in the dry season) Siaton River. Overlooking the bridge is Pangligiran hill where Don Antoy, a legendary supernatural, lives in a grand palace of marble and gold, invisible to ordinary humans.

The houses of the poblacion are similar to those seen along the National Road. However, there are some white wooden houses where local officials live. To the

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nothing like it in Spain. Birket-Smith thinks that Leser is "probably right when he ascribes it [plow] to Chinese influence."[37]

The plow in Caticugan is called daro, less frequently tokod. Except for the iron share (punta or lita) the plow is made by the farmer. Molave wood (Vitex parviflora Juss.) is the most desirable since it neither rots as quickly as other woods on exposure nor splinters easily.[38] The share for the plow is purchased in the poblacion and the top portion is hollow so it can be wedged onto the wooden support (onay or sapates) of the plow. An occasional farmer had an all-iron plow called Vargas. The Vargas plow was not sold in Siaton poblacion stores and only a few were seen in Caticugan.

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A wooden yoke (yogo) for the carabao is made from a yoke-shaped limb that takes considerable time to find in the forests. The yoke is placed over the carabao's neck and its two ends are attached by ropes to the plow. The farmer guides the carabao by a rope tied to a small coconut-shell button or rattan ring in the animal's septum.

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[37] Kaj Birket-Smith, The Rice Cultivation and Rice-Harvest Feast of the Bontoc Igorot. København, Dan. Hist. Filol. Medd. 32, No. 8, 1952, p. 12.

[38] Molave timber is well-known in the Philippines for its excellent qualities and is of the same family (Verbenaceae) as teak. Molave is said "Rather difficult to split...extremely durable even when in contact with the ground..." Tamesis and Aguilar, op. cit., p. 40.

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The people say today there is "no incentive" to own horses (kabayos) due to the small herds of cattle; the horses were widely used before the war to care for the cattle.

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In Caticugan horses are normally ridden by the men and serve as a means of transportation among the barrios; I never saw them used in farming activities, harnessed to any type of vehicle, and only rarely ridden by women. Some horses are kept in corrals in Caticugan but most of them are permitted to roam the nearby hills; it is often a job to catch them when they are wanted. I once counted twenty-one horses grazing in Dangola. Horses are sometimes ridden bareback but normally a wooden saddle (siya sa kabayo) is used. The barriofolk eat horse meat when it is available. However, a horse is not killed until it is very old, injured, or sickly; then the animal is slaughtered and the meat sold. My assistant's horse looked sickly so he had it killed and the meat was sold quickly in Barrio Caticugan.

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Pigs

The scrawny pig with a bony back and uncurled tail, constantly rooting for food, is a typical barrio sight. Most families have several pigs (baboy); often one pig is the "fiesta pig" fattened during the year for this celebration. Next to beef, pork is the most prized meat. The native pig is called baboy while the few foreign strains are called Englisa. A nursing pig is called anoy while her young are known as baktin.

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most riders use a wooden saddle (siya sa kabayo). Some ride bareback but 732 The only specialist who made and sold wooden saddles in the entire Siaton River valley lived in Barrio Casala-an. Nearly everyone who owned a wooden saddle in Caticugan had purchased it from this craftsman. (See Plate LXXVII.)[1]

Prices for saddles range from two to three dollars depending on the size and type of wood used. The Casala-an saddle-maker had made about twenty saddles in 1951 and his son was learning the trade. Saddles of narra wood are the most expensive; the two woods most frequently used are metan-ag (Kleinhovia hospita Linn. ), said to be light and not to crack easily, and baliwak.

Sometimes the wood is soaked in water for a week and then sun-dried before it is cut. Sections for the saddle are cut with a bolo and chisel; no glue is used. A small auger is employed to bore holes into which wooden pegs are driven. Wooden stirrups are made and tied to the saddle by rope. No attempt is made to carve decorative designs on the saddles.

CARVED BOLO HANDLES

Various types of bolos are used in Caticugan. (See Plate LXXIII)[2] The Regular is the most widespread bolo type, employed in a dozen ways. The Sangot is used to cut rice heads during harvest whereas the Bonlay is a "weeding bolo," often used by caingin farmers. A few Balarao and Pisao were owned by men who described them as "fighting knives." The Ig-alabis is used to trim the "eye" of the buri guhang.

2 ( Should read LXXVIII, which see on p. 734, Cat. 412 - Analyst)

1 ( this plate (page 733) is missing - Analyst )

few miles west of Zamboanguita poblacion. By 1948 the first class road reached Siaton poblacion. In 1951 only a second class road connected Siaton and Tolong.

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P.81, 494 ● [563]

Filipino had written, "... a good customer is offered free rides...by the Chinese."[57] This is also true in Siaton. Often a Chinese merchant is forced to overload his truck with people wanting free rides; otherwise, as one Chinese merchant of Siaton told me, he might find his tires slashed the next day by a disgruntled would-be-rider. No Siaton resident owned an automobile in 1951, although before the last war several of the more affluent merchants had private cars.

The Philippine bus, called "trucks" by the people in Siaton, does a herculean job in the Republic.

> With the few private automobiles, for the use of only a very small share of the population, the bus has become far more important than in many countries. Generally speaking, Philippine bus-transport economy compares with that of almost any place in the world. Likewise it compares in services to its customers. Except for a few of the long-run 'limited' schedules, a bus will stop anywhere to pick up or discharge passengers. Most lines will carry any small cargo on the ticket, often include freight in small consignments on their regular runs, and operate fairly fast schedules. Most busses are regular truck-rolling stock, with Philippine-built bodies adapted to people of smaller girth and stature than most Americans.[58]

Though normally the busses are overcrowded, dusty, and maintained with makeshift repairs, without them the mobility of the average Filipino would be greatly reduced. The overwhelming dependence of the average Filipino in southern Negros in 1952 on the public transport system is shown in 484 489

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[57] "The Chinese Question." A series of letters from various readers in the Philippines Free Press, XLIII, No. 29 (July 26, 1952), p.3. Underlining by writer.

[58] Spencer, op. cit., p.60.

these differences the barriofolk of Caticugan, and Negros Oriental, are mainly Cebuanos with dialect and customs different from those of Panayanos of Negros Occidental. 101

Recent improvements in transportation have brought most of the barriofolk of Caticugan closer to Dumaguete, the provincial capitol where American cultural patterns are most heavily concentrated. Yet they live on the periphery of the major traffic flow of this province. With their undeveloped technology and crude implements, the Caticugan barriofolk have adjusted their economy to the seasonal rhythms of the southwest and northeast monsoons, the former beginning their agricultural cycle. This chapter has described the general scenery of the "stage" where the barriofolk of Caticugan act out their lives. 484 489 177 221 000

An American visitor in Dumaguete would find much in the city to remind him of the United States. New Fords, modern buildings, the mode of dress, Hollywood cinemas and Silliman University with its American professors and English-speaking students would be visible signs of American influence. As he left Dumaguete for the rural areas of Negros, he would quickly enter a new milieu and the farther south he travelled the fewer clues he would find to suggest familiar scenes of his country. 369 177

Today one can catch an early morning bus from Dumaguete to Siaton poblacion. The faded green bus 494 484

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parks in front of a general merchandise store across the street from the busy marketplace. The wooden benches of the bus are often full an hour before it departs, but the conductor continues to appeal to passers-by for more fares. Finally the crowded bus leaves but circles hopefully around the marketplace in search of a few more passengers.

There is an excellent paved road from Dumaguete to Bacong poblacion so the driver races along the highway, honking furiously at the two-wheeled tartanillas with their little ponies hauling passengers or firewood to the city. Outside of Dumaguete the bus passes a [263] muscovado sugar mill, a relic of the past, that makes the unrefined brown sugar that most barriofolk buy. In Negros, "Sugar Bowl of the Philippines," refined sugar is too expensive to be used by the majority of the rural people. Stilted bamboo and nipa-roofed houses line the road with gay potted plants in the windows. Copra, shelled corn or palay may be drying on woven buri mats along the roadside; over the rickety bamboo fences hangs the family wash. To the east through the dark green of coconut groves is the blue sea, and beyond lies Siquijor Island.

The bus passes through Bacong poblacion with its plaza, little kiosk (bandstand) and white-washed statue of Jose Rizal, the "George Washington" of the Philippines. The marketplace is filled with people buying and selling. Small groups are having morning coffee and bread;

large glass jars filled with golden guhang (a native drink) await thirsty customers. There are the massive stone church modernized with a tin roof, the school building with its shell windows, and tidy vegetable gardens which boys so dislike to cultivate. Outside of Bacong the road is rougher and dustier. Through Dauin and Zamboanguita poblacions speeds the bus, leaving behind a whirling cloud of dust to settle on the bright green banana leaves. The bus passes over a sturdy Spanish bridge or fords a shallow stream where women are beating their wash with wooden paddles. Children play in the water, while in another part of the stream a young man in white shorts is splashing water on a grateful carabao.

After leaving Zamboanguita the bus turns west, passing through the small semi-circular plain of Mayabon with its paddies and brick-red pots drying under a burning sun. The narrow road winds up the Bondo incline and traverses an undulating plateau with waving dry grasses and isolated clumps of stunted trees. To the south is the sea again and Mindanao's faint blue outline. To the north are the tall forested mountains of southern Negros over which, wreathed with clouds, towers the ancient volcano Cuerno de Negros.

The bus stops at the road to Barrio Bonbonon to discharge passengers and then continues down to the riverine plain of Inalad. The driver stops at the western base of Bondo before a small group of houses. More OOO

passengers get off and empty wooden boxes are left by the roadside for the fishermen of Malabuhan. On the return trip the boxes will be filled with fresh fish for sale in Dumaguete. About a quarter of a mile south is Sitio Malabuhan, a fishing village with houses lining a sandy shore and many beached boats covered with coconut fronds.

The bus continues, past Inalad school and is ferried over the placid Canaway River, to arrive at Siaton poblacion. (See Plate XVII.)[1] The business center of Siaton poblacion is strung for several blocks along the National Road here named George Washington Road. There are general stores, a corn mill, and a marketplace. A card game may be in progress in a small store while the guhang "bar" already has patrons, lounging on bamboo benches. A bus from Tolong poblacion may be waiting for its passengers to finish their breakfast at the several cafes in the marketplace while the driver helps a woman to load a squealing pig for Dumaguete market. Other thin pigs root at the roadside or around the marketplace while lazy dogs sleep on the warm asphalt road, moving only when the bus is nearly upon them.

On the plaza's north side is the termite-ridden municipio with offices for the mayor and other officials and a tiny jail with bamboo bars. The church was rebuilt in 1952 but the old stone walls of the former church are seen vine-covered and shaded by giant acacia trees

[1] this plate (p. 128) is missing -- ANALYST]

Inalad, Bonbonon, Giliga-on and Bonawon. A new concrete bridge was built over the Canaway River; this improved the transportation facilities during the rainy season. 175* 653 494

In 1935 the Philippine Commonwealth was established. No elections were held this year for municipal officers; their terms were merely extended for an additional two years.[165] During this period the water system of Siaton was installed. The national, provincial, and municipal governments each contributed $5,000 for the construction of the new water system. A concrete reservoir was built at Sitio Talio, west of Naga, and the water brought to the poblacion by gravity. The water was piped only to the residences of the more prominent people of the poblacion. Public faucets were also installed at the plaza and a few other places. The system is inadequate for during the dry season the pressure becomes so low that the water runs only for short periods during the day. 175* 653 365 565

In October 1937 clouds of locusts came to Siaton. The insects covered the plaza and climbed into the church, houses, and stores. Nearly all of the unharvested rice was destroyed. In the same year Fidel Tayko was re-elected as Siaton's mayor, the new name substituted for presidente. His defeated opponent protested the election as fraudulent and won his case in Dumaguete. The victor became mayor 175* 731 175* 666

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165 "The first elections under the Commonwealth were held December, 14, 1938, for local offices." Tolentino and Zaide, op. cit., p. 151.

228
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662

to initiate improvements; the lack of these improvements is often given as a justification for defrauding the government.[41]

228
472

An average bonsod requires considerable capital; consequently many of them are financed through partnerships. The bonsod can be very profitable but it is also a gamble against an errant typhoon, and a gamble that the capital invested will be recovered before the southwest monsoon's arrival. It is also a gamble that large catches will be made on holidays (such as fiestas) when fish bring higher prices.

228
435

Table XXXII[1] shows the cost of three bonsods built by different persons in Siaton in 1951. The costs indicated vary; large bamboos of last year's bonsod, destroyed by the monsoon, may be washed ashore and reused. Some builders use iron anchors (sinipits); others make them locally from wood. If one uses a twine instead of an abaca net the initial investment is larger. For the two bonsods in Table XXXII[1] the cost of a twine and abaca net and a banca are included; these items do not have to be purchased each year. A banca was said to last three or four years, the iron anchors four to five years, and the abaca net seven or eight years. If one

[50].

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[41] Robert Redfield, Tepoztlan: A Mexican Village: A Study of Folk Life. Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 1930, p. 67.

1 [See p. 583, Cat. 228 or 435 -- Analyst]

## BOATS

Sakayan is the general term for all types of dug-out boats; there are two main classes. The banca (normally the bokaran and panahiran) is the larger group of boats, whereas the baroto, a smaller group, includes the begiw, tangp, kayackagan, and solongan. The sailing boat, usually much larger than the banca, is called parkahan or parao. There were no paraos in Siaton although I saw some in Tolong poblacion. None of the boats in Siaton had inboard or outboard motors. 501

Many boats are made in Barrio Mangoto, Pamplona municipality; fishermen in Siaton rarely make their own boats because of lack of suitable timber in the vicinity. Sketches were made of the most frequently seen boats in Siaton; the panahiran, bokaran and begiw are the most numerous.[71] (See Plate LVII.)[1] 396 438 501

Barrio Mangoto is an hour's walk west of Pamplona coconut plantation, in Pamplona municipality. The community is situated in the hilly piedmont region of the Central Mountain range at the edge of a forest beset by caingins, 101

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[71] I am grateful to Pedro Solde, a prominent fisherman of Siaton poblacion, for his assistance in introductions to his friends in Tanjay. Acknowledgement is also made to Antonio Torres, a Tanjay boat contractor of several decades, who made a special trip to Mangoto with me and my assistant to introduce us to the people. Two days were spent in Mangoto gathering most of the information presented in this section on boat construction. The data were augmented by Siaton informants who had purchased boats in Mangoto.

1 [See p. 623, cat. 501 or 116 -- Analyst]

501

Page G23

PLATE LVII




• FISHING BOATS •

20: Hart E-5 (1951) 1954 OA1 Philippines Central Bisayan OA14

501

P. G23

437 396 472 675

workers an advance on an order. One Siaton fisherman paid some workers in this community one-half of the contracted price for a boat that never was delivered.

The contractor usually discusses the order with the workers he plans to employ. As one contractor said; "I talk with them to see if they feel the arrangements I made are reasonable." The contractor receives no fixed percentage for his middleman activities; "what he gets depends upon the generosity of the buyer and the workers." Actually the contractor's bargaining position is excellent; he can contract with another group to build the boat if he does not anticipate a fair share of the profit. The boat-makers in Mangoto are farmers who earn money by building boats during slack periods.

The contractor's percentage appears to vary from 10 to 20 per cent of the total contracted price of a baroto, and from 10 to 15 per cent for a banca. In 1950 one contractor arranged for the construction of more than twenty boats; he received from $1.75 to $2.50 on a baroto and from $10 to $20 on a banca. Boat prices vary with their size. Before the last war a baroto sold for as little as three dollars whereas a banca brought between $25 to $30. Today's prices are inflated. A baroto costs $10 to $15 and a banca $75 to $200.

396 501 483

Some good-sized boats are built in Mangoto; I saw a large parao being pulled to the Tanjay River. This parao had been built for a Cebu fisherman who stayed in the barrio during its construction. Thirty carabao were

tugging the boat up a steep hill. The boat measured 63 feet in length and the widest part of the hull exceeded 3 feet.[72] For three days the group had been struggling to get the parao to the river from their destination. Each man received one dollar a day for both their labor and carabao.

Boat Construction

When the contractor has made all necessary arrangements the workers select a tree for the boat's hull. Trees used most frequently to make boats in Mangoto are magsinolog (white lauan), balangobang and lanitga (both species of red lauan). These woods are preferred by boat-builders for their lightness and durability.[73] In the past bay-ang trees were cut but today so few exist that they are not used. In the "old days," according to Siaton informants, many lanitga trees grew near Barrio Cabangahan

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[72] The bottom of the boat was 10 inches thick; the solid stern, where the motor was to be mounted, was 6 feet long.

[73] Magsinolog is probably Shorea eximia (Miquel) Scheffer, that is widely distributed in the Philippines. Reyes, op. cit., pp. 313-5. Reyes states S. eximia is sold in the local market as white lauan or almon "...and is an excellent wood for boat planking..." Lanitga is possibly Toona calantas Merrill and Rolfe, Reyes, op. cit., pp. 183-184. T. calantas is commonly known as kalantas but is called lanipga in Samar, Leyte and Cebu and grows in Negros; Reyes reports T. calantas is used to make boats. Balangobang is not listed by Reyes but was said to be a species of red lauan by the forestry officials in Tanjay. White and red lauan, according to Tamesis and Aguilar, is widely used in the Philippines for barato construction. Tamesis and Aguilar, op. cit., p. 64.

trimmed. Sometimes the wood cracks. To fill cracks, the dried sap of the bolitik tree is pounded, winnowed until very fine, and then mixed with kerosene. When this mixture dries it is hard and waterproof. 396

Smaller barotos are carried by hand to the Tanjay River and paddled down to the poblacion. Large boats are pulled to the river by carabaos. Some individuals conduct another pandita when the boat is launched; they kill a pig and offer food to the spirits. They mark a charcoal cross on the boat's bottom "so it will be easier to pull to the river and will not be damaged." A buyer may come to Tanjay poblacion to receive his boat, or the boat may be taken to the purchaser; this depends on the original contract. Larger boats are finished in Tanjay, and the mast, strakes, and motor mountings are added. Boats are made in Mangoto for owners who live in Panay, Cebu and Siquijor. 438 483

Types of Boats in Siaton

Bancas may be classified into three groups according to their length: the small class averages from 18 to 30 feet; medium class, from 30 to 35 feet; and the large class 35 feet or more. Names, however, are usually given according to their use. The bokaran is used mainly to net fish inside the bonsod. Bokarans do not have the outrigger (katig); this makes them easier to handle inside a fish corral. For the same reason bokarans are usually used to retrieve bobos although the panahiran also is so 501

501

employed. When a bokaran is used to inspect the bobos it may be called a kaliwitan. The bokaran has a flatter bottom, is wider, and draws less water; this renders an outrigger unnecessary. Six men can handle a bokaran.

The outrigger is made from bamboo lashed with rattan. There is no special manner of lashing. For barotos the "floats" are usually curved like a chair rocker; the ends are elevated slightly and do not "plow the water."

Panahirans are wider than the bokaran and may be longer. This boat is used mostly for taking large fish nets to sea. Six men row a panahiran, one guides the boat, and two manage the net.

There are various types of barotos. The begiw, sometimes called lopak-an, is from 16 to 18 feet long and three handspans high. Normally only one man paddles this type of baroto that is the most frequently occurring boat in Siaton. The kabuangan, another type of baroto, is shorter than the begiw and two handspans high. This type of baroto was not seen in Siaton. The kayakagan, some times called looran, about 20 to 22 feet long, is capable of carrying two or three persons. As the name implies, it is used to put out the kayakag nets to catch the Banasi and Balo. The solongan ("to fish at night") baroto has devices for holding lanterns on either side of the boat. The tango is a baroto in which the strakes are made of sawali (woven pieces of thin bamboo) to make it lighter and faster. The tango generally is used in tuna fishing where speed and maneuverability are desirable.

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Nearly all of the boats are equipped with a coconut shell or bamboo bailer. One baroto had a hole in the bottom of the hull, from which a wooden plug could be removed to empty the boat of water. Paddles (borsay) are made from a light, sturdy wood. When boats are beached they usually are covered with palm fronds to protect them from the heat and rain. Some large bancas are kept in palm leaf sheds when not in use.

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A young boy who lives in a seaside barrio becomes adept at handling a baroto; the young girls have less chance to learn. While women may ride as passengers in boats they rarely, if ever, go fishing; almost all aspects of pelagic fishing are masculine. No toy boats or small boats were seen in the fishing barrios for teaching young boys skills necessary when they become adults.

Summary

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Securing aquatic products, from creeks, rivers and sea, consumes more time on the part of the barriofolk than any other activity except agriculture. It is necessary to make traps and nets, keep them in repair, and inspect them for catches. The people of Caticugan, however, depended little upon the sea for aquatic foods although the community is near the coast. When the cost of a fish corral is known, it is apparent that most barriofolk lack the necessary capital for the initial investment in boat, nets, building supplies, etc. Although a bobo trap could be made by most of the Caticugan barriofolk, one reason why so few have bobos is the lack of a boat. No

The Philippines Air Lines (PAL),[85] the largest domestic operator, carries between 240,000 and 300,000 passengers per year in its domestic service.[60] Interisland vessels stop daily at Dumaguete where ocean-going ships also load copra. Bais and San Carlos have facilities for ocean liners. The most important port in Negros Occidental is Pulupandan where the ships plying between Manila and Iloilo usually dock. Ocean-going steamers call at Pulupandan and Escalante to load sugar. Sailboats carry goods and passengers between Manapla and Ajuy, Iloilo.[61] Foreign vessels load lumber from Fabrica at Sagay and medium-size interisland steamers dock at Banago pier in Bacolod.[62]

The roads of Negros are vital arteries of cultural change. In Negros, Dumaguete and Bacolod are the major mobilization centers of western culture. In these cities are concentrated the hospitals, high schools and universities, the magic of the cinema, magazine and book shops, stores crowded with merchandise unavailable in rural areas. South of Dumaguete in 1951 there was only one physician and no dentist. In the provincial capital barriofolk may see new automobiles, and crews from French or Norwegian ships, listen

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[60] Spencer, op. cit., p.254.

[61] Carlos L. Locsin and Filomeno T. Tabayoyong, Soils of the Victorias Milling District: A Handbook for the Planters of the District. Bacolod, Negros, Nalco Press, 1953, p.14.

[62] Alicante and others, op. cit., p.12.

when copra prices fall school enrollments decrease. For the most part, the Chinese control the buying and selling of copra. Their trucks come from Dumaguete to pick up copra from stores where Filipinos sell their small crops.

The Northern Corn-Coconut region begins in the south with Manjuyod municipality and continues to the north to Canlaon and Vallehermoso municipalities. A northern extension of this region includes Negros Occidental's eastern littoral. Both the southern and northern municipalities of this region are transitional to sugar cane agriculture. This northern region is larger than the Southern Corn-Coconut area; the former has about 743 square miles of which 239 square miles (32 per cent) are actively cultivated.

Many geographic factors typical of the southern region also characterize the Northern Corn-Coconut region. There is less level land in the northern region; the small riverine floodplains and narrow littoral account for most of it. While annual precipitation is greater than in the southern region, the northern area also is subject to droughts. Transportation facilities are not as adequate as in the south, and the northern region lacks an adequate port. The only sizeable port is at Guihulngan where shallow-draft inter-island ships stop. The rest of the coast is lined with shallow inshore waters or offshore coral reefs.

Population densities are greater in the northern region with an average density of 289 persons per

175* 433 439 [504]

The sugar-producing areas of Negros were expanding. In 1836 less than 300 tons of sugar had been produced while thirty years later the production had increased to nearly 12,000 tons. The declaration of Iloilo city as a free port in 1855 stimulated the infant sugar industry. "The total value of exports leaving the port of Iloilo... jumped from ₱82,000 [$41,000] in 1858 to over ₱1,000,000 [$500,000] in 1863, with most of this increase in exports coming from the shipment of sugar from Negros."[111] In the same periods (the 1860's) the sugar haciendas of Negros began to develop; some of them covered several thousand acres and supported their owners in luxury.

The Justices of the Peace in Siaton

175* 624

The year following the division of Negros into two provinces (1891), the first justice of the peace was appointed in Siaton. In 1885 a royal decree, a "concession to public opinion," had provided for the appointment of a justice of the peace to every municipality. This office previously had been filled by the capitans. "When such persons [lawyers or others 'whose position and circumstances warrant it'] could not be found the petty governors

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[111] Wernstedt, op. cit., p. 79. Walker states that in the early 1900's Iloilo owed its existence largely to Negros' sugar industry. Walker, op. cit., p. 10.

The Philippines Air Lines (PAL),[85] the largest domestic operator, carries between 240,000 and 300,000 passengers per year in its domestic service.[60] Interisland vessels stop daily at Dumaguete where ocean-going ships also load copra. Bais and San Carlos have facilities for ocean liners. The most important port in Negros Occidental is Pulupandan where the ships plying between Manila and Iloilo usually dock. Ocean-going steamers call at Pulupandan and Escalante to load sugar. Sailboats carry goods and passengers between Manapla and Ajuy, Iloilo.[61] Foreign vessels load lumber from Fabrica at Sagay and medium-size interisland steamers dock at Banago pier in Bacolod.[62]

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[60] Spencer, op. cit., p.254.

[61] Carlos L. Locsin and Filomeno T. Tabayoyong, Soils of the Victorias Milling District: A Handbook for the Planters of the District. Bacolod, Negros, Nalco Press, 1953, p.14.

[62] Alicante and others, op. cit., p.12.

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**TABLE VII**

**Traffic Flow Figures from the Siaton Toll Bridge**

**1951**

| Month | Automobiles | Busses | Trucks | Jeeps | Other vehicles (A) | Rainfall (inches) | Fiestas |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Jan. | 17 | 303 | 101 | 28 | 18 | 0.04 | 3 |
| Feb. | 44 | 370 | 125 | 47 | 31 | 0.5 | 3(B) |
| Mar. | 39 | 316 | 123 | 27 | 15 | 0.3 | 6(C) |
| Apr. | 48 | 362 | 146 | 42 | 15 | 0.8 | 3(D) |
| May | 18 | 351 | 125 | 27 | 1 | 2.2 | 3 |
| June | 14 | 317 | 86 | 20 | 9 | 11.7 | 0 |
| July | 15 | 311 | 105 | 24 | 0 | 13.9 | 0 |
| Aug. | 8 | 321 | 130 | 23 | 2 | 15.5 | 2 |
| Sep. | 10 | 310 | 101 | 14 | 0 | 14.5 | 0 |
| Oct. | 6 | 303 | 139 | 23 | 0 | 11.7 | 1 |
| Nov. | 30 | 321 | 130 | 24 | 0 | 6.3 | 1 |
| Dec. | 20 | 240(E) | 105 | 30 | 21 | 12.7(E) | 4(F) |
| Monthly Average (Rounded) | 22 | 319 | 118 | 27 | 9 | | 2 |

A. "Other vehicles" include trailers, graders, pick-ups, wagons, and a bull-dozer.
Road repairs were being made at this time.
B. The fiestas included in this column are those which occurred west of the Siaton River with the exception of Siaton poblacion.
C. Barrio Giliga-on fiesta.
D. Barrio Bonawon fiesta.
E. The typhoon "Amy" occurred on December 9-10.
F. Sta. Catalina and Siaton poblacion fiestas.

There are two commercial airports in Negros, one in Dumaguete and the other in Bacolod with flights to other islands. It is not possible, however, to fly directly between the two capitals of Negros; one must first go to Cebu City. The Philippines Air Lines (PAL), 000

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The Philippines Air Lines (PAL),[60] the largest domestic operator, carries between 240,000 and 300,000 passengers per year in its domestic service. Interisland vessels stop daily at Dumaguete where ocean-going ships also load copra. Bais and San Carlos have facilities for ocean liners. The most important port in Negros Occidental is Pulupandan where the ships plying between Manila and Iloilo usually dock. Ocean-going steamers call at Pulupandan and Escalante to load sugar. Sailboats carry goods and passengers between Manapla and Ajuy, Iloilo.[61] Foreign vessels load lumber from Fabrica at Sagay and medium-size interisland steamers dock at Banago pier in Bacolod.[62]

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[62] Alicante and others, op. cit., p.12.

part, the planters receive 60 per cent of the sugar obtained from the cane while the mills retain the remainder. In 1952 there were twelve sugar cane mills operating in Negros with only one in Negros Oriental (Bais). 249 257

At Victorias the workers are provided with squat cement houses with running water and electricity. Victorias is a small city with a church (one of the most dramatically modern structures in the Philippines), stores, hospital, recreational facilities, and schools. The general standard of living of the mill workers is much higher than that of the average farmer of Caticugan. Mr. Frederico Ossorio, General Manager of the Victorias Milling Company, has initiated a cooperative vocational school, and other programs to encourage community development and leadership among the workers. 257 361 [511] [874]

Negros' major sugar region begins in the south with Ilog and continues northward and eastward along the littoral. (See Plate XVI.) This region has been divided into the northern and western subregions. On Negros' eastern coast there are two small sugar cane districts, San Carlos and Bais. The sugar cane regions and the plains of Negros coincide closely. (See Plates V and XVI.)[1] 311 249

Wernstedt reports: "The western sugar subregion is the most important sugar-producing region on Negros Island, and the most important single sugar-producing

1 [See pp. 38+105, cat. 311+249--Analyst]

20: Hart E-5 (1951) 1954 OA: Philippines
Central Bisayan OA 14



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Much has been written of the average Filipino's dislike of vegetables. Hayden states:

> A number of attempts have been made to promote vegetable gardening in the barrios. The habits of a people as to what they shall grow and what they shall eat are slow to change...[72]

In Caticugan, however, the majority of the barriofolk apparently like vegetables--making allowances for individual differences. There are a host of reasons why more vegetables are not raised and eaten by rural Filipinos; the myriad pests, lack of and excess of water, and difficulties in obtaining seed. One can become unpopular in a community where goats, pigs and chickens are rarely penned by constantly complaining to the authorities of a neighbor's marauding animals! As a result many Filipinos who might raise more vegetables become discouraged and value harmonious relationships in the community above a thriving home garden.

If the women often sell more vegetables in the marketplace than their families eat this is not because they dislike vegetables. Tomatoes that bring fifty cents in the Siaton marketplace would not feed as many persons as the cornmeal or fish this money buys. It is not that the people scorn vegetables so much as it is the necessity of selling them in order to buy needed staples. Vegetables may assume a larger role in the average rural Filipino's

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[72] Hayden, op. cit., p. 660.

diet when there is no need to barter or sell them for more filling dietary necessities and when cultural factors favor vegetable production.

Though women predominate in gardening activities in Caticugan the poblacion school teaches only the boys to grow vegetables. It was an early American idea to add gardening activities to the elementary curriculum; the officials concerned did not realize that in the barrios gardening is mainly a female activity. This is probably because women, not men, are the vendors of vegetables. In fact, a man who would sell vegetables in Caticugan would be a deviant in the eyes of most of the barriofolk. One man who vended vegetables was known to all as a bayute, a name for very feminine-acting men. In southern Negros the school boys are being trained to do a girl's work in the barrios.

Kalamongay

The most commonly grown vegetable in Caticugan is kalamongay (Tag. Malunggay: Moringa oleifera Linn.), a small tree-like plant that produces leafy branches. The branches are cut and stripped; the small tender leaves are cooked as greens. Kalamongay often grows so tall that small children can climb it or the top branches are cut with a small knife tied to a bamboo. When the rains come kalamongay is cut back and new cuttings planted. Sometimes ashes are spread around the base of the newly-planted

426

By putting the field under arendo the owner is able to forestall its sale.

Sometimes land slowly passes out of the hands of barriofolk who need money, often due to emergencies. One man who mortgaged his field was unable to repay the principal so he put the field under arendo to his creditor, receiving no share of the harvest. When the arendo period was over, he needed more money. He put a second mortgage on the field to the original creditor and finally sold him the land. Generally speaking, arendo did not appear to be widespread in Caticugan. However, this is not the easiest type of information to collect.

Some barriofolk loan small sums of money under a verbal agreement; the interest rate usually is 10 per cent. There are also loans in kind, repaid in kind. One woman in Naga frequently loaned money and received the assistance of the barrio school-teacher in drawing up the receipt since she was illiterate. The two persons most active in loaning money in Naga were women.

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Credit sources in Caticugan were meager and the barriofolk usually lacked the security for loans that would enable them to receive assistance without resorting to usurious sources. Most barriofolk were badly in need of sources of credit for subsistence loans and production requirements (fertilizer, seed, etc.), and the benefits of cooperatives. If such sources of credit had been available, they might have reached a higher standard of living.

20: Hart E-5 (1951) 1954 OA1 Philippines
Central Bisayan OA14

# CHAPTER VI

## HUNTING AND FOOD GATHERING

### INTRODUCTION

This chapter describes the hunting and food gathering activities in Caticugan.[1] The largest and most frequently hunted animal is the wild pig. Plants gathered are edible wild tubers, mushrooms, a few vegetables and various fruits. Some people trap pigeons, quail, doves and other wild birds. In emergencies the pith of several varieties of palms is processed into an edible flour.

Since most of the barriofolk exist at a dietary level which seems barely adequate, the food obtained by hunting and gathering, though usually small in amount, is relatively important. Between the harvests of the wet and dry season corn--the "starvation months"--most barriofolk spend more time gathering wild plants than in any other season. When the first corn harvest begins, the gathering activities decrease. The wild plants and tubers

[1] Gathering of aquatic snails and molluskś is included in Chapter VII, SECURING AQUATIC PRODUCTS.

(kinoray), cooked in green bamboo tubes, or prepared in the sinakol manner (steam cooked), often mixed with tiktik or binlod (finely ground cornmeal). Sometimes the people from the northern barrios in the Siaton River valley come to Caticugan to barter this type of flour for corn and rice. This was not done, to my knowledge, during this field research.

Hunting and food gathering activities are related to the inadequate food supply of the barriofolk. The wild pig is not a serious agricultural problem in Caticugan and the meat is admittedly inferior to that of the domesticated pig. Most wild plants are considered as "emergency foods" to be gathered and eaten only when staples are low; i.e., when the corn and rice from the last harvest are low and new crops are not ready to harvest. For barriofolk during this period the foods collected may be important; however, this is true only of a minority in Caticugan unless there is a poor harvest or crop failure.

If the cultivated food supply were adequate all year long, hunting and, particularly, food gathering, probably would cease. Young men might continue to hunt wild pigs for sport and some wild foods would, most likely, be gathered (the "delicacies" such as mushrooms, lumboy, etc.). The role hunting and food gathering play in the daily life of the barriofolk of Caticugan today is a reflection of seasonal inadequacy of food supply and low living standards.

in handicrafts, an attitude usually transmitted by craftsmen to their children, have largely disappeared. Often inferior articles made in the United States are preferred to Philippine-made articles, even when the latter are of better materials and more careful workmanship. The most promising long-range program needed to raise barrio living standards is to increase the productivity of their major activity--more and better farmed land with more abundant harvests.

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[556]
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241]

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might be started. Noon is a popular time for these gatherings or just after the day's work is done. A buri-producing guhang is rarely without flies, bees and thirsty drinkers looking for a few "drinks on the cuff." At night the men may gather at the buri by the light of the lamp. Guhang trees are a sort of "rural poolhall" in Caticugan.

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Guhang lihis are always made by men. This is unusual since most of the other lihis in Caticugan, particularly in regard to agriculture, are held by women. However, there is a fairly general feeling among many of the barriofolk that it is not wise to permit a woman to ascend a guhang buri since she might contaminate it--especially if she is menstruating. Some believe a menstruating woman might cause the guhang to become malodorous or the sap to stop flowing. Other reasons why few women climb a buri are well summed up by this comment of one woman.

> There is nothing wrong if women climb guhang trees, only it is too dangerous for women to climb. Our skirt might be tangled in the thorns [of the tree] and there is danger of falling. We have a new guhang and just the other day I climbed our guhang because somebody came to buy some guhang and my son and my husband were out working in the field. Our guhang is quite short and nothing happened to the guhang [because she climbed the tree].

Another woman said:

> I have climbed our guhang many times. Others said that it is not good for women to climb the guhang for the guhang might become malodorous. But I do not believe in this because the tuba [guhang] of the guhang [buri] that I have climbed many times did not become malodorous.

Vegetables and Other Garden Crops

244 [434]

Vegetables approximate guhang as the most important source of cash income for the majority of families in Caticugan. The majority of barriofolk have a small home garden, plagued by insects, farmyard animals and lack of care. The gardens are rarely fenced. A number of families plant vegetables mainly for sale in the poblacion. Gardens are usually tended by women, who also sell the vegetables. In a recent descriptive account of a barrio in Bulacan province, Luzon, this fact is stated indirectly:

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> At Anilao [the name of the barrio] day begins in the night's small hours, when the men rise to go fishing...When the men return home at dawn, the women are up, breakfast has long been ready...All morning the men sleep, while the women work the vegetable gardens or gather grass to sell to rig drivers.71

Nearly every morning a few women from Caticugan could be seen carrying vegetables to sell to the poblacion.

244 311

Vegetable gardens often are planted on the canal banks in Caticugan. This location is considered desirable because the ground is usually moist and better drained during the rainy season when many gardens die of flooding. Pieces of thorny bamboo are put in the ground to support stringbeans, gourds and squashes. A few women hang strings of seaweed on the bamboo supports of the gourds and squashes; these are said to repel insects.

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71"Life in Barrio Anilao," Philippines Free Press, XLIV, No. 40 (October 3, 1953), p. 28. This unsigned article consists mainly of photographs that present some realistic scenes of barrio life. Underlining in quotation by writer.

One could write a surprisingly adequate account of barrio life by describing only the activities that occur along Siaton River. The barriofolk take their morning baths at the river, while the children play games along the sandy banks. A man waters and washes his carabaos and horses; a small boy turns over stones, looking for fish to "shoot" with his "gun." Later the women come to fetch water in bamboo tubes, or to beat the family wash on flat stones as they gossip. A man comes to the bank to see if his line caught an eel during the night; a group of men clean a slaughtered pig or goat for a wedding or funeral. A raft of green bamboos, cut upstream, floats seaward. Where the banks are high there may be tiny gardens of green onions, eggplants and tomatoes.

In the afternoon a woman comes to the river to get a lagit stone, or moss for a lihi for a new house a family is building. Women return from the poblacion where they have sold their vegetables. Several men wade across the river, carrying a coffin to the poblacion church for the final rites. Children ford the river, as they return from the elementary school. In the evening, by the light of the moon, young girls search wet stones for snails. Later, men return from an evening of drinking and talking with friends in the poblacion guhang stalls. Siaton River, shallow and quiet during the dry season, turbulent and swift during the rainy season, is truly the "life stream" of Caticugan.

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but practically no commercial activities are connected with the fiber. Before the last war a few people were said to gather kapok, either domestic or wild, and sell it to Chinese stores in the poblacion. Children would go to the forests to get pods from wild trees, to sell to Chinese for about five cents a pound. Today, however, no one in Caticugan sells kapok; the ground under most trees is littered with rotting pods. Many trees had died recently. Another reason the people said no one sold kapok was that most men dislike climbing the trees because the limbs break easily. Kapok is used by the barriofolk to stuff sleeping pillows. A device called lokogan is whirled between the palms of the hands in a basket of kapok to remove the seeds. (See Plate XXIX.) However, only one was seen in Caticugan.

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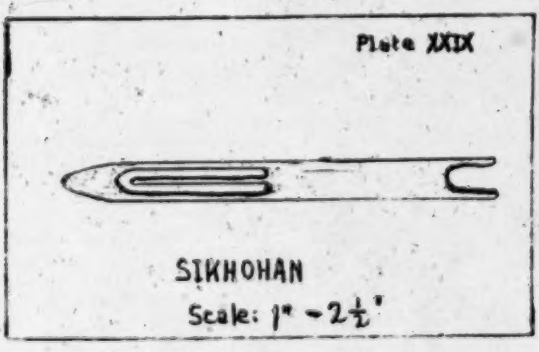

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What I have called "bedrooms" is something of a misnomer; "bedroom-storage" might be more appropriate. In no case was there more than one bed in such a room, although the family often consisted of five or six persons. At night sleeping mats were spread on the sala or kitchen floor to accommodate all the members of the family. Beds are raised bamboo platforms with a woven bamboo or rattan mesh over which is put the sleeping mat. Pillows are made of red cotton cloth or sbaca fabric filled with kapok; the seeds are not removed. Women may have a few white cotton pillow cases for use when guests spend the night. Sleeping mats are rolled in the morning and placed in a corner of the room or sorted with the pillows in the rafters. There is a riddle on this activity:

In the morning they go up; at night they come down. What are they?

(Mabuntag moseka, magabii manogpa. Unsa man?)

The answer is alugnan (the mats, pillows and coverings).

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Two homes in Caticugan used hammocks of woven rattan as beds. The dwellings of the poblacion principalia normally have beds made either by local carpenters or purchased in Dumaguete; the beds have the same woven mesh over which sleeping mats are placed. The principalia normally sleep under mosquito nets--rarely seen in the barrio.

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The space under the raised barrio house is called silong; here the plow, harrow, mortar and pestle, lumber, and firewood are stored. The nests of chickens may be

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assumption of certain skills by local specialists who are paid a cash wage.

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Table XXXVIII[1] illustrates the itemized costs of three different dwellings built in Caticugan in 1951.[10] House C's cost probably comes closer to the cost of the typical Caticugan dwelling than the other two dwellings. This house had two rooms--sala and kitchen--lacked wooden shutters, cement post supports, and little lumber was used. Table XXXIX[1] lists the items and cost of building a poblacion dwelling inhabited by a Siaton municipal official. No bamboo or nipa were used; the cost of the two dwellings illustrate the difference in dwellings between Caticugan barriofolk and Siaton principalia.

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The owner of House C did not hire any carpenters; he held a palihog that cost eight dollars. The work accomplished by palihog assistants could have been done in half a day by two laborers. The palihog, in this case, is an example of how "... the prestige factor inherent in the giving of a feast compensates for the lessened efficiency and the lower return."[11] While precise figures cannot be

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1 [See p. 667ff, cat. 435 or 342--Analyst]

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[10] Some men of Caticugan make extra money by working for lumber firms in Dumaguete. For example, a father and son in Barrio Caticugan were hired by one firm to cut first-class timber (salay, gisok, sambulawan, yakal, and amoning) in the mountains a day's walk from their home. They were paid eight cents per board foot with an additional two cents per board foot for bringing the lumber from Pinac-an (where they worked a permit issued to the Dumaguete lumber firm) to the poblacion. Another group of four men in Barrio Caticugan worked four days cutting lumber from felled trees in the nearby mountains; they earned a total of twenty-five dollars, or a daily wage of about one dollar and fifty-five cents. These were the only two groups hired to cut timber in Caticugan.

[11] Melville F. Herskovits, Economic Anthropology: A Study in Comparative Economics. New York, Alfred A. Knopf, 1952, p. 107.

91:Hart E-3 (1950-1952)1954 OAl Philippines
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Queen is proclaimed at the evening dance. *Vesperas* is the "day of arrival" of most of the fiesta visitors; at least, it is the ideal pattern. If one lives fairly near the fiesta, one may not come until early *kahologan* morning. The young men and women, however, prefer to arrive on *vesperas* in order to attend the dance that evening, an event which holds little attraction for most older Filipinos. (In the smaller *barrios* the dances are rarely attended by the older people who do not know how to dance the fox-trots, mambos and tangos of the younger generation.) The arrival of relatives and guests on *vesperas* depends upon such factors as; (1) distance one lives from the fiesta; (2) transportation facilities; (3) whether relatives are living in the community giving the fiesta; (4) prestige of the fiesta; (5) weather conditions, etc. For larger fiestas special busses are added to the regular schedule and the fare is often raised.

*Vesperas* may begin with a "reveille" or *diana*, as early as four or five in the morning, when the orchestra marches around the *poblacion* playing sprightly melodies to awaken the people—many of whom have been up for hours busy with food preparations or gambling all night. One can often determine the residences of the *principalia* by following the band, for their route is normally from one such residence to another where they stop to play a few minutes and then pass on. Often the orchestra's members may be invited inside for a breakfast snack. There may be some fireworks after the *diana*. While the fiesta programs for *kahologan* invariably state that church services follow the *diana*, this is not always the case in *vesperas*. If masses are held, they are followed by athletic games.

At noon the church bells are rung and more fireworks may be exploded. A few fiesta programs list "Dinner in all houses" but this event is not as frequently included in the progams for *vesperas* as on *kahologan*. Meals served *vesperas* noon are not as elaborate as those served *kahologan* noon. *Vesperas* afternoon is filled with sports, Boy Scout exhibitions, demonstration of folk dances or calisthenics by the local school children. Gambling activities continue all day, either at the residences of the people, or at the mean gambling area of the fiesta, often the market place. There are games of chance, such as *palipat, diolens, or argolya*, card games, *monte, albores*, or *hantak*, and cockfights. There are games of chance for the "small fry" which require only one-centavo bets. Frequently, the writer saw small boys (10-14 years) dealing at card games and was told that they had been hired by gamblers to impress the players that their game was an honest one.

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51:Hart E-3 (1950-1952)1954 OA1 Philippines
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527 443 ble in the local stores. There are rosaries, religious pictures, ice cream, novel candies, etc. This is the time when the girls and women from the *barrios* make great mounds of rice cakes and sell them at the local fiestas, adding the small profit to the family exchequer. Some of the women from Caticugan went as far away as the fiestas of Giliga-on and Bonawon to sell their food, *guhang* (a mildly alcoholic drink made from the fermented sap of the buri palm), and vegetables. They set up little "cafés" near the fiesta area where one might buy food or drink. Vendors from Dumaguete come to the *barrios*, and particularly the *poblacions*, with their merchandize, establishing their temporary stalls along the roads near the cockpit or gambling area. A lucky catch in a *bonsod* (fish coral) during a *poblacion* fiesta can bring the owner a small fortune overnight.

527 436 The circulation of currency in the *barrios*— where the barter system is still prominent— is at its height during the fiesta. The vendors and gamblers and other activities of the fiesta require money; one cannot barter for a place at the gambling table or for admission to the dance. This is when the bamboo banks are broken and the money used to purchase the necessary fiesta supplies. The fiesta is one of the relatively few occasions (others are weddings, funerals, etc.) when the barriofolk slaughter pigs, goats, cattle and even carabaos. The family "fiesta pig" is killed for *lechon*, having been fattening all year. There is more fish and fresh meat in the market places than at any other time of the year. Young people often go to the city to earn sufficient money to spend during fiesta. The fiesta has become a secular, in ways commercial, enterprise, which requires currency in order for one to participate in many activities. During most of the year, many of the barriofolk in Caticugan earn or spend little money; they barter their way from one need to another need.

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517 181 In summary, the *barrio* or *poblacion* fiesta complex has a variety of functions. *First*, the fiesta is the "big blow-out" of the year, anticipated by young and old for often different reasons. There is a singing gaiety in the air, a lightness of step, and a mood of relaxation in a fiesta-invaded locality. As the writer was once told at a fiesta: "This is the time when 'thanks' is redundant." Second, the fiesta affords many persons, particularly in the *poblacion*, an opportunity to validate their social position through a conspicious consumption of wealth, a lavish expression of hospitality. This association of hospitality with food may be traced back to the pre-Spanish culture of the Filipinos. Municipal and provincial officials, prominent visitors and other guests, are treated with extravagant courtesy and an overabundance of generosity. *Third*, the fiesta is an econo-

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I often frequented guhang trees because they were excellent places to gather information; "mellowed" by the drink the people often enjoyed discussing and arguing over answers to questions. I never saw a group refused free drinks. If an owner were "greedy" with his guhang nothing would have been said at the time which the guhang owners know. This disgruntled individual might later return to the tree as "envious person"; generosity in Caticugan was usually sired of a warm heart and a practical mind.

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One of my most pleasant memories is sitting with the men at the top of the buri, under the little thatch covering, drinking, smoking and talking. Thirty feet above the ground the air was cooler and fresher and a breeze usually rustled the dead fronds. Below the community stretched out under its quilt-like fields. At the palm's base might be a small group of men and married women drinking guhang as it was lowered from the top in a bamboo container tied to a rope. If a few young dalagas passed, salacious wisecracks would usually be made by the young men with malicious cheerfulness and the girls might be so bold as to stop for a drink. In the distance one could hear the dull echo of a managuete's "bamboo gong" (tambol), signaling the vendors who wished to purchase guhang that he was in his tree.

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When the groups gather at the guhang trees it is a time of relaxation, of gossiping, joking and discussing plans for tomorrow. A game of dama (similar to checkers) might be started.

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For those who have no boars (botakal) the breeding fee is one pig from the resulting litter. Owners of many pigs give some of their females to friends to tend. If the female is small, the caretaker gets one-half of every litter produced by the pig while under his care. When the mature pig is killed, he gets one-half of the meat. Individuals in the poblacion often "farm out" a number of their pigs to friends in the barrio under these arrangements. 231 476

There is an amusing riddle about a mother pig and her litter known in Caticugan. 524

The one ahead is marching,
Those following are making music. What are they?

(Ang nag-uan gamarcha,
Ang nanga ulahi gasonata). Unsa man?

Young male pigs are usually caponized by their owners. The pig is caught, the legs tied, and the testes removed with a small knife. Some put the testes in a banana stalk so the pig will become "as big and fat as the banana tree." The juice of talong leaves is often squeezed on the wound to prevent infection. [232]

The most common method of preparing pig food (lalog) is to cut a banana stalk into very thin slices and then pound the slices to a mush in the rice mortar. This mush is mixed with water that has been used to clean rice or cornmeal before cooking or to wash kitchen utensils. Nearly every kitchen has a container where this water (kinilis) is poured to be used for pig food. Tahop (chaff from ground corn) is often added to the pig's food. Cooked gabi leaves are fed the pigs for the 231

are said today to be more numerous than before the war. 231
One man has a herd of 150 goats that graze on Bondo.

Goats are much easier to care for than pigs. A rattan-woven collar is put around their necks and they are tied to stakes to graze. Now and then, like horses, they may be driven to the sea to obtain salt.

Most Filipinos do not drink goat milk. For Caticugan barriofolk this is not due to a dislike of milk; canned milk is a luxury much desired. The reasons why no goat's milk is drunk are that the female goats are either pregnant or they are nursing kids. The people prefer increase in the herd to drinking the milk. No handicrafts use goat or pig hides since the method of preparing the animals for eating does not produce any skins. 272 231

Chickens

One of my favorite riddles collected in Caticugan is: 231 524

Rain or shine,
Always wearing short pants. What is it?

(Mag-ulan ug mag-init,
Sigi rang gapinungkol. Unsa man?)[79]

The answer is "a rooster"! Nearly every family in Caticugan had a few chickens (manok). Fowls run loose, foraging for food during the day; at night they roost in the trees.

[79]There is a similar Tagalog riddle: "Muddy or not muddy, the dress is raised to the knees." Manuel Buaken, I Have Lived with the American People. Idaho, Caston Printers, Ltd., 1948, p. 353.

A general pattern does appear, however; the barriofolk more often have domestic altars in their dwellings, of various degrees of elaborateness. These altars are less popular among many of the poblacion principalia (who are Catholics); their popularity and frequency increase in homes of the urban wealthy. Some city homes I visited had a separate room that was a place of worship, a sanctuary with expensive religious pictures and elaborate figures of saints and the Holy Family. The nearness of the local church may account for the decline in number of altars in Siaton poblacion.

Kitchen equipment normally includes the large clay water jar and a dirt and ash-floored cooking platform or hearth (dapog). The small clay pot rests (hornos) cost fifteen cents and are put on the hearth; they resemble the Japanese shichirin. While most barriofolk now use the horno some still cook by setting pots on three stones placed in a triangular position and known as sug-sug.[8] This was the old way of cooking before the horno's introduction. Every kitchen has a few cooking pots. More people are buying iron kettles for cooking. Pot rests (balanka) are made of rattan or corn cobs. (See Plate LVIII.)[1]

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[8] There are a number of riddles concerning the sug-sug.
"Three brothers have but one name." (Bicol)
"What are those three houses facing each other that cannot be burned?" (Igorot)
The answer to both is sug-sug. Buaken, op. cit., pp. 348-50.

1 [See p. 658, cat. 417 -- Analyst]

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What I have called "bedrooms" is something of a misnomer; "bedroom-storage" might be more appropriate. In no case was there more than one bed in such a room, although the family often consisted of five or six persons. At night sleeping mats were spread on the sala or kitchen floor to accommodate all the members of the family. Beds are raised bamboo platforms with a woven bamboo or rattan mesh over which is put the sleeping mat. Pillows are made of red cotton cloth or abaca fabric filled with kapok; the seeds are not removed. Women may have a few white cotton pillow cases for use when guests spend the night. Sleeping mats are rolled in the morning and placed in a corner of the room or sorted with the pillows in the rafters. There is a riddle on this activity:

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The space under the raised barrio house is called silong; here the plow, harrow, mortar and pestle, lumber, and firewood are stored. The nests of chickens may be

new slats installed. A local riddle accurately describes the general appearance of most of the Caticugan dwellings. 356 524

Since birth all patches. What is it? A house
(Sukad nabata tapak semina. Unsa man? Balay)

COST OF BUILDING A BARRIO DWELLING

The basic materials used to build a barrio dwelling are obtained in the locality, i.e., bamboo, nipa, house posts, rattan, etc. Wire, nails, and galvanized iron sheets are purchased in poblacion stores or, more frequently, obtained in Dumaguete. The use of wire, nails, iron roofing and cement, for example, in the construction of new dwellings in Caticugan, though still small, is increasing. More families would have purchased these materials during my residence except for highly inflated prices and restricted supplies. This trend toward using materials that are made and normally purchased outside the community (in contrast to going to the mountains to obtain materials) will continue to reduce the bartering that still persists in their basic economy and decrease the barriofolk's self-sufficiency. 435 178 438 342

In the past, a family who decided to build a new dwelling in Caticugan were assisted by neighbors and friends. Today, however, when an individual constructs a new house it is mainly a family task. If additional labor is needed the builder may hire local carpenters. House construction exemplifies the transitional process--from community cooperation, to family, and gradually to the 476 602 178 463

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Tenth, in the larger barrio

527 and *poblacion* the fiesta has a definite political function, especially in furnish-
666 ing politicians with opportunities for making speeches, mending political
181 "fences," and encouraging the officialdom of the local and provincial governments. *Eleventh*, the fiesta is one means of introducing into small *barrios* some of the techniques of democracy, of working together with one's neighbors in committees, and making a profit which is used to improve social or cultural conditions in the community. The printed fiesta programs have an educational function with their short, if not too critical, histories of the local region, listing all the provincial and municipal officials etc.

527 After *kahologan* there may be a few dances, a "Barn Dance," a "Fash-
525 ion Show," but the fiesta spirit is gone. The gambling activities may continue for several days after the end of the fiesta, but with less fervor. In the *barrios*, for the most part , the normal routine takes over after *kahologan*. Lechon pits are filled. The bamboo arches slowly succumb to the elements or to fence-building scavengers. The professional gamblers depart with their tables and games for another fiesta. The gay window curtains, doilies, and tablecloths are packed away in the family trunk until next year. The *barrio* chapel decorations wilt and gather dust. For a while the barriofolk speak of *linas piyesta* ("after the fiesta") in dating events in time. Soon the fiesta becomes only a pleasant memory. Before this memory has faded completely, preparations are afoot for the next fiesta.
[178] Nearly every *barrio* and *poblacion* has an innate consistent "strain" toward making the next fiesta "more modern," or "progressive." This may mean a better orchestra, maybe electric lights for the first time, a bigger beauty contest, a more important speaker, a printed instead of typed fiesta program, or a larger statue of their patron saint.

Few Americans who have attended a Philippine fiesta forget the gay event or the warm friendship and spontaneous hospitality of their hosts. It is the writer's hope that this tentative sketching of the rural Philippine fiesta complex may interest Filipinos in making a more detailed study of one of the unique aspects of their culture. [11]

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[11] The author would be most grateful for any critical comments on this article from Filipino readers of the *Silliman Journal*. All letters received will be carefully read and promptly answered.

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*Kahologan* begins around four or five in the morning with the *diana* or reveille. After this event some *poblacions* may have a small fireworks display or shoot off a few booming rockets. Then, from about six to nine, masses are held. The church is usually jammed and more men are present than at the regular weekly services. (In the *barrios* only one mass is performed on *kahologan*, often the only mass of the year in the small chapel owing to the shortage of priests in the Philippines.)[9] After the masses there is a light breakfast (*pa-init*) of various types of rice cakes (*puto*, *bodbod*, or *bingka*), bread, hot chocolate, fruit, etc. The remainder of the morning is devoted to sports— basketball, volleyball, and softball games, horse, bicycle, and "crab" races, carabao fights, eating contests, or billiard competition. Often teams vie for prizes or trophies which have been donated by patrons, and are awarded *kahologan* evening.

At twelve noon the church bells are rung, often three times, and the orchestra marches around the *poblacion*, playing loudly and enthusiastically. This is the *jornada*. Rockets may be fired into the air and the *luthangs* (home-made bamboo cannons) shot. This is when the "big feast" of the fiesta is served. There is often much competition among the *principalia* to attract to their dwelling for this dinner the most prominent visitors to the fiesta. Since food is synonymous with hospitality for most Filipinos, the tables groan under the weight of different meat courses, rice and noodle dishes, *lechon* (roast pig), drinks (coke, beer, and perhaps whisky and brandy), etc. A number of Filipino hostesses told the writer, when he attended fiestas in in the larger *poblacions* or in Dumaguete, that they admired the American custom of serving a meal consisting of only several courses. However, to do so during a *kahologan* dinner, they said, would be considered unfavorably by their guests. Meals are served in relays, the tables being cleared after one setting and reset for the next group of guests. Visiting friends during *kahologan* is often most painful, since one must eat, at least the delicacies prepared by one's hosts, although one's capacity to consume more food is absolutely non-existent.

After dinner, which may continue for several hours, with guests coming

[9] In 1952 there were 2492 Catholic priests in the Philippines for an estimated 15,810,024 Catholics, or one priest for 6340 Catholics. The average of the Philippines is lower than the average of Latin America (one priest for 5104 Catholics) and much lower than the average for the United States (one priest for 620 Catholics). Leo A. Cullum, S.J., "Distribution of Priests", *Philippine Studies*, 1:169-173, September, 1953. A review of an article written by J. Luzzi, S. J., "L'appel de l' Amerique latine", *Nouvelle Revue Theologique*.

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One incident was reported of a Chinese father who tried to drown his first child, a girl. The Siaton Chinese believed if their first child were a female their business would be unsuccessful. This Chinese was jailed and every Sunday, for one month, tied, whipped and driven around the poblacion by the Guardia Civil to be taunted by the populace. He later left the poblacion having "lost face."

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Every February (Chinese New Year) the Chinese merchants in Siaton poblacion would hold a gala celebration. They closed their stores and met to feast and frolic. Prominent poblacion officials were sent baskets of food and fruit and some were invited to Chinese homes for an elaborate dinner.

Lucas Ege Founds Barrio Caticugan

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The first reference to Lucas Ege, founder of Barrio Caticugan, is his election as capitan in 1859.[66] His grandson, still living, said Lucas was born in the locality of Siaton but he did not know the birthplace of Ege's father. The land where Barrio Caticugan is now situated (not including Naga, Dangola, and Talo-ot) was owned by Father Celestino Romero, priest of Siaton parish. Romero succeeded Mezquita; the exact date is not known but it was before 1856.[67]

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[66]Capitan Kinkito was followed by Celestino Makagig (1841-42); Rosindo Kinamot (1843-44); Gabriel Kibotkibot, nicknamed "Antoy" (1845-46); Pedro Macolbacol, nicknamed "Padugo" (1847-48); Francisco Ege, nicknamed "Iton" (1853-54); Felipe Nacapanas, nicknamed "Anyag" (1855-56); Rosindo Kinamot, nicknamed "Balangka" (1857-58) and Lucas Ege (1859-60). These family names are still common in Siaton.

[67]Ruiz, op. cit., p. 151.

175* 466 [622]

In Siaton the cabezas were also responsible for the forced labor called polo or prestacion personal, required by the Spaniards. Until 1884 the Spaniards required all male Filipinos from sixteen to sixty years of age to work forty days each year in building or repairing public bridges and roads, cutting timber, working in artillery foundries, shipyards, etc. One could escape the polo by paying a sum of money, called falla, in lieu of actual labor.[78] In 1884 the polo was reduced in the Philippines from forty to fifteen days.

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In Siaton, however, the polo was said to be only thirty days each year and the men were paid thirty centavos (fifteen cents) a week for their labor.

Cadiane, who once supervised these workers, said the men often paid a falla of two pesos (one dollar), the equivalent of ten hours of work. "Many just paid because the mud was sticky and knee-deep in the roads when it rained." The cabezas had to attend church every Sunday in the poblacion. If they failed to attend they were punished, sometimes whipped, by the Spaniards' in the poblacion. Zaide writes: "Every Sunday, after Mass, the gobernadorcillo, the cabezas de barangay, and other town officials...would repair to the convent, and, on bended knees, kiss the hand of the padre."[79]

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[78] Zaide, op. cit., pp. 172-3 and James L. Le Roy, The Americans in the Philippines: A History of the Conquest and First Years of Occupation with an Introductory Account of the Spanish Rule. New York, Houghton Mifflin Company, 1941, I, p. 45.

[79] Zaide, The Philippines Since the British Invasion, p. 164.

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514 arrival of relatives and guests on *vesperas* depends upon such factors as; (1) distance one lives from the fiesta; (2) transportation facilities; (3) whether relatives are living in the community giving the fiesta; (4) prestige of the fiesta; (5) weather conditions, etc. For larger fiestas special busses are added to the regular schedule and the fare is often raised.

796 *Vesperas* may begin with a "reveille" or *diana*, as early as four or
507 five in the morning, when the orchestra marches around the *poblacion* playing sprightly melodies to awaken the people—many of whom have been up for hours busy with food preparations or gambling all night. One can often determine the residences of the *principalia* by following the band, for their route is normally from one such residence to another where they stop to play a few minutes and then pass on. Often the orchestra's members may be invited inside for a breakfast snack. There may be some fireworks after the *diana*. While the fiesta programs for *kahalogan* invariably state that church services follow the *diana*, this is not always the case in *vesperas*. If masses are held, they are followed by athletic games.

At noon the church bells are rung and more fireworks may be exploded. A few fiesta programs list "Dinner in all houses" but this event is not as frequently included in the progams for *vesperas* as on *kahalogan*. Meals served *vesperas* noon are not as elaborate as those served *kahalogan* noon. *Vesperas* afternoon is filled with sports, Boy Scout exhibitions, demonstration of folk dances or calisthenics by the local school children. Gambling activities continue all day, either at the residences of the people, or at the mean gambling area of the fiesta, often the market place. There are
857 games of chance, such as *palipat, diolens, or argolya*, card games, *monte*, *albores*, or *hantak*, and cockfights. There are games of chance for the "small fry" which require only one-centavo bets. Frequently, the writer saw small boys (10-14 years) dealing at card games and was told that they had been hired by gamblers to impress the players that their game was an honest one.

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796 527 A somewhat distinct feature of some *vesperas* afternoon programs is the "Civic" or "Inaugural" parade of the winning candidates of the beauty contest. Floats are entered in the parade by various groups within the community, e. g. schoolteachers, municipal employees, etc. A religious procession was listed in some of the fiesta programs for late *vesperas* afternoon, although the writer did not observe such a procession on this day at the fiesta attended. Several programs also stated a Holy Rosary would be held in the late afternoon in the church or chapel. This is a fairly common feature (although often omitted from the printed programs) since *vesperas* is normally the ninth and last of the pre-fiesta *novena* prayers. There may be more fireworks around six o'clock, although there are fewer fireworks in the fiesta today owing to recent government restrictions levied against their importation. It seems that the use of fireworks during the fiesta is a Chinese addition. [177]

527 537 The proclamation dance *vesperas* evening may begin as early as six p. m. The admission charge for the dance is lower than for the Coronation Ball held *kahologan*, averaging ₱1.50 to ₱2.00. This price is one indication that the Proclamation Dance is not considered such a gala and important affair as the Coronation Ball. Normally, both in the *barrio* and *poblacion*, women are admitted free to these dances "to attract the men," who must pay. There is a program which includes the presentation to the audience of winners of the beauty contest. A local speaker introduces the proclamation guest orator who is normally a provincial official, a prominent attorney, or an affluent citizen of Dumaguete. Sometimes the local congressman may be the speaker but not as frequently as for the Coronation Ball. The most important speaker is usually reserved for the most important dance, the Coronation Ball.

527 535 437 The program for the Proclamation dance may include prizes for the best tango, bee-bop, rhumba, calypso couples, "surprise" numbers, and other entertainment. One fiesta program stated that an auction of "bouquets" for the "Fiesta Muse" would be held, the *poblacion* counterpart of the *barrio* fiesta custom of "selling flowers" at their dances.[8] The dance may continue until after midnight; one fiesta program stated the dance would last from six in the evening to six the following morning.

[8] During the pre-fiesta and fiesta dances in Barrio Caticugan, one flower was auctioned to the highest bidder, who was permitted to dance for one dance with the local belle the flower represented, while the people watched. Often three or four flowers would be auctioned during the dance, the money collected being used to finance the fiesta. This custom was more frequently observed at *barrio* than *poblacion* fiestas.

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796 527 [793] [369] [526] *Kahologan* begins around four or five in the morning with the *diana* or reveille. After this event some *poblacions* may have a small fireworks display or shoot off a few booming rockets. Then, from about six to nine, masses are held. The church is usually jammed and more men are present than at the regular weekly services. (In the *barrios* only one mass is performed on *kahologan*, often the only mass of the year in the small chapel owing to the shortage of priests in the Philippines.)[9] After the masses there is a light breakfast (*pa-init*) of various types of rice cakes (*puto, bodbod*, or *bingka*), bread, hot chocolate, fruit, etc. The remainder of the morning is devoted to sports— basketball, volleyball, and softball games, horse, bicycle, and "crab" races, carabao fights, eating contests, or billiard competition. Often teams vie for prizes or trophies which have been donated by patrons, and are awarded *kahologan* evening.

527 [574] At twelve noon the church bells are rung, often three times, and the orchestra marches around the *poblacion*, playing loudly and enthusiastically. This is the *jornada*. Rockets may be fired into the air and the *luthangs* (home-made bamboo cannons) shot. This is when the "big feast" of the fiesta is served. There is often much competition among the *principalia* to attract to their dwelling for this dinner the most prominent visitors to the fiesta. Since food is synonymous with hospitality for most Filipinos, the tables groan under the weight of different meat courses, rice and noodle dishes, *lechon* (roast pig), drinks (coke, beer, and perhaps whisky and brandy), etc. A number of Filipino hostesses told the writer, when he attended fiestas in in the larger *poblacions* or in Dumaguete, that they admired the American custom of serving a meal consisting of only several courses. However, to do so during a *kahologan* dinner, they said, would be considered unfavorably by their guests. Meals are served in relays, the tables being cleared after one setting and reset for the next group of guests. Visiting friends during *kahologan* is often most painful, since one must eat, at least the delicacies prepared by one's hosts, although one's capacity to consume more food is absolutely non-existent.

After dinner, which may continue for several hours, with guests coming

[793] [9] In 1952 there were 2492 Catholic priests in the Philippines for an estimated 15,810,024 Catholics, or one priest for 6340 Catholics. The average of the Philippines is lower than the average of Latin America (one priest for 5104 Catholics) and much lower than the average for the United States (one priest for 620 Catholics). Leo A. Cullum, S.J., "Distribution of Priests", *Philippine Studies*, 1:169-173, September, 1953. A review of an article written by J. Luzzi, S. J., "L'appel de l' Amerique latine", *Nouvelle Revue Theologique*.

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527 and going, the athletic games and contests are resumed. The older folks may take a siesta, visit or gossip with friends and relatives, or play mah-jong. If the *poblacion* is near a large river there may be aquatic sports. The gambling never stops, but continues night and day. Cockfights are held.

796 Between five and six, the religious procession occurs. The figure of the patron saint is carried outside the *poblacion* church, after a brief service, and slowly taken on a platform around the *poblacion*, under the four arches when they exit. In one *poblacion* the writer remarked about the absence of the arches and was informed this was *not* a *barrio* fiesta. The patron saint is followed by the priests who are visiting the local priest and by the people, mostly women and children who often hold lighted candles and sing hymns. The procession returns to the church where another short service is held before the people disperse. Another fireworks display may be held at the end of the procession.

527 535 The Coronation Ball begins around seven or eight p.m. in the auditorium (the school building) or the outdoor dance hall (usually the *poblacion* plaza). The admission prizes varies from ₱2.00 to ₱3.00. Ladies are admitted free as is the custom. However, if a man brings more than two ladies, he is charged for his additional female companions.

At the Coronation Ball the "Queen" and her "Princesses" are installed. The new Queen may be crowned by the Queen of the previous year and some *poblacions* have torch parades to escort the Queen from her residence [537] to the dance. There is an introductory speech by a local official of the *poblacion* to introduce the guest speaker. The Coronation Ball speaker is quite frequently the congressmen of the district in which the *poblacion* is located, the governor, or a choice from other top provincial officials. Normally the congressman of Negros Oriental province speak at these fiestas in their own districts, although this is not always the case. After the crowning of the Queen of the fiesta, there may be a "Parade of the Royal Family," and the prizes and trophies are awarded to the winners. Contests are held for the best tango, mambo or waltz couple, and vocal solos or orations are given. When the program is over, the dance continues into the early hours of the following morning. The Coronation Ball is usually the fiesta climax for the young people who dance gracefully and tirelessly almost until dawn.

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527 666 The fiestas have a political function, particularly those held in the cities, *poblacions* or larger *barrios* located along the National Road. The small *barrio* fiesta, such as that at Caticugan, rarely has such a func-

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tion, for their poverty, political insignificance, and isolation make it difficult to attract congressmen or even provincial officials as guests or speakers. The political function of the fiesta increases when they are held during an election year. It is common knowledge in the Philippines that many national government officials use invitations to crown the Queen of the fiesta or give the Coronation Ball oration to build personal and party "political fences" in the area. During the last presidential election, a Manila newspaper noted that a wife of a prominent Representative, up for re-election, was accepting invitations "to even barrio fiestas." The comment was made that perhaps the wife was worried her husband would not be re-elected and was campaigning for him among the barrio folk. This use of the fiesta by some politicians is often felt to be undesirable by many Filipinos, although there is no reason why it should be. Campaigning is a legitimate activity of any elective public official. This relatively common attitude in regard to the political functions of many fiestas may reflect the better-educated Filipino's concern over the growing secularism of a supposedly religious event.

The printed fiesta programs, for example, often contain congratulatory messages from various officials, including the President of the Philippines. A study of the nature of these fiesta messages show they may be merely excessive flattery of the local inhabitants for their "progressiveness," "initiative," "industry," "hospitality," etc. For example:

> The people of ... (wrote one congressman) are industrious, loyal and energetic citizens of the country . . . . On the occasion of your town fiesta, I am sending my most cordial greetings to the noble and brave sons and daughters of this great town.

Some messages stress the importance of the fiesta, a distinctive Philippine custom. Former President Quirino wrote in one fiesta program:

> The celebration of the town (*poblacion*) fiesta is a unique Philippine custom. It affords the people a better opportunity to come together, work together, and enjoy together—thus fostering closer community spirit among themselves. This is precisely what the country needs today; oneness of purpose among our people as we tackle the great task of nation-building.

Some messages printed in the fiesta programs may urge the people to be more socially conscious. For example, the citizens of one district were praised by the mayor of Dumaguete City because they

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> ...do not neglect their duty in sending their children to school because they believe that in a democracy what is paramount is education, which is necessary for good citizenship.[10]

The messages may praise the *principalia* of the *poblacion*. One fiesta program states:

> Such great and prominent men as the late Governor Demetrio Larena, the late Senator Hermenegildo Villanueva, the late Representative Enrique C. Villanueva, the late Governor Guillermo Z. Villanueva, and the late Governor Praxedes Villanueva; all these dead national figures hailed and were reared in . . . (name of *poblacion*).

Such a sentence underlines the personalism typical of most Philippine politics.

Many of the messages, however, have a definite political slant, usually praising the national, provincial, or municipal politicians. In the printed fiesta program of one small *poblacion*, the then Speaker of the House of Representatives wrote:

> You are indeed fortunate in having Congressman... (of the same party as the Speaker) as your representative in Congress. I am happy to tell you that Congressman ... is truly a representative of the people.... He is one of the most able members of the House .... With him, the fortune and future of your town is in safe hands. I urge you, therefore, to extend to him your unqualified support and cooperation.

(This fiesta occurred just before the election in which the congressman was running for a provincial office.)

Below are a few samples of the political aspects of many of the messages printed in the fiesta programs.

Important strides have been made towards the beautification

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[876]

[10] This statement is an illustration of how effectively the American Administration (1898-1946) in the Philippines transferred *the American attitude that* education is a panacea for all economic and social problems. As for the *actual influence* of American educational theories and practices in rural Philippines, one noted Filipino educator has written about the "little dent the much-vaunted American-sponsored educational system has made in Philippine rural life." Laya, J.C. *Little Democracies* (Revised edition; Manila: Inang Wika Publishing Co., 1951, p. 6

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527 666

of the 'poblacion', thanks to the deep and abiding interest of congressman.. in the welfare and well-being of the community.

A top government official of Negros Oriental province stated in his message printed in one fiesta program that he would be unable to attend the event because:

> I am leaving for Manila soon in the interest and welfare of our province.

The congressman of one of the districts of Negros Oriental praised a local official in his fiesta message, stating he

> (official's name) .., is the guiding star that points to me the things needed by this town and hence I can say safely that the improvements and beautification of (the town)... is due mostly to the endeavor and sacrifices of our beloved.... (official's name).

The former Vice-President of the Philippines in his message printed on one fiesta program urged that the people work together because:

> Communal solidarity is necessary for the success of this affair just as national unity is essential for the growth of a nation.... To promote this unity, it is imperative for us to cultivate a community spirit against the factors that cause dissension and disorder among the people—corrupt practices of officials and individuals alike, such as abuse of authority and profiteering practiced by opportunists on the helpless masses. These corruptions can be remedied by the combined efforts on the part of the government authorities and the people.

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The fiestas stimulate local commereial activities. All who can afford it, and many who cannot, buy a new dress or a pair of trousers, clothing for the children, get a permanent wave, or purchase large supplies of food for their expected guests. Some Filipinos will borrow money or mortgage their land in order to have the means to entertain properly their visitors during the annual fiesta. So much personal and family prestige is involved that few measures are too drastic for some to maintain the expected level of hospitality; this is particularly true in the *poblacions*. Frugalities of the year, the penny-pinching to make ends meet, the saving for the unknown exigencies of the future, are discarded by many Filipinos for several days of "fun and frolic," of living fully.

527 443

To the *poblacions* and *barrios*, even such as Caticugan but less so, come many itinerant vendors selling a variety of wares, normally unavaila-

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527 443 ble in the local stores. There are rosaries, religious pictures, ice cream, novel candies, etc. This is the time when the girls and women from the *barrios* make great mounds of rice cakes and sell them at the local fiestas, adding the small profit to the family exchequer. Some of the women from Caticugan went as far away as the fiestas of Giliga-on and Bonawon to sell their food, *guhang* (a mildly alcoholic drink made from the fermented sap of the buri palm), and vegetables. They set up little "cafes" near the fiesta area where one might buy food or drink. Vendors from Dumaguete come to the *barrios*, and particularly the *poblacions*, with their merchandize, establishing their temporary stalls along the roads near the cockpit or gambling area. A lucky catch in a *bonsod* (fish coral) during a *poblacion* fiesta can bring the owner a small fortune overnight.

527 436 The circulation of currency in the *barrios* — where the barter system is still prominent — is at its height during the fiesta. The vendors and gamblers and other activities of the fiesta require money; one cannot barter for a place at the gambling table or for admission to the dance. This is when the bamboo banks are broken and the money used to purchase the necessary fiesta supplies. The fiesta is one of the relatively few occasions (others are weddings, funerals, etc.) when the barriofolk slaughter pigs, goats, cattle and even carabaos. The family "fiesta pig" is killed for *lechon*, having been fattening all year. There is more fish and fresh meat in the market places than at any other time of the year. Young people often go to the city to earn sufficient money to spend during fiesta. The fiesta has become a secular, in ways commercial, enterprise, which requires currency in order for one to participate in many activities. During most of the year, many of the barriofolk in Caticugan earn or spend little money; they barter their way from one need to another need.

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517 181 In summary, the *barrio* or *poblacion* fiesta complex has a variety of functions. *First*, the fiesta is the "big blow-out" of the year, anticipated by young and old for often different reasons. There is a singing gaiety in the air, a lightness of step, and a mood of relaxation in a fiesta-invaded locality. As the writer was once told at a fiesta: "This is the time when 'thanks' is redundant." Second, the fiesta affords many persons, particularly in the *poblacion*, an opportunity to validate their social position through a conspicious consumption of wealth, a lavish expression of hospitality. This association of hospitality with food may be traced back to the pre-Spanish culture of the Filipinos. Municipal and provincial officials, prominent visitors and other guests, are treated with extravagant courtesy and an overabundance of generosity. *Third*, the fiesta is an econo-

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Tenth, in the larger barrio
527 and *poblacion* the fiesta has a definite political function, especially in furnish-
666 ing politicians with opportunities for making speeches, mending political
181 "fences," and encouraging the officialdom of the local and provincial governments. *Eleventh*, the fiesta is one means of introducing into small *barrios* some of the techniques of democracy, of working together with one's neighbors in committees, and making a profit which is used to improve social or cultural conditions in the community. The printed fiesta programs have an educational function with their short, if not too critical, histories of the local region, listing all the provincial and municipal officials etc.

527 After *kahologan* there may be a few dances, a "Barn Dance," a "Fash-
525 ion Show," but the fiesta spirit is gone. The gambling activities may continue for several days after the end of the fiesta, but with less fervor. In the *barrios*, for the most part , the normal routine takes over after *kahologan*. Lechon pits are filled. The bamboo arches slowly succumb to the elements or to fence-building scavengers. The professional gamblers depart with their tables and games for another fiesta. The gay window curtains, doilies, and tablecloths are packed away in the family trunk until next year. The *barrio* chapel decorations wilt and gather dust. For a while the barriofolk speak of *liwas piyesta* ("after the fiesta") in dating events in time. Soon the fiesta becomes only a pleasant memory. Before this memory has faded completely, preparations are afoot for the next fiesta. [178] Nearly every *barrio* and *poblacion* has an innate consistent "strain" toward making the next fiesta "more modern," or "progressive." This may mean a better orchestra, maybe electric lights for the first time, a bigger beauty contest, a more important speaker, a printed instead of typed fiesta program, or a larger statue of their patron saint.

Few Americans who have attended a Philippine fiesta forget the gay event or the warm friendship and spontaneous hospitality of their hosts. It is the writer's hope that this tentative sketching of the rural Philippine fiesta complex may interest Filipinos in making a more detailed study of one of the unique aspects of their culture.[11]

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[11] The author would be most grateful for any critical comments on this article from Filipino readers of the *Silliman Journal*. All letters received will be carefully read and promptly answered.

Influences that came from India, either through mainland Southeast Asia (Malaya or Champa) and directly to the Philippines, or indirectly from the southern islands of present-day Indonesia, are still apparent in Caticugan. The importance of astrology to determine the most opportune times for certain activities is typical of the Hinayana Buddhist countries of Burma and Thailand--and also China. Traces of art styles, first originating in India, can be seen in the Garuda-like heads on the bolos of Caticugan.

Beyer believes that the "principal phases" of Neolithic culture reached the Philippines directly from northern and southern China. From this period to the present, Chinese contacts with the Philippines have continued. If there is little visible Chinese content in Caticugan, this also is typical of the Philippines as a whole. Kroeber writes: "There is scarcely an institution, piece of knowledge, or religious belief current in the Philippines that can be derived with certainty from China."[174] The Chinese were rarely interested in meddling or interfering with Filipino ways of living; they came as merchants and their impact was largely economic.[175]

This is not to imply that the Chinese did not influence Philippine culture. Manuel documents the words

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[174] Kroeber, op. cit., p. 17.

[175] H. Otley Beyer, "Early History of Philippine Relations with Foreign Countries, Especially China" in Arsenio E. Manuel, Chinese Elements in the Tagalog Language. Manila, Filipiniana Publications, 1948, p. xvi.

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When the fronds are dry the stiff mid-rib is stripped from each individual leaf. The leaves then are smoothed by running them over the back of a knife or seashell. Buri leaves are cut into fairly regular widths by use of a rattan guide (batacan). (See Plate LXXI.)[1] The batacan is hooked around a leaf and a small knife inserted just above the notch facing the worker; it penetrates the leaf to a second notch on the back of the batacan. By moving the batacan and the knife down the leaf together an even strip is cut. Buri strips, ready for weaving, are called lila.

After a sufficient supply of lilas is prepared, the plaiting of the bag or mat is begun. The only type of plaiting used is illustrated in Plate LXX. Strands used to plait mats and baskets are fairly broad and flat, producing a checkerboard type of design; actually little can be done in plaiting such strands except to pass them alternately over and under. Sleeping mats, unlike bags, are usually plaited with a double thickness. Only one woman in Caticugan made any attempt to decorate her buri bags. The sibokao tree's heartwood makes a brown dye; sometimes, though rarely, she used tanbark as a dye "because I do not have to buy the sibokao to make a dye." She dyed a few buri strips, plaiting them into the bag, making a simple geometric design. Plate LXX, C, illustrates the design made in some placemats she plaited for me.

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The decreasing number of buri palms in the vicinity of Caticugan may pose a problem for the barriofolk in the

1 [See p. 705, cat. 285 -- Analyst]

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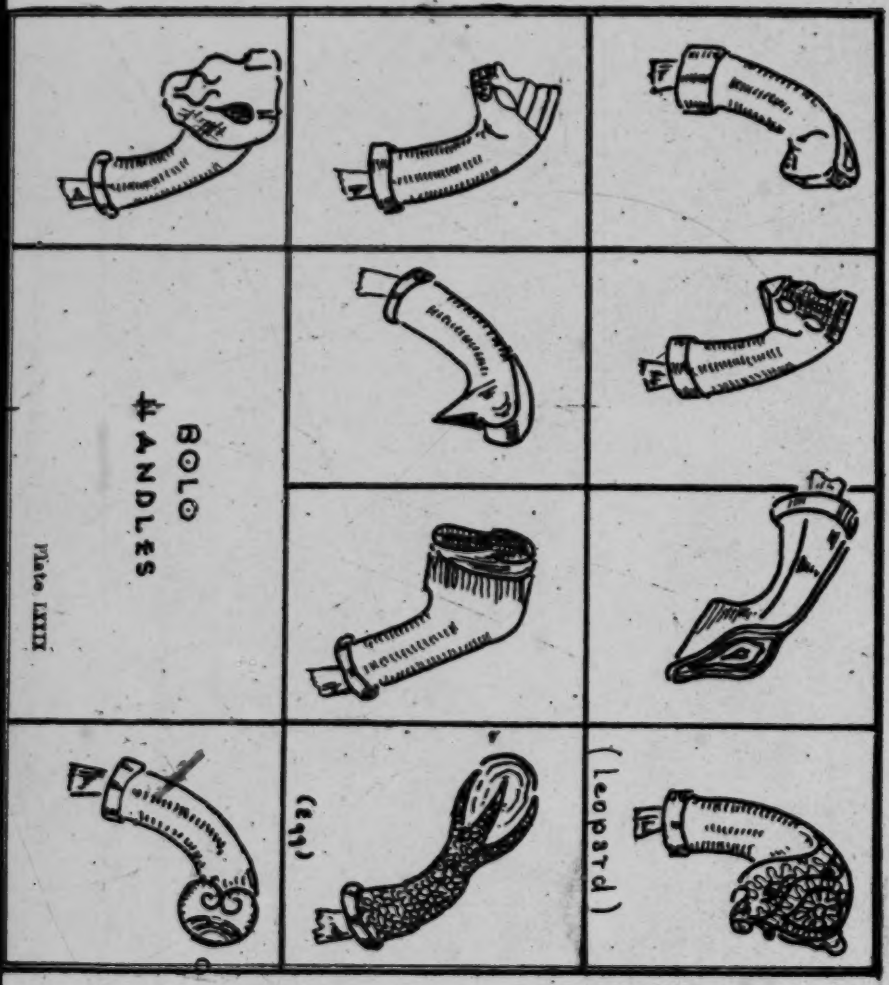


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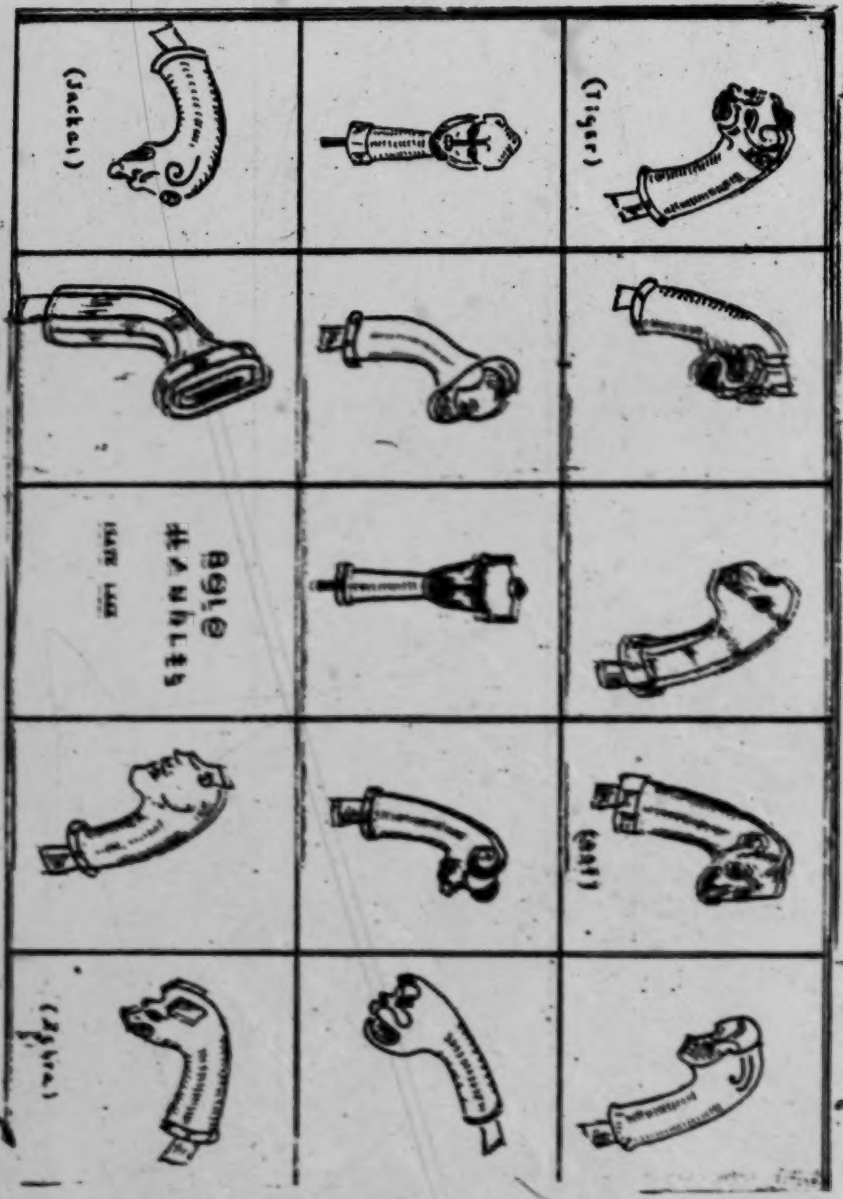


P, 736

Men buy iron bolo blades in the poblacion or Dumaguete and make their own wooden handles. The only decorative wood carving found in Caticugan occurs on the ends of bolo handles. When the owners were asked what animal the carved head on the handle represented, they usually did not know. Most of the carved figures are quite similar in style. (See Plates LXXIX and LXXX.)[1]

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These carved heads on bolo handles in Caticugan may possibly derive from a modified version of the mythical Garuda of ancient Indian folklore and art. The Garuda figure probably was diffused to the Philippines from Indo-China or Indonesia during the ascendancy of Hindu empires in this area, e.g., Champa and Sri-Vishaya.

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Krieger writes:

> The art of metal work, as well as decorative motifs based on the lotus flower and other Hindu cult representations, are characteristic of influence from India [in the Philippines].[21]

Dwellings still exist in Panay that have carved exterior decorations showing Hindu influence.[22] Beyer writes: "The most cultured Philippine languages contain many Sanskrit words, and the native art a noticeable sprinkling of Indian design."[23] Magahats also carve heads of animals on their bolo handles that are quite similar to those of Caticugan.[24] It is my impression that carved bolo handles are found in most parts of the Philippines.

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[21] Herbert W. Krieger, Peoples of the Philippines. War Background Studies No. 4. Washington, Smithsonian Institute, November 15, 1942, p. 30.

[22] A number of archaeological finds in the Visayas indicate Hindu influence in the area. For example, a small bronze image of the Hindu god Siva was found in Mactan, off Cebu, that probably dates from the time of the Madjapahit empire. Beyer, op. cit., p. 361.

1 [See p. 735 ff, cat. 531 or 412 -- Analyst]

[pp. 738 + 739 are missing -- Analyst]

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The barriofolk are quite unaware of the possibility that their Garuda-like carved bolo handles may symbolize Hindu influence in their cultural heritage. It is curious that only bolo handles are selected; none of the other weapons or personal equipment is carved for decorative purposes. Perhaps the explanation lies in the importance attached to a man's bolo in pre-Hispanic Philippines.

Various household articles are made by the barriofolk of Caticugan. Long pieces of bamboo are hollowed and used to carry water from the springs and river to the houses. Spoons and dippers of coconut shell are fixed with rattan to bamboo handles. A few young men made ukeleles from local woods, buying only the gut strings. I never saw parents make toys for their children.

SUMMARY

The meager barrio handicrafts in Caticugan are in a state of decline. Abaca cloth is woven less frequently than in the immediate past and certain types of weaving and fabrics have disappeared. Most barriofolk consider abaca a poor substitute for cotton garments; imported used American clothing is changing the people's mode of dress. Self-sufficiency of the barriofolk in pottery has been lost; today nearly all of them depend on pottery wares produced in Dumaguete. Bamboo drinking cups, plates and eating

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[23] Benitez, op. cit., pp. 21-2.

[24] Oracion, op. cit., p. 40.

New Guinea OJ1
Nias OD11
Tagalog OA36
Central Bisayan OA14

I [556 cont.]

775 viewed as having their abodes in specific places, in the air or in
[769] the water, in the rivers or at mouths of rivers, in rocks, on mountains, etc. For instance, the souls of the deceased are generally imagined as in the vicinity of the places where they formerly lived or near the graves. We shall not dwell on this here, because we shall find several examples later when we deal with the religions of the principal peoples.

The souls and spirits, of course, are conceived as entirely incorporeal, although, according to animism, they can temporarily enter into one body or another and present themselves as such to
CB human beings. Besides this conception, there is also the belief
T that they can assume an animal or human shape or, as among the
N Batak, can appear as a white cloud, a rainbow, etc. In general
Nq there is a desire to identify the spirit with one or another object.
I If there happens to be a material object that can be put in a
775 causal relationship with a phenomenon regarded as the effect of a
769 spirit, then that object is regarded as the abode of the spirit. If
●532 there is no such object, then one is created, generally an image. We want to mention a few peoples among whom this takes place, namely, the Papuans, the Niassans, the Tagalog, the Bisayans and those of the Southwestern Islands, etc. They all have the custom of representing the souls of the deceased by wooden images.

NC Among the Papuans they are called korwar, have a human
532 [557] shape, and are one to one and a half feet high. The korwar
769 is the agent, the medium, by which the Papuan maintains con-
782 tinuous relations with the soul of a deceased. It is consulted by means of this image in case he needs its assistance on one or another occasion. Thus, the korwar are to be worshiped if one does not want to bring the anger of the soul down on his head. To remain on good terms with it, one brings it an offering from time to time. This is not fetishism, of course, because it is not the korwar that is worshiped, but the soul of the deceased, of which the korwar is only the representation. In this case we are
N on the border between fetishism and spiritism.

769 The images that the Niassans make likewise represent the
532 souls of the deceased, moko-moko. Like the korwar, they have

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The barriofolk are quite unaware of the possibility that their Garuda-like carved bolo handles may symbolize Hindu influence in their cultural heritage. It is curious that only bolo handles are selected; none of the other weapons or personal equipment is carved for decorative purposes. Perhaps the explanation lies in the importance attached to a man's bolo in pre-Hispanic Philippines.

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Various household articles are made by the barriofolk of Caticugan. Long pieces of bamboo are hollowed and used to carry water from the springs and river to the houses. Spoons and dippers of coconut shell are fixed with rattan to bamboo handles. A few young men made ukeleles from local woods, buying only the gut strings. I never saw parents make toys for their children.

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SUMMARY

The meager barrio handicrafts in Caticugan are in a state of decline. Abaca cloth is woven less frequently than in the immediate past and certain types of weaving and fabrics have disappeared.[23] Most barriofolk consider abaca a poor substitute for cotton garments; imported used American clothing is changing the people's mode of dress. Self-sufficiency of the barriofolk in pottery has been lost; today nearly all of them depend on pottery wares produced in Dumaguete. Bamboo drinking cups, plates and eating

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[23] Benitez, op. cit., pp. 21-2.

[24] Oracion, op. cit., p. 40.

and drink his wine. One time we were practicing the rigodon for the fiesta in the convento. The priest was away. When he returned he did not scold us but he had a heavy face. He did not like it because we had profaned the sanctity of his abode.[90]

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The Spaniards often both punished and rewarded the Filipinos; this led to an ambivalent attitude toward most of them that persists into the present.

The Messianic Outlaws of Southern Negros

Conditions worsened for both Filipinos and Spaniards during the last part of the 19th century. Hostility to Spanish rule increased among educated Filipinos. Filipino leaders were deported to penal colonies and innocent intellectuals were persecuted. As various political and social abuses were not abolished, a reaction known as the "Propaganda Movement" developed among Filipino leaders. This movement began in 1872 and ended two decades later when the revolutionary society, Katipunan, was founded.

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Beginning with the 1870's a series of disturbances or uprisings occurred in various parts of the island. Some of these disturbances were due to bandits who lived in the mountains and robbed the people of the lowlands. These outlaws had existed since the early days of the Spanish administration of Negros. With the development

[90]The rigodon is a quadrille first introduced at the Louis XIII's court and later diffused to Spain and eventually to the Philippines. Francisca R. Tolentino, Philippine National Dances. New York, Silver Burdett Company, 1946, p. 261.

535 177

51:Hart E-3 (1950-1952)1954 OA1 Philippines
Central Bisayan OA14



Queen is proclaimed at the evening dance. *Vesperas* is the "day of arrival" of most of the fiesta visitors; at least, it is the ideal pattern. If one lives fairly near the fiesta, one may not come until early *kahologan* morning. The young men and women, however, prefer to arrive on *vesperas* in order to attend the dance that evening, an event which holds little attraction for most older Filipinos. (In the smaller *barrios* the dances are rarely attended by the older people who do not know how to dance the fox-trots, mambos and tangos of the younger generation.) The arrival of relatives and guests on *vesperas* depends upon such factors as; (1) distance one lives from the fiesta; (2) transportation facilities; (3) whether relatives are living in the community giving the fiesta; (4) prestige of the fiesta; (5) weather conditions, etc. For larger fiestas, special busses are added to the regular schedule and the fare is often raised.

*Vesperas* may begin with a "reveille" or *diana*, as early as four or five in the morning, when the orchestra marches around the *poblacion* playing sprightly melodies to awaken the people—many of whom have been up for hours busy with food preparations or gambling all night. One can often determine the residences of the *principalia* by following the band, for their route is normally from one such residence to another where they stop to play a few minutes and then pass on. Often the orchestra's members may be invited inside for a breakfast snack. There may be some fireworks after the *diana*. While the fiesta programs for *kahologan* invariably state that church services follow the *diana*, this is not always the case in *vesperas*. If masses are held, they are followed by athletic games.

At noon the church bells are rung and more fireworks may be exploded. A few fiesta programs list "Dinner in all houses" but this event is not as frequently included in the progams for *vesperas* as on *kahologan*. Meals served *vesperas* noon are not as elaborate as those served *kahologan* noon. *Vesperas* afternoon is filled with sports, Boy Scout exhibitions, demonstration of folk dances or calisthenics by the local school children. Gambling activities continue all day, either at the residences of the people, or at the mean gambling area of the fiesta, often the market place. There are games of chance, such as *palipat, diolens, or argolya*, card games, *monte, elbores*, or *hantak*, and cockfights. There are games of chance for the "small fry" which require only one-centavo bets. Frequently, the writer saw small boys (10-14 years) dealing at card games and was told that they had been hired by gamblers to impress the players that their game was an honest one.

51:Hart E-3 (1950-1952)1954 OA1 Philippines
Central Bisayan OA14



796 527 A somewhat distinct feature of some *vesperas* afternoon programs is the "Civic" or "Inaugural" parade of the winning candidates of the beauty contest. Floats are entered in the parade by various groups within the community, e. g. schoolteachers, municipal employees, etc. A religious procession was listed in some of the fiesta programs for late *vesperas* afternoon, although the writer did not observe such a procession on this day at the fiesta attended. Several programs also stated a Holy Rosary would be held in the late afternoon in the church or chapel. This is a fairly common feature (although often omitted from the printed programs) since *vesperas* is normally the ninth and last of the pre-fiesta *novena* prayers. There may be more fireworks around six o'clock, although there are fewer fireworks in the fiesta today owing to recent government restrictions levied [177] against their importation. It seems that the use of fireworks during the fiesta is a Chinese addition.

527 537 The proclamation dance *vesperas* evening may begin as early as six p. m. The admission charge for the dance is lower than for the Coronation Ball held *kahologan*, averaging ₱1.50 to ₱2.00. This price is one indication that the Proclamation Dance is not considered such a gala and important affair as the Coronation Ball. Normally, both in the *barrio* and *poblacion*, women are admitted free to these dances "to attract the men," who must pay. There is a program which includes the presentation to the audience of winners of the beauty contest. A local speaker introduces the proclamation guest orator who is normally a provincial official, a prominent attorney, or an affluent citizen of Dumaguete. Sometimes a local congressman may be the speaker but not as frequently as for the Coronation Ball. The most important speaker is usually reserved for the most important dance, the Coronation Ball.

527 535 437 The program for the Proclamation dance may include prizes for the best tango, bee-bop, rhumba, calypso couples, "surprise" numbers, and other entertainment. One fiesta program stated that an auction of "bouquets" for the "Fiesta Muse" would be held, the *poblacion* counterpart of the *barrio* fiesta custom of "selling flowers" at their dances.[8] The dance may continue until after midnight; one fiesta program stated the dance would last from six in the evening to six the following morning.

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[8] During the pre-fiesta and fiesta dances in Barrio Caticugan, one flower was auctioned to the highest bidder, who was permitted to dance for one dance with the local belle the flower represented, while the people watched. Often three or four flowers would be auctioned during the dance, the money collected being used to finance the fiesta. This custom was more frequently observed at *barrio* than *poblacion* fiestas.

51:Hart E-3 (1950-1952)1954 OA1 Philippines
Central Bisayan OA14



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796 Between five and six, the religious procession occurs. The figure of the patron saint is carried outside the *poblacion* church, after a brief service, and slowly taken on a platform around the *poblacion*, under the four arches when they exit. In one *poblacion* the writer remarked about the absence of the arches and was informed this was *not* a *barrio* fiesta. The patron saint is followed by the priests who are visiting the local priest, and by the people, mostly women and children who often hold lighted candles and sing hymns. The procession returns to the church where another short service is held before the people disperse. Another fireworks display may be held at the end of the procession.

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At the Coronation Ball the "Queen" and her "Princesses" are installed. The new Queen may be crowned by the Queen of the previous year and some *poblacions* have torch parades to escort the Queen from her residence [537] to the dance. There is an introductory speech by a local official of the *poblacion* to introduce the guest speaker. The Coronation Ball speaker is quite frequently the congressmen of the district in which the *poblacion* is located, the governor, or a choice from other top provincial officials. Normally the congressman of Negros Oriental province speak at these fiestas in their own districts, although this is not always the case. After the crowning of the Queen of the fiesta, there may be a "Parade of the Royal Family," and the prizes and trophies are awarded to the winners. Contests are held for the best tango, mambo or waltz couple, and vocal solos or orations are given. When the program is over, the dance continues into the early hours of the following morning. The Coronation Ball is usually the fiesta climax for the young people who dance gracefully and tirelessly almost until dawn.

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(rice wrapped in coconut leaves and then boiled), one plate of cooked rice, and four bamboo containers of tuba made from either the coconut or ediok palms.[20] 241 574 801

Guests normally do not participate in the offering but stand or sit around the edges of the field. Some women may be inside the house preparing food for the meal that follows the ceremony. If the caingin owner feels confident, he may conduct the ceremony himself. Otherwise he will request a man well-versed in the ritual to make his offering. The "speech" given during the brief ritual, however, appears to be an improvisation and not a recitation that requires a nimble memory. Yet many people do not wish to perform the ceremonies for the loto or the dulot because they believe any mistakes might offend the unseen spirits they seek to please. 241 574 241 537

The ceremony is always conducted by a man. No cases were reported of a woman who made the loto or dulot; this is interesting because the magical rites connected with lowland agriculture are normally performed by women. The man goes to the center of the caingin and stands by by the table. Speaking to the spirits and kalags (souls) of the parents or relatives of the caingin cultivator, he invites them to dine on the proffered food. The specialist may repeat his invitation in a whisper or speak loudly. According to one female informant, what is said usually is: 241 537 [791] [462] 241 537 788

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[20] The Magahats offer one chicken, seven tilad, seven rice cakes, seven tinostos, two glasses of tuba, and three candles. Oracion, op. cit., p. 59-60.

> Here is tuba, here is loto, binaluksan, bina-ang, tilad, tinostos, tinigol [tigol] eggs and roasted chicken. Here are the things that we offer, the fruit of our labor. We have now fulfilled and we hope that next year the crop will be as good as this year. You that have lived here before don't be surprised at us who live here now. And if we are working here don't be surprised either.[21]

When the ceremonies are finished the food is taken from the caingin to the owner's house or temporary shelter. Before the offering and the other prepared food are eaten a rosary is said by the women. This is a Catholic addition to the original ceremony.[22]

Inside the house a large winnowing basket (niggo) is filled with cooked rice. In the center of the heaped rice are stuck many rice heads harvested from the caingin. All the people present eat some of the rice. No rice may be returned to the pots; it is believed if this happens the next harvest will not be abundant. Souls of the caingin cultivator's parents and relatives are invited to partake and are requested to make future harvests plentiful and to give the cultivator and his family good health and long life.

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[21] The original text is: "Niay tuba, niay loto, binaluksan, bina-ang, tilad, tinostos, tinigol, itlog, manok inasal. Niay naman ning among ibulang among abut nakatuman naman in bason podlaman inaron ug maayo gihapon, kamong namoyo dinhi sa una dila lawan ikatingala kaning gapoyo dinhing bagohanay laman. Ug magtrabaho ini dinhi ayaw laman mi ug kiatingola."

[22] It is interesting to note that the Magahat ceremony makes no mention of the souls of the cultivator's parents or relatives. It might be supposed that the addition of the souls to the loto described above is due to Catholic influence. This is probably not the case since the pre-Hispanic Filipinos had well-developed concepts regarding the worship and placating of their dead. Oracion, op. cit., pp. 57-62.

51:Hart E-3 (1950-1952)1954 OA1 Philippines
Central Bisayan OA14



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part of the Bondo plateau overlooking the small bay which then was a favorite Moro landing place. Bonbonon was to serve as a warning post for the people of Mangudkod in case of Moro attack. A group of twenty-three persons was selected and put under the leadership of former Capitan Uanti.[41]

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Life in Bonbonon was peaceful for several years. There were no Moro raids, although the people often could see their praos (boats) sailing off their coast. Then the raids began. During one raid the Moros sneaked into the sleeping barrio and captured Yngo, Bigas, Dalis, Ondoy, Oka and Takbo. The following morning Uanti and the people learned of the raid "but the Moros were already far out to sea, shouting because of their happiness."

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Uanti was credited with many miraculous powers. When the people began to build a church at Bonbonon, Uanti carried posts which would have taken fifty normal men to lift. Later another Moro raid was made on Bonbonon.

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> When the Moros came near Uanti, he became very big and tall. His body was about 12 feet wide and 36 feet tall. Then he suddenly became afire which shone brightly. When the Moros saw all these things, they ran back to their praos.

Uanti died at ninety-two years just when the Bonbonon church was completed.

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[41] The group was composed of Uanti, Eri, Solicy, Tacio (nicknamed Alimpolos, "Whirlwind"), Salangsang, Silino, Olpos, Dalis and Ondoy and their wives. The bachelors were Bigas, Oka, Takbo and Yngo. This incident was verified by a few old inhabitants of present-day Bonbonon.

20: Hart E-5 (1951) 1954 OA1 Philippines
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During the office of Capitan Juan Jamaes, nicknamed Bakwog ("Crooked"), 1837-38, three men, Adin, Ontod, and Indo, became famous in the region for protecting Siaton poblacion from Moro raids. The folklore reported by Gadiane said each man had unique supernatural abilities but each had a chicken-like spur growing from the heel of one foot. When this spur became bloody it was an omen of a pending Moro raid. Indo was so eager to fight the Moros that he used his willing wife as a decoy.

> One time Indo let his wife go to the beach to gather shells while he hid in the nearby bushes. Soon a Moro boat passed by and the Moros saw Indo's wife gathering sea shells. The Moros landed and grabbed the woman, dragging her toward their boats. Indo rushed from his hiding place, carrying his bolo and shield. Running toward the Moros, and using his shield as a spade, he threw sand into the Moros' eyes, temporarily blinding them. Then he struck them with his bolo, right and left, killing many of them. He left only two to escape. When Indo and his wife left the beach, the two Moros returned, gathered their dead companions, and took them away in their boats.

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During Capitan Dalokdok Kinkito's office (1839-40) a rain of ashes descended on Siaton. No reference could be found to the eruption of Canlaon volcano during these years, although eruptions occurred in 1733, 1736, 1883, and 1902.[49] However, the ashes could have come from volcanoes erupting in Mindanao or Camiguin Island.

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[49] Marco, op. cit., pp. 46-8.

51:Hart E-3 (1950-1952)1954 OAI Philippines
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796 sentation implies. First, the novenas (either individual or group prayers) which usually precede the fiesta, the last prayer occurring on *vesperas* evening. Second, the masses held in honor of the patron saint on *vesperas* [851] (the day before *kahologon*) and *kahologon* mornings. Third, the baptism of babies, particularly those born since the last fiesta in *barrios* isolated from the *poblacion* church. In some *barrios* distant from the *poblacion* church of Siaton, as many as 30 babies were baptized by the priest when he visited the community for their annual fiesta. Fourth, the religious procession held on the afternoon of *kahologon* (sometimes on *vesperas*) when the patron saint is taken from the chapel or church and paraded around the fiesta area.

The religious, economic, and social activities of the rural fiesta complex are not solely concentrated in the "fiesta core" which, for most purposes, can be described as *vesperas* and *kahologon* days although variations do exist in some *poblacion* (but rarely *barrio*) fiestas. A series of weekly pre-fiesta dances are held, sometimes beginning two or three months before the "fiesta core." Barrio Caticugan's pre-fiesta Saturday night dances began (in 1951) a month before *vesperas* while those in Siaton *poblacion* started nearly three months before *vesperas* in 1950. As the fiesta approaches these dances increase in frequency, attendance, and admission fee for the individual. Many of the people begin to repair, or even enlarge, their dwellings for the coming fiesta. Efforts are made to earn additional money in order to entertain properly visitors during the fiesta, buy new clothing, etc. One of the busiest periods of tailors and dressmakers in the rural areas is several months before the fiesta. No Filipino likes to wear the [838] same dress at two different fiestas. Beauticians (often *bayules*)[4] invade [305] the *poblacions* and *barrios* along the road to set up their permanent wave shops. Local stores begin to stock their shelves with foods associated with the fiesta but not normally sold to their patrons. More and more committee meetings are held regarding the fiesta organization as the period approaches.

796 941 An innovation introduced to the original Spanish fiesta complex is the beauty or popularity contest. The beauty candidates are local *barrio* or *poblacion* girls who are supported by various factions in their communities. In the *poblacion* for example, the municipal employees, merchants, and school-teachers will sponsor a candidate for "Queen" or "Muse" of the fiesta. These contests are not as typical of *barrio* fiestas as in larger communities, nor nearly as elaborate. Tickets are sold by the candidates

[4] Hermaphrodites.

51:Hart E-3 (1950-1952)1954 OA1 Philippines
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or their supporters which represent a certain number of votes. The candidate selling the most tickets wins the honor of being the "Queen" of the fiesta, the runners-up are the "Princesses" or the "Queen's 'damas.'" In the larger *poblacions* and cities these contests became elaborate affairs and the candidates' parents or relatives may spend thousands of pesos to make their daughter the "Queen". In these areas, the contest is more often a struggle within the small elite than within the community as a whole.

The organization of each fiesta is done by various committees, a method which gives Filipinos, particularly those living in *barrios*, some valuable experience in committee work—one basic aspect of democracy in action.[7] Committee organization increases in size and complexity as one moves from the small *barrio* fiesta to large urban fiestas. There are usually the following committees in most fiestas: executive or board of directors; arches (to build the bamboo-paper decorated arches under which the patron saint is carried during the procession); athletics (to arrange for various competitive sports); auditorium and decoration (to build a temporary dancing area, especially in the *barrios*, or prepare and decorate the plaza or schoolhouse); beauty or popularity contest; dance; decorations (often listed as "all lady teachers" whose responsibility is to decorate the church and altar); finance and audit (usually chaired by the municipal treasurer); invitation and reception; lights (sometimes such a committee must arrange to rent a generator to supply electricity during the fiesta period); music; parade; publicity; program; and patrons and donors (to obtain prizes for the various contests held during the fiesta).

The membership of the *barrio*, and particularly the *poblacion*, fiesta committees is largely composed of the *principalia*—the more prominent people of the community. In the *barrio*, social and economic stratification is not as visible or complex as in the *poblacion*; but it exists, nevertheless, in a milder form. The importance of the *principalia* in organizing the Philippine fiesta is a distinct difference between most of the fiesta of Mexico where the organizational and administrative aspects of the event are disdained by the more prominent citizens. If the fiesta is to be more effectively used as a way of giving the people increased experience in committee work, the organizational aspects need to be broadened to include more individuals outside the *principalia*. Whether this can be accomplished, however, under the present systems of social stratification in the Philippines is somewhat dubious.

[7] In a penetrating and provocative article, Lansang states the lack of experience of most Filipinos with "so elementary a democratic tool as the committee of conference." Jose Lansang, "The Philippine-American Experiment, a Filipino View," *Pacific Affairs*, 25:233, September, 1952.

20: Hart E-5 (195.) 1954 OA1 Philippines
Central Bisayan OA 14



In 1838 the Spaniards in Siaton told all the Filipinos to stay inside their homes on an appointed day. Population officials visited each residence on this day with an alphabetical list of names. Each family was given a family name.[50] The administration of Siaton, the tax accounts and other official records, were complicated by the lack of the people having a family name. There were many men known simply as Francisco, nicknamed Esco or Escong, often making it necessary for double nicknames to distinguish all the Escongs--such as Escongyawa. There are still communities in the Philippines where the people have family names that appear to have come from the same page of an alphabetical list.[51]

## FROM 1845 TO THE PHILIPPINE REVOLUTION

In 1849 Tomas Mezquita succeeded Omedillas as the parish priest of Siaton. At this time the Siaton parish covered about 60 miles, from Zamboanguita to the Sicopon

[50] In this matter Gadiane is inconsistent for family names are given for capitans beginning in 1831. After Francisco Sugboanon came capitans Alejandro (1821-22); Felix (1823-24); Clemente (1825-26); Francisco Sugboanon (1827-28), re-elected; Etib (1829-30); Cayetano Cadingan (1831-32), first capitan with a family name; Celestino Makagig (1833-34); Etib (1835-36), re-elected; and Juan Jarnaes (1837-38).

[51] Most of the family names of the later leaders of Bonbonon cluster: Gajigan, Capoli, Garnaes, Janala, Jandug, Jangar, Japoli, Padunar, Pagulas, Paladar, Palagar, Palalomas, and Palalon. Since C and J are often interchangeable in Cebuano, such names as Capoli and Japoli were once probably identical.

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widespread damage and destroying the poblacion stone church. In 1877 Lucas Ege was re-elected capitan.[84] It is obvious that the Eges were a prominent family in the poblacion. Lucas or Francisco Ege were capitans for ten out of a seventeen-year period. In 1877 Lucas Ege began the reconstruction of the stone church. This church was damaged by an earthquake in 1897 and largely destroyed by an earthquake in 1925.

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In 1879 Telesforo Tayko was elected capitan; his political career culminated in his election as a congressman to the national government in Manila during the American period.[85] This is the first mention of the Tayko family which has been active until this day in community affairs, often dominating the political life of the locality.

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In 1887, when Telesforo Tayko was re-elected capitan, a Spanish commissioner, Manuel Bugarin, arrived in Siaton. This year is called pongkol (cut) by Cadiane because of the graft of Bugarin in collecting the taxes.

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[84] With the end of Lucas Ege's term as capitan, he was followed by Antonio Gabriel, nicknamed "Kibotkibot" (probably the same person as Gabriel Kibotkibot, 1861-62); Francisco Ege, who served two consecutive terms (1863-66); Angel Gajonera, nicknamed "Andres" (1867-68); Damasao Ragudo (1869-70); Mariano Galabay, nicknamed "Baho" (1871-72); Francisco Ege, his third term (1873-74); Rosindo Kinamot, nicknamed "Balangka," re-elected (1875-76); and Lucas Ege, second term (1877-78).

[85] After Tayko's election as capitan in 1879 he was followed in office by Andres Ege (1881-82); Damasao Ragudo (1883-84); Angel Gajonera (1885-86); and Telesforo Tayko was re-elected in 1887. In 1889-90 Lucas Ege became capitan for the third time.

to build a new school in the poblacion. He told the people to collect the materials for the building and selected the plaza as the site. The parish priest, Jorje Carcabilla, objected to the erection of the school on land that belonged to the church.

A bitter struggle between the two leaders followed. The quarrel over the school was secondary; the root of the disagreement was the conflict between the parish priest and the commandant over the management of local affairs and the accession of heirs of the Spanish throne. The political rivalries of Spain were carried to the Philippines. Carcabilla was a supporter of the Carlista party and Torres of the Isabelina party who were then quarreling over the accession rights of Isabel and Carlos, King Ferdinand's children.

Gadiane describes the priest as "cruel, like a soldier," but he is an obvious admirer of Torres. The priest emerged victorious in this dispute and classes continued to be held in the old school building. This victory of the parish priest over the commandant of the Guardia Civil indicates the power the priests then wielded in the Philippines.

Zaide writes that the average parish priest during the Spanish period was "virtual ruler of the town."[106]

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[106] Zaide, The Philippines Since the British Invasion, p. 163.

20: Hart E-5 (1951) 1954 OA1 Philippines
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There was hardly a branch of the local government to which the influence of the priest did not extend, directly or indirectly. He was the inspector of primary schools, the town censor, honorary president of all local government committees, a member of the town council, assisted in choosing the local officers (technically without a vote), signed all certificates of election, participated in decisions to build public works, and even had the authority to decide at what hour the town council would assemble.[107] The priests of Siaton parish were not atypical.

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Gadiane writes of the schooling he received in Siaton poblacion during the latter part of the 19th century.

> Here was the real study. There were many students. You were given three days to learn a lesson. If you did not learn your lesson you were told to lie on your stomach on a bench and you were whipped three times. If you were absent from class the number of days you were absent was doubled and you were whipped this many times.

A great deal of time appears to have been spent in studying Spanish.

> If you did not speak Spanish in the class and outside in the yard we were in danger of being punished if someone reported us. If we were discovered or reported not speaking Spanish we were whipped six times, [i.e., given six lashes]. We had a Spanish

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[107] Report of the Philippine Commission to the President. Washington, D.C., Government Printing Office, I, 1900, pp. 57-8. This report is often called the "Schurman Report" after the head of the Commission, Jacob Gould Schurman. Hereafter cited as Philippine Commission Report, I, 1900.

been living as common-law couples, to baptize and confess the unbaptized and unconfessed, rarely reach as many people in the more isolated barrios as in Caticugan. At least, in one specific case the mission was partly responsible for abandonment of the dulot by a Naga family.

Children of Caticugan can more readily get a formal education than the children of Casala-an or Apoloy. In these northern communities the parents who wish a complete elementary education for their children must make arrangements to room and board them in the poblacion. For the children of Caticugan school is only a short walk from home. The young people of Caticugan have greater access to newspapers and magazines, to the poblacion reading center, and the radio, than the youngfolk of the northern barrios where illiteracy is prevalent.

The barriofolk, particularly the younger generation, are very sensitive about being called "country hicks" by their more sophisticated poblacion friends. For example, one reason why most young people of Caticugan dislike abaca clothing is that the homewoven material is a symbol of a rustic. To the better educated residents of the poblacion the dulot is a "pagan practice" and most of them have no scruples about ridiculing those who practice it. As a result many of the barriofolk are ashamed of the dulot yet not convinced that it is safe to abandon it. Stories of those who have stopped the dulot without any serious consequences are matched by tales of persons who have fallen ill for the same reason.

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members of the family. Two men with the assistance of the man and his son could have done the job. The meal was prepared by the husband while his wife scoured the barrio for items for the post hole ceremony. (See Chapter VIII.) The palihog started around noon and lasted about two hours, although the job took less than an hour; after finishing the men ate and talked. Later several of their wives and children arrived to eat lunch.

In part, the decline of the bolhon and palihog is due to the fact that Caticugan's population has increased relatively to cultivated land. Many fields have been subdivided among heirs; thus the fields became smaller and there was less need for cooperative activities. [178]

Post-war inflation discourages the bolhon and palihog. As a young man said: "The palihog costs too much today. It is cheaper to hire people and pay them wages." The rise in wages has been less than the increase in food costs. One can hire a farm worker in Caticugan today for fifty cents and two meals a day; several decades ago the wage for a day's work was about thirty cents. Prices of corn, rice, pig and cattle have more than tripled.

There are some cooperative activities that tradition perpetuates although hired labor could accomplish the job more cheaply. Prestige and social standing may be gained from holding these activities; this factor was not entirely absent in the motivation for the palihog just described. (See Chapter VII.) Most of the barriofolk of Caticugan, however, consider the cost first in getting help in their fields or to repair or construct dwellings. [554]

51:Hart E-3 (1950-1952)1954 OAI Philippines
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666 of the 'poblacion', thanks to the deep and abiding interest of congressman.. in the welfare and well-being of the community.

A top government official of Negros Oriental province stated in his message printed in one fiesta program that he would be unable to attend the event because:

> I am leaving for Manila soon in the interest and welfare of our province.

The congressman of one of the districts of Negros Oriental praised a local official in his fiesta message, stating he

> (official's name) . . . , is the guiding star that points to me the things needed by this town and hence I can say safely that the improvements and beautification of (the town) . . . is due mostly to the endeavor and sacrifices of our beloved. . . . (official's name).

The former Vice-President of the Philippines in his message printed on one fiesta program urged that the people work together because:

> Communal solidarity is necessary for the success of this affair just as national unity is essential for the growth of a nation. . . . To promote this unity, it is imperative for us to cultivate a community spirit against the factors that cause dissension and disorder among the people—corrupt practices of officials and individuals alike, such as abuse of authority and profiteering practiced by opportunists on the helpless masses. These corruptions can be remedied by the combined efforts on the part of the government authorities and the people.

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554 The fiestas stimulate local commercial activities. All who can afford it, and many who cannot, buy a new dress or a pair of trousers, clothing for the children, get a permanent wave, or purchase large supplies of food for their expected guests. Some Filipinos will borrow money or mortgage their land in order to have the means to entertain properly their visitors during the annual fiesta. So much personal and family prestige is involved that few measures are too drastic for some to maintain the expected level of hospitality: this is particularly true in the *poblacions*. Frugalities of the year, the penny-pinching to make ends meet, the saving for the unknown exigencies of the future, are discarded by many Filipinos for several days of "fun and frolic," of living fully.

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443 To the *poblacions* and *barrios*, even such as Caticugan but less so, come many itinerant vendors selling a variety of wares, normally unavaila-

Echauz concludes his short account with a description of a religious sacrifice by this group.

The wealth of Negros' growing sugar industry made plundering forages to the lowland quite profitable. The large estates of the hacenderos were rich prizes. William Taft reported:

> In the Spanish times forces of a thousand to fifteen hundred men [Babaylanes] was not at all unusual. They...made forays down into the rich sugar haciendas that are in West Negros and sometimes to the rich planters of eastern Negros [probably at San Carlos and the Bais-Tanjay area] ..."[148]

The contrast between the rich and the poor was especially vivid in western Negros. The wealth of the hacenderos grew with the expansion of sugar agriculture. One American observer, writing in 1901, commented:

> The situation in the Island is somewhat similar to that in Europe during the Middle Ages,--the great families rule the land. The Lazuriaggas [Luzuriagas], the Mapas, the Lacsons, are the Capulets and Montagues of the Island of Negros.[149]

Many of the sugar planters exploited their workers, as was the custom throughout the islands, and most of the abuses that existed during the Spanish period continued under the Negros Republic. The rapidly growing population of Negros increased the number of landless farmers who probably looked enviously on the great holdings of the hacenderos.

The Babaylanes raided and stole from Spaniards and Filipinos alike. They had a set tariff of blackmail which

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[148] Senate Document No. 4242, p. 14.

[149] W. F. Norris, "Legal Conditions in the Island of Negros," The Green Bag, XIV, No. 1, (January, 1902), p. 20.

River valley. Several landlords, residents of the poblacion, have sizeable holdings in Dolog or Common, and part of their share of the corn, rice, or peanuts raised by their tenants is sold for cash. None of these landlords, could in any sense of the word be considered wealthy. The "cash crops" of Caticugan are coconuts, vegetables and guhang, an alcoholic beverage made from the sap of the buri palm. For the majority of the people, guhang is probably the most important of these few "cash crops."

The remainder of this chapter discusses (1) agricultural calendar; (2) caingins; (3) lowland rice and corn agriculture; (4) the manufacture of guhang; (5) minor single crops of Caticugan (coconuts, cassava, camotes, etc.); (6) vegetables and other garden crops (tangkong, tobacco, etc.); (7) farm animals; (carabao, cattle, chickens, etc.); (8) cooperative labor groups; and (9) local agricultural extension activities. Plate XXI shows the land use patterns of Caticugan.[1]

## THE AGRICULTURAL CALENDAR OF CATICUGAN

The agricultural calendar of the barriofolk of Caticugan is synchronized with the seasons of southern Negros. Except for a small irrigated area in Barrio Caticugan, the farmers are totally dependent on precipitation of the southwest monsoon. The agricultural calendar should be read with these climatic conditions in mind. (See Chapter II.) The calendar, of course, varies a

1 [See p. 272, cat. 116 -- Analyst]

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assumption of certain skills by local specialists who are paid a cash wage.

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Table XXXVIII[1] illustrates the itemized costs of three different dwellings built in Caticugan in 1951.[10] House C's cost probably comes closer to the cost of the typical Caticugan dwelling than the other two dwellings. This house had two rooms--sala and kitchen--lacked wooden shutters, cement post supports, and little lumber was used. Table XXXIX[1] lists the items and cost of building a poblacion dwelling inhabited by a Siaton municipal official. No bamboo or nipa were used; the cost of the two dwellings illustrate the difference in dwellings between Caticugan barriofolk and Siaton principalia.

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The owner of House C did not hire any carpenters; he held a palihog that cost eight dollars. The work accomplished by palihog assistants could have been done in half a day by two laborers. The palihog, in this case, is an example of how "... the prestige factor inherent in the giving of a feast compensates for the lessened efficiency and the lower return."[11] While precise figures cannot be

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1 [See p. 667 ff, cat. 435 or 342--Analyst]

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[10] Some men of Caticugan make extra money by working for lumber firms in Dumaguete. For example, a father and son in Barrio Caticugan were hired by one firm to cut first-class timber (salay, gisok, sembulawan, yakal, and amoning) in the mountains a day's walk from their home. They were paid eight cents per board foot with an additional two cents per board foot for bringing the lumber from Pinac-an (where they worked a permit issued to the Dumaguete lumber firm) to the poblacion. Another group of four men in Barrio Caticugan worked four days cutting lumber from felled trees in the nearby mountains; they earned a total of twenty-five dollars, or a daily wage of about one dollar and fifty-five cents. These were the only two groups hired to cut timber in Caticugan.

[11] Melville F. Herskovits, Economic Anthropology: A Study in Comparative Economics. New York, Alfred A. Knopf, 1952, p. 107.

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in handicrafts, an attitude usually transmitted by craftsmen to their children, have largely disappeared. Often inferior articles made in the United States are preferred to Philippine-made articles, even when the latter are of better materials and more careful workmanship. The most promising long-range program needed to raise barrio living standards is to increase the productivity of their major activity--more and better farmed land with more abundant harvests.

51:Hart E-3 (1950-1952)1954 OAl Philippines
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527 443 ble in the local stores. There are rosaries, religious pictures, ice cream, novel candies, etc. This is the time when the girls and women from the *barrios* make great mounds of rice cakes and sell them at the local fiestas, adding the small profit to the family exchequer. Some of the women from Caticugan went as far away as the fiestas of Giliga-on and Bonawon to sell their food, *guhang* (a mildly alcoholic drink made from the fermented sap of the buri palm), and vegetables. They set up little "cafes" near the fiesta area where one might buy food or drink. Vendors from Dumaguete come to the *barrios*, and particularly the *poblacions*, with their merchandize, establishing their temporary stalls along the roads near the cockpit or gambling area. A lucky catch in a *bonsod* (fish coral) during a *poblacion* fiesta can bring the owner a small fortune overnight.

527 436 The circulation of currency in the *barrios* — where the barter system is still prominent — is at its height during the fiesta. The vendors and gamblers and other activities of the fiesta require money; one cannot barter for a place at the gambling table or for admission to the dance. This is when the bamboo banks are broken and the money used to purchase the necessary fiesta supplies. The fiesta is one of the relatively few occasions (others are weddings, funerals, etc.) when the barriofolk slaughter pigs, goats, cattle and even carabaos. The family "fiesta pig" is killed for *lechon*, having been fattening all year. There is more fish and fresh meat in the market places than at any other time of the year. Young people often go to the city to earn sufficient money to spend during fiesta. The fiesta has become a secular, in ways commercial, enterprise, which requires currency in order for one to participate in many activities. During most of the year, many of the barriofolk in Caticugan earn or spend little money; they barter their way from one need to another need.

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517 181 In summary, the *barrio* or *poblacion* fiesta complex has a variety of functions. *First*, the fiesta is the "big blow-out" of the year, anticipated by young and old for often different reasons. There is a singing gaiety in the air, a lightness of step, and a mood of relaxation in a fiesta-invaded locality. As the writer was once told at a fiesta: "This is the time when 'thanks' is redundant." Second, the fiesta affords many persons, particularly in the *poblacion*, an opportunity to validate their social position through a conspicious consumption of wealth, a lavish expression of hospitality. This association of hospitality with food may be traced back to the pre-Spanish culture of the Filipinos. Municipal and provincial officials, prominent visitors and other guests, are treated with extravagant courtesy and an overabundance of generosity. *Third*, the fiesta is an econo-

20: Hart E-5 (195.) 1954 OAI Philippines
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until 1940 when he was defeated for re-election by Telesforo Tayko, the brother of Fidel and Bautista and the great grandson of the first Telesforo Tayko. Bautista was elected mayor in 1951. In the 1953 presidential election there were 3,604 registered voters in Siaton municipality.

The Rivera-McMillan report states that 57 per cent of the population twenty-one years old and over in the thirteen barrios surveyed voted in the 1951 general election.[166] The presidential election of 1953 was more controversial and attracted a larger number of voters. Yet only 20 per cent of the people of Siaton registered and probably fewer voted in 1953. The people of Siaton are not as politically active as the barriofolk of the communities surveyed by Rivera and McMillan. One major factor for this condition is inadequate transportation and communication facilities. All voting booths, for example, are located in barrios along the National Road which makes it difficult for people to vote who live in the more isolated settlements of Siaton municipality.

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For the period 1879-1952, nearly three-fourths of a century, the capitans, presidentes, and mayors of Siaton municipality for fifty years of this period were members of the Tayko family. From 1897 to 1952 a Tayko was the top municipal official for forty-two of the fifty-five years. The dominance of the highest political

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[166] Rivera and McMillan, The Rural Philippines, p. 44.

office in Siaton by this family is quite apparent; this does not include other political and civil offices held by the Taykos such as the justice of the peace or chief of police. The control of local political affairs by one prominent family is typical of the Philippines; Siaton merely reflects what is a fairly common pattern.

The Japanese Invasion and Occupation of Negros

On December 8, 1941, the Japanese began their invasion of the Philippines, bombing various airfields and military installations throughout the archipelago. Two days later Japanese troops landed at Vigan and Aparri in Luzon. Davao, Mindanao, was invaded December 20 by the Miura Detachment, a reinforced Japanese infantry regiment. They had no difficulty in establishing a firm perimeter defense around Davao, which served as an advance base for the invasion of Indonesia.

News of the Japanese invasion reached Siaton and the mayor instructed the people to place palm leaves on the tin roofs of the church, municipio, and school buildings, for on moonlight nights the roofs shone like polished silver. A volunteer group of men over sixteen years of age was formed to patrol the beaches. Sharp bamboo sticks were placed along the shore and in the water by the people as their forefathers had done once to protect their homes from the Moros.

As the tensions due to the imminence of a Japanese invasion increased, some of the more prominent residents

51:Hart E-3 (1950-1952)1954 OA1 Philippines
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796 or their supporters which represent a certain number of votes. The candidate selling the most tickets wins the honor of being the "Queen" of
541 the fiesta, the runners-up are the "Princesses" or the "Queen's 'damas.'"
[557] In the larger *poblacions* and cities these contests became elaborate affairs and the candidates' parents or relatives may spend thousands of pesos to make their daughter the "Queen". In these areas, the contest is more often a struggle within the small elite than within the community as a whole.

796 The organization of each fiesta is done by various committees, a method which gives Filipinos, particularly those living in *barrios*, some valuable experience in committee work—one basic aspect of democracy in action.[7]
[369] Committee organization increases in size and complexity as one moves from the small *barrio* fiesta to large urban fiestas. There are usually the following committees in most fiestas: executive or board of directors; arches (to build the bamboo-paper decorated arches under which the patron saint is carried during the procession); athletics (to arrange for various competitive sports); auditorium and decoration (to build a temporary dancing area, especially in the *barrios*, or prepare and decorate the plaza or schoolhouse); beauty or popularity contest; dance; decorations (often listed as "all lady teachers" whose responsibility is to decorate the church and altar); finance and audit (usually chaired by the municipal treasurer); invitation and reception; lights (sometimes such a committee must arrange to rent a generator to supply electricity during the fiesta period); music; parade; publicity; program; and patrons and donors (to obtain prizes for the various contests held during the fiesta).

796 The membership of the *barrio*, and particularly the *poblacion*, fiesta
565 committees is largely composed of the *principalia*—the more prominent people of the community. In the *barrio*, social and economic stratification is not as visible or complex as in the *poblacion*; but it exists, nevertheless, in a milder form. The importance of the *principalia* in organizing the Philippine fiesta is a distinct difference between most of the fiesta of Mexico where the organizational and administrative aspects of the event are disdained by the more prominent citizens. If the fiesta is to be more effectively used as a way of giving the people increased experience in committee work, the organizational aspects need to be broadened to include more individuals outside the *principalia*. Whether this can be accomplished, however, under the present systems of social stratification in the Philippines is somewhat dubious.

[7] In a penetrating and provocative article, Lansang states the lack of experience of most Filipinos with "so elementary a democratic tool as the committee of conference." Jose Lansang, "The Philippine-American Experiment, a Filipino View," *Pacific Affairs*, 25:233, September, 1952.

thornless bamboo (Kawayan) for the corn dulot. To these crosses are attached bits of Bendita palm blessed during Palm Sunday in the poblacion church and a few rice stalks and heads from the paddy to be harvested. One cross is partly pushed into the earth while the Lord's Prayer is recited by the woman holding the lihi. This woman is often the wife of the owner of the paddy or of a tenant farmer. When this prayer is finished the cross is pushed farther into the ground and a prayer is said to the Virgin Mary. Responses to this prayer are given by the women who accompany the leader. After the two prayers are finished the groups cross themselves. Each time upon completing a prayer, the cross is pushed deeper into the earth. These two prayers are repeated three times (ideally) for each cross. Then the group proceeds counter-clockwise around the paddy; the ceremonies are repeated at the remaining three crosses. Some women recite the Apostle's Creed instead of the Lord's Prayer.

This lihi is nearly always done by women. One man said he often performed his own pre-harvest rice lihi but "my daughter loves to make it." One reason why the men do not perform this lihi is that most of them have not memorized the necessary prayers. Another factor which explains the predominant role of women in these agricultural ceremonies was given by one woman who bluntly stated: "When the rice is ready for harvest the men do not care anymore." The general male indifference and lack of participation in these agricultural practices in Caticugan reflects indifference to the religious affairs in general.

51:Hart E-3 (1950-1952)1954 OA1 Philippines
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796 565 562 pines is somewhat dubious. Usually the executive committee is composed of the mayor or other municipal officials, schoolteachers, and prominent merchants in the larger *poblacions*. In a survey made of 28 different fiestas held in 16 different *poblacions*, the executive committee was almost always completely dominated by men. In certain committees, such as decoration, invitation, reception, dances, and prizes, there are normally more women than men, yet *the chairman* of these committees is usually a man. Very few women are included in the finance and audit committees of the fiesta. The Filipina's privilege of controlling the family purse-strings is not extended to the management of fiesta finances.

The predominance of men on the fiesta committees is due to a number of factors. Men, with their greater physical strength, are more appropriate as members of such committees engaged in building arches, constructing a dance platform, etc. Women, traditionally assigned certain positions in Philippine society, are the logical choice (culturally) for committees needed to decorate the church altar (making lovely paper flowers, a skill taught them by the older generation of Spanish priests), etc. Yet the predominance of males over females in the rural fiesta organization reflects another factor, i. e., the secular nature of the complex. Catholicism in the *barrios* and *poblacions* is primarily feminine. In those sacred aspects of the fiesta the women normally predominate, yet the contemporary fiesta is a complex which falls largely within the sphere of masculine activities. There are many other interesting and significant aspects of the Philippine fiesta which merit attention but cannot be dealt with here owing to space limitations.

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796 The material which follows is a "reconstruction" of the "fiesta core," *vesperas* and *kahalogan*. This "core" is typical of nearly all of the fiestas observed by the writer in Negros Oriental province and of those fiestas analyzed through their printed fiesta programs. Variations in the fiesta complex do occur before or after this "core" with some fiestas having a formal program covering as much as eight days. The fiesta's length is often increased by synchronizing it with other events such as a provincial Boy Scout meeting, the opening of a new bridge in the area, etc. Another difficulty inherent in this "reconstruction" of the fiesta complex "core" is that it blurs differences between small *barrio* and larger, more urban *poblacion* fiestas. This reconstruction is more typical of a medium-size urban *poblacion* than a typical small *barrio* or sitio.

*Vesperas*, the day before *kahalogan* is also called "Proclamation Day," "Eve of the Fiesta," or "Fiesta Vesperas," although in the printed fiesta programs the most common title is "Proclamation Day"—when the elected

Filipino had written, "... a good customer is offered free rides...by the Chinese."[57] This is also true in Siaton. Often a Chinese merchant is forced to overload his truck with people wanting free rides; otherwise, as one Chinese merchant of Siaton told me, he might find his tires slashed the next day by a disgruntled would-be-rider. No Siaton resident owned an automobile in 1951, although before the last war several of the more affluent merchants had private cars.

The Philippine bus, called "trucks" by the people in Siaton, does a herculean job in the Republic.

> With the few private automobiles, for the use of only a very small share of the population, the bus has become far more important than in many countries. Generally speaking, Philippine bus-transport economy compares with that of almost any place in the world. Likewise it compares in services to its customers. Except for a few of the long-run 'limited' schedules, a bus will stop anywhere to pick up or discharge passengers. Most lines will carry any small cargo on the ticket, often include freight in small consignments on their regular runs, and operate fairly fast schedules. Most busses are regular truck-rolling stock, with Philippine-built bodies adapted to people of smaller girth and stature than most Americans.[58]

Though normally the busses are overcrowded, dusty, and maintained with makeshift repairs, without them the mobility of the average Filipino would be greatly reduced. The overwhelming dependence of the average Filipino in southern Negros in 1952 on the public transport system is shown in

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[57] "The Chinese Question." A series of letters from various readers in the Philippines Free Press, XLIII, No. 29 (July 26, 1952), p.3. Underlining by writer.

[58] Spencer, op. cit., p.80.

when copra prices fall school enrollments decrease. For the most part, the Chinese control the buying and selling of copra. Their trucks come from Dumaguete to pick up copra from stores where Filipinos sell their small crops.

The Northern Corn-Coconut region begins in the south with Manjuyod municipality and continues to the north to Canlaon and Vallehermoso municipalities. A northern extension of this region includes Negros Occidental's eastern littoral. Both the southern and northern municipalities of this region are transitional to sugar cane agriculture. This northern region is larger than the Southern Corn-Coconut area; the former has about 743 square miles of which 239 square miles (32 per cent) are actively cultivated.

Many geographic factors typical of the southern region also characterize the Northern Corn-Coconut region. There is less level land in the northern region; the small riverine floodplains and narrow littoral account for most of it. While annual precipitation is greater than in the southern region, the northern area also is subject to droughts. Transportation facilities are not as adequate as in the south, and the northern region lacks an adequate port. The only sizeable port is at Guihulngan where shallow-draft inter-island ships stop. The rest of the coast is lined with shallow inshore waters or offshore coral reefs.

Population densities are greater in the northern region with an average density of 289 persons per

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CB 175* 161

is the more accurate; the writer is inclined to accept the more detailed estimate of Buzeta and Bravo. Even the larger population estimate would have meant that in 1850 Negros had a population density of only twelve persons per square mile. By 1850 six Recollect fathers and eleven curas insulares (Filipino lay assistants) lived in Negros.

CB 175* 731

In 1851 Basilio Kirit, nicknamed Bacoro, was elected capitan and some roads were built in the poblacion. In 1861 a severe cholera epidemic hit Siaton and killed many of the inhabitants. Marco gives a vivid account of this epidemic that swept Negros.[54] It appears to have been introduced to Negros from Panay and later spread throughout the archipelago.[55]

The Non-Christians of Siaton

CB 563 •

BP 131 161 142 437 484

During the Spanish period there were an estimated 300 Negritos (or Atas) living in the mountains near Siaton. The last Negrito group to visit the poblacion was in the 1930's who told the people originally they had come from Panay (Antique province). Informants in Siaton are still living who remember the Negritos and reported that "they were not very black but we could tell they were Atas by their hair." The Negritos came to the lowlands to barter medicinal roots, honey, rattan, and similar items, for rice corn and clothing.

[54]Marco, op. cit., pp. 99-100.

[55]Frederic H. Sawyer, The Inhabitants of the Philippines. London, Marston S. Low, 1900, p. 398.

BISAYAS PAGANS OA11 CB 563 BP 431

items, for rice, corn, and clothing. One old woman, still living in Naga, said the Negritos she knew when young were very clever.

> They would barter salay bark [(Zanthoxylum integrifoliolum (Merr.) Merr.)] for kolinos bark or ungali [(Uraria rufa Blume)] roots for pauli roots [(Cleidion spiciflorum (Blum. F.) Merr.)] if you did not watch them closely. CB 563 BP 101

The non-Negrito pagan groups living in the mountains of southern Negros are known by a variety of names, Loog ("People who do not associate with civilized people"), Montese and Bukidnon ("Hill or mountain people"), and Ambak. I never saw any of these pagan Filipinos in southern Negros, although they do come to the lowlands to trade in Tolong. During the Spanish period these primitive people were said to have bushy hair, wore abaca headbands, and G-strings. Never without a bolo, they decorated their spears with horsehair, and used bows and arrows. BP [142] [291] [411]

Probably this is the group Beyer cites as living in the Tablas plateau; they appear to be an Indonesian type with some Negrito mixture. In pre-Hispanic days the Indonesians from the south sailed "through the Visayas and the Batanes to Taiwan to trade gold, pearls, and livestock. They went through the Visayan seas to Cebu--then the capital of these isles."[56] Intermarriage CB 563 BP 101 144

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[56] Ahmed Ibn Parfahn, "Are the Filipinos Indonesians?" The Philippine Herald, Manila, (July 12, 1952), p. 4.

between the Negritos and lowland Filipinos had occurred in the pre-Spanish period. When the Spaniards reached western Negros (Bago, Himamaylan, Binalbagan, etc.) many people were living there who had intermarried with Negritos.[57] Some of these people may have moved south into the Tablas plateau.[58]

The Bukidnons, as they are most commonly called today, practiced sandugo or blood brothership.[59] This custom was still in force in the 1920's among Bukidnon living in the mountains above Barrio Manalong-on, Sta. Catalina. A Naga informant who had lived among them while stripping abaca reported:

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[57]Marco, op. cit., p. 23.

[58]In 1952 the first preliminary survey of these people living in the vicinity of the Tablas plateau was made by Professor Timoteo Oracion. He studied a group of about 200 Magahats, as they are locally known, in Tolong municipality. "An Introduction to the Culture of the Magahats of the Upper Tayabanan River Valley, Tolong, Negros Oriental, Philippines." Unpublished Master's thesis, University of Chicago, January, 1952. Typescript.

[59]Sandugo, a pre-Spanish custom, is described by Chirino in the first part of the 17th century. "Those who made peace in the name of the rest, and established the pact of perpetual friendship, pricked and wounded their own arms; the Indians sucking the blood of the Spaniard, and the Spaniard that of the Indian. In this wise they became as if of the same blood, and were closer than brothers. These are called sandugo, which means 'consanguineous', or 'of the same blood.'" Pedro Chirino, "Relacion de las Islas Filipinas y de lo que en ellas," ("Relation of the Filipinas Islands and of what has there been Accomplished by the Fathers of the Society of Jesus"), Rome, 1604. Translated in Blair and Robertson, op. cit., XII, pp. 185-6.

Bisayas Pagans OA11



CB 563 BP 608

Sandugo is when one man makes a small cut in another man's arm and drinks the blood and the other man does the same thing. Then they call each Sandugo or Igso [an abbreviated form of Igso-on, i.e., brother] among friends. A Sandugo can tell if one of his Sandugos is back-biting [criticizing] him. I do not know how. Maybe it is because they have drunk each other's blood.

CB 563 BP 438

During the later Spanish period few Bukidnons lived in the hills near Siaton poblacion. The Guardia Civil patrolled the hills and were said to shoot any Bukidnon on sight.[60] During the American period, as a few informants could remember from their youth, Bukidnons came to barter honey and rattan for corn and rice. A man named Tacio, a former resident of Salag, was reported to have had many Bukidnon friends. They often came to Salag to get him to settle their quarrels. A few stories were told by the barriofolk of Bukidnons coming to the lowland to steal grain and animals. Most of the barriofolk regard the Bukidnons as inferior humans.[61]

CB [86]

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[60] The constabulary force organized in 1869 was called the Guardia Civil. Sawyer writes they "...were well paid and were dressed in a very smart and neat uniform...They were armed with Remington rifles and bayonets, and in addition carried a heavy chopping knife." By 1880 there were three divisions of the Guardia Civil, one being stationed in the Visayan region. The district office was in the district capitol, company headquarters in the provincial capitols, and detachments were sent to areas where they were needed. Sawyer, op. cit., p. 28; G. Zaide, The Philippines Since the British Invasion, pp. 156-7; Dean C. Worcester, The Philippines: Past and Present. New edition in one volume with biographical sketch and four additional chapters by Ralston Hayden. New York, Macmillan, 1930, pp. 308-9.

CB 625

[61] The Caticugan barriofolk refer to Christian Filipinos living in the mountains as Bukidnons.

CB [10]

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For the barriofolk of Caticugan and the residents of Siaton poblacion today the Negritos and Bukidnons are people who are seldom discussed and rarely seen.

Siaton's first Chinese settled in the poblacion during the Spanish period, two unrelated bachelors who had been born in Amoy. Opening stores in the poblacion, they soon married local girls. By 1932 there were reported to be six "full-blooded" Chinese storekeepers in the poblacion while in 1953 there were only four Chinese merchants. Two of these Chinese were mestizos and the other two were born in Canton.

In 1951, under the Alien Registration Act, 850 Chinese living in Negros Oriental registered at Dumaguete. This figure did not include Chinese mestizos or Chinese who are naturalized citizens of the Republic. Of the 850 Chinese who registered, less than 10 per cent were Cantonese, the rest emigrants from southern Fukien. Cheng writes: "In the case of Dumaguete, most of the Fukienese came from the island of Amoy in the southern part of the province, with a smaller number coming from neighboring villages and hsiens [towns or administrative districts] of Lungki and Tsinkiang in sharp contrast with Manila where the reverse is true."[62] At present the

[62] Thomas S. Cheng, "A Cultural Study of the Chinese Community," Silliman University, Dumaguete City, Negros Oriental, March 26, 1951, p. 3. Unpublished student report; typescript. Cheng calls Lungki by its former name, Changchow, and refers to Chuanchow now better known as Tsinkiang. Webster's Geographical Dictionary. Springfield, Massachusetts, G. & C. Merriam Company, 1949, pp. 641 and 1163.

largest stores in Siaton poblacion are operated by the Chinese as are the only two bakeries.[63] On the whole, the Chinese do not mix socially with the poblacion principalia (prominent persons).

The Spaniards called the Chinese Sangley from the Amoy word Sengli, i.e., trade.[64] In Siaton and Negros, the Chinese are called Inchek.[65] During the Spanish period in Siaton the Chinese wore their national dress. "They had long black pants which blew in the wind and coiled their hair on top of their heads." At first their stores sold only cloth, ~~such as~~ blankets (coverings would be a better word) with dragon designs. They also sold large tadyaos (clay ~~jars~~) ~~with a~~ dragon design, used to make wine. Similar Chinese jars are fairly common among many of the primitive groups in the Philippines and are exceedingly costly. No such jars exist in Siaton today.

Sometimes the Chinese merchants fought among themselves. Then the Guardia Civil would tie the offenders' pig-tails together and drag them to jail. One incident was reported of a Chinese father who tried

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[63] In Manjuyod poblacion I visited a Chinese bakery and talked with the owner who said the Chinese from Macao and Canton are usually the bakers in Negros Oriental.

[64] Victor Purcell, The Chinese in Southeast Asia. Oxford University Press, 1951, p. 585.

[65] Cheng suggests two possible derivations of Inchek. First, when the Chinese were asked what was their race they jestingly replied to the questioner: "Their (in) uncle's (chek)." Second, that the Chinese referred to themselves as people of "foreign" (in) "nationality" (chek). Cheng, op. cit., p. 5.

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[847]

One incident was reported of a Chinese father who tried to drown his first child, a girl. The Siaton Chinese believed if their first child were a female their business would be unsuccessful. This Chinese was jailed and every Sunday, for one month, tied, whipped and driven around the poblacion by the Guardia Civil to be taunted by the populace. He later left the poblacion having "lost face."

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Every February (Chinese New Year) the Chinese merchants in Siaton poblacion would hold a gala celebration. They closed their stores and met to feast and frolic. Prominent poblacion officials were sent baskets of food and fruit and some were invited to Chinese homes for an elaborate dinner.

## Lucas Ege Founds Barrio Caticugan

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The first reference to Lucas Ege, founder of Barrio Caticugan, is his election as capitan in 1859.[66] His grandson, still living, said Lucas was born in the locality of Siaton but he did not know the birthplace of Ege's father. The land where Barrio Caticugan is now situated (not including Naga, Dangola, and Talo-ot) was owned by Father Celestino Romero, priest of Siaton parish. Romero succeeded Mezquita; the exact date is not known but it was before 1856.[67]

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[66] Capitan Kinkito was followed by Celestino Makagig (1841-42); Rosindo Kinamot (1843-44); Gabriel Kibotkibot, nicknamed "Antoy" (1845-46); Pedro Macolbacol, nicknamed "Padugo" (1847-48); Francisco Ege, nicknamed "Iton" (1853-54); Felipe Nacapanas, nicknamed "Anyag" (1855-56); Rosindo Kinamot, nicknamed "Balangka" (1857-58) and Lucas Ege (1859-60). These family names are still common in Siaton.

[67] Ruiz, op. cit., p. 151.

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occurred in Negros until 1873.[72] To this day, however, fear of the Moros exists among the people of the area; many of them believe that the only "good Moro is a dead one."

175* [563]

## The Growth of the Population of Negros: 1877

175* 161

The development of the sugar industry in Negros had two results. First, it became more important to establish law and order in the island for protection of the mills and growing wealth of the hacenderos. The Spanish officials in Manila began to take more interest in Negros and an attempt was made to stamp out outlaws. It was mainly the hacenderos who wished the protection of the American flag during the Philippine revolution, not because they were unsympathetic to the revolt against the United States but because they wished to protect their investments.

175* 161 464

Second, the development of the sugar-producing areas in Bais, San Carlos, and northern and western Negros made a larger labor force necessary. These workers were obtained, for the most part, from Panay, Cebu and Bohol. Echauz gives an interesting account of the recruiting of workers for the haciendas.[73] He writes of employers sending thirty or forty thousand pesos (one peso = fifty cents, U.S.A.) to Panay to requisition laborers.

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[72] Galang and Osias, op. cit., p. 405.

[73] Echauz, op. cit., pp. 83-5.

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wise because they had been capitans during the period taxes were not collected.

The carabaos, cattle, and horses collected by this group were driven to Dumaguete to be sold. Bugarin said he would manage their sale.

> It is really very pitiful because the result was that not even one-half of one centavo was recorded in the book of tax collections. This is a very long story and it makes one very angry and sorrowful to remember the many hardships which occurred during the visit of Bugarin.

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The cabezas who were unable to pay the required taxes were jailed in the tribunal, now called the municipio, where the local officials had their offices. "At eight in the morning the cabezas were dried under the heat of the sun like a line of fish for their elbows were tied together almost until noon."[87] They were required to pull the grass and weeds in the poblacion roads. Their carabaos, cattle, horses and fields were confiscated to pay delinquent taxes. Cadiane reminisces: "It is really a very pitiful remembrance of the race. It is really very painful to recall."

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Many of the Filipinos of Siaton remember the Spaniards who lived in their midst, including the priests, as cruel and arrogant persons. When a Filipino met a Spaniard he had to remove his hat, hold it behind his head, and bow or make a sign of respect. If this were not done, the

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87"Prisoners in charge of the Guardia Civil were always tied elbow to elbow." Worcester, op. cit., p. 309.

 CB 175* 563●

Spaniard might slap or kick him. An old informant who carried mail during the last part of the 19th century said he always avoided the Spaniards. If he saw one coming he would ride his horse in the opposite direction to avoid giving a sign of respect.

CB 175* 563 291 P 563 291

It was the custom of Spaniards not to permit Filipinos to wear their shirt-tails inside their pants. The Barong Tagalog, the national male costume of Filipinos, a finely-woven and embroidered shirt, is, Guerrero writes, "nothing but a shirt worn with its tails out." He continues by stating: "This seems to have been decried by the Spaniards to make it possible to tell at first glance who was a Spaniard, with the right to wear his shirt-tails properly tucked in, and who was an inferior 'indio.'"[88]

CB 563 175* 681.

One informant said when he was an altar boy for the priest he broke wind during mass. After the service the priest gave him a lashing for this unintentional act. Another informant told how the priest during mass would cry to the people who failed to kneel: "Oy, mga, carabao, lohod kamo!" (Oh, my carabaos, kneel!). If one was discovered possessing a Bible the book was confiscated and burned. Many of the people still believe today, as more did in the past, that to own a Bible may cause insanity.

[828, CB 563 175*

On the whole, the Spaniards regarded the Filipinos as children, to be civilized, according to Spanish concepts, and Christianized.

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[88] Leon Ma. Guerrero, "What Are Filipinos Like?", The Philippine Quarterly, I, No. 3 (December, 1951), pp. 5-6.

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> The legal status of the Indians [Filipinos] before the law was that of minors, and no provision was made [by the Spaniards] for their arriving at their majority. The clergy looked upon these wards of the State as school-children of the church, and compelled the observance of her ordinances even with the rod.[89]

While the Spanish administration of the Philippines often tolerated cunning exploitation of the Filipinos and overbearing arrogance on the part of many officials, it also legislated more systematically and benevolently to protect the "Indios" than did any other contemporary colonizing power.

There are still Filipinos who remember Spanish officials with kindness. Gadiane writes about Baldomores Torres, the commandant of the Guardia Civil in Siaton, for whom he worked as a clerk.

> He showed me a letter from Capitan-General Valeriano Weyler telling him to go to Dapitan [Mindanao] and from Dapitan to Manila. Capitan-General Weyler and the commandant were called back to Spain, maybe to go to Cuba where the people were revolting against Spain. He told me if he were not here for me to go to the new commandant's office once in awhile if he needed me. He told me further that you will know when I leave [the Philippines] because I shall just let Apolonario, my servant, write you. I asked him if his servant would go with him to Spain. He said if he likes. He left me a cane full of money with his name on it, Baldomero Torres.

A younger Filipino described the relationship of his group to one of the priests, Miguel Navarro:

> I would go to the church when the priest was my friend. In fact, one priest, Miguel Navarro, gave us money to buy a lechon pig because we had decorated the church for Flores de Mayo. We use to go to the convento to eat the priest's candy, fruit

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[89] Bourne, op. cit., pp. 76-7.

175* 565●

and drink his wine. One time we were practicing the rigodon for the fiesta in the convento. The priest was away. When he returned he did not scold us but he had a heavy face. He did not like it because we had profaned the sanctity of his abode.[90]

The Spaniards often both punished and rewarded the Filipinos; this led to an ambivalent attitude toward most of them that persists into the present.

## The Messianic Outlaws of Southern Negros

175* 668 579

Conditions worsened for both Filipinos and Spaniards during the last part of the 19th century. Hostility to Spanish rule increased among educated Filipinos. Filipino leaders were deported to penal colonies and innocent intellectuals were persecuted. As various political and social abuses were not abolished, a reaction known as the "Propaganda Movement" developed among Filipino leaders. This movement began in 1872 and ended two decades later when the revolutionary society, Katipunan, was founded.

Beginning with the 1870's a series of disturbances or uprisings occurred in various parts of the island. Some of these disturbances were due to bandits who lived in the mountains and robbed the people of the lowlands. These outlaws had existed since the early days of the Spanish administration of Negros. With the development

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[90]The rigodon is a quadrille first introduced at the Louis XIII's court and later diffused to Spain and eventually to the Philippines. Francisca R. Tolentino, Philippine National Dances. New York, Silver Burdett Company, 1946, p. 261.

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of many prominent Filipino leaders. This incident led to the famous "Cry of Balinatawak" when Bonifacio tore up his cédula receipt as a symbol of defiance to the Spanish government. The first real battle between Filipino and Spanish troops occurred at San Juan del Monte (Luzon) August 30, 1896. In September the revolt broke out in Panay and in November in Negros. The commandant of the Siaton Guardia Civil, Torres, was promoted to lieutenant colonel and ordered to go to Lanao, Mindanao. The Spanish lieutenant who replaced Torres was a heavy drinker and two months later was replaced by Lt. Tomas Arnaez, a Spanish officer who had married the daughter of the capitan of Bais. The treatment of the inhabitants in the poblacion by the Guardia Civil improved; Cadiane speculates: "Maybe it was because the wife of Arnaez was a Filipina."

In 1897 a severe earthquake followed by large waves rocked the Siaton area. The poblacion church was destroyed and from giant rents in the earth there issued sand and mud with the odor of gunpowder. It is almost certain that this earthquake mentioned by Cadiane was the great earthquake of September 21, 1897, in the Sea of Jolo. The shores of Zamboanga and Basilan Island were pounded by giant waves that inundated many villages.

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"Extraordinary sea movements were noticed all along the southwestern coast of Negros..."[116]

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This year Lt. Arnaez was transferred to Manila and another Spanish officer, with a family of thirteen children, arrived in Siaton. The children's attitude toward the Filipinos is described by Cadiane.

> The sons [of the lieutenant] could do anything they wished. Many of the people had swollen faces from blows received from these sons. Many would have their bodies badly bruised because one of the sons beat them for refusing to give them what they wanted. The sons were proud and cruel. They got anything from the people without payment...During these times we suffered boxings, beatings with a gun, and had our elbows tied together because we refused to give them things we possessed.

Their father, however, did punish the sons, by confining them in the barracks where the soldiers lived. The new lieutenant also became involved in a feud with the parish priest, the "local tyrant" as Cadiane describes him.

## The Philippine Revolution Against the United States

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Various attempts, all unsuccessful, were made by the Spanish to halt the mounting tide of revolution in the Philippines. The United States became involved in both the Cuban and Philippine rebellions; this resulted in the Spanish-American war. Dewey destroyed the Spanish fleet in Manila Bay May 1, 1898. The same day, probably

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[116] Saderra Masó, S.J., "Volcanoes and Seismic Centers," Census of the Philippines, 1903, I, pp. 217-8. During the same year the volcano Catarman on Camiguin Island became active. Masó writes: "Probably some of the feeble shocks felt at Cebu, Negros and Iloilo were connected...with this volcanic center."

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Influences that came from India, either through mainland Southeast Asia (Malaya or Champa) and directly to the Philippines, or indirectly from the southern islands of present-day Indonesia, are still apparent in Caticugan. The importance of astrology to determine the most opportune times for certain activities is typical of the Hinayana Buddhist countries of Burma and Thailand--and also China. Traces of art styles, first originating in India, can be seen in the Garuda-like heads on the bolos of Caticugan.

[787] [53]

Beyer believes that the "principal phases" of Neolithic culture reached the Philippines directly from northern and southern China. From this period to the present, Chinese contacts with the Philippines have continued. If there is little visible Chinese content in Caticugan, this also is typical of the Philippines as a whole. Kroeber writes: "There is scarcely an institution, piece of knowledge, or religious belief current in the Philippines that can be derived with certainty from China."[174] The Chinese were rarely interested in meddling or interfering with Filipino ways of living; they came as merchants and their impact was largely economic.[175]

[174] [563]

This is not to imply that the Chinese did not influence Philippine culture. Manuel documents the words

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[174] Kroeber, op. cit., p. 17.

[175] H. Otley Beyer, "Early History of Philippine Relations with Foreign Countries, Especially China" in Arsenio E. Manuel, Chinese Elements in the Tagalog Language. Manila, Filipiniana Publications, 1948, p. xvi.

consumer, it does not effectively stabilize the price the farmer receives for his rice. Farmer organizations or cooperatives are few in number and generally ineffective in helping the barriofolk. Those cooperatives that existed before the last war, for the most part, did not survive; at present there are only a few cooperatives connected with poultry and tobacco production. Cooper writes:

> Thus, most farmers have to depend upon private merchants. By having no control over marketing, the farmer cannot pledge his crop for credit until favorable market conditions prevail so he can obtain for himself the maximum amount for his crops. Instead this profit goes to middlemen.[22]

Aliens, particularly Chinese, control approximately 65 per cent of the marketing of Philippine agricultural products. Chinese control is not always due to business acumen and sharp practices, but often by Filipino default.

The majority of the seventeen registered financial organizations in the Philippines are located in Manila and confine their businesses to that general area. "Virtually all of their business is non-agricultural and is largely concentrated in import and export commerce."[23] Only two major institutions operate in the rural areas:

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[22] Ibid., p. 3.

[23] Ibid., p. 4.

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grammar translated into Visayan and also a big Spanish-Visayan dictionary. If you asked your teacher questions while the class was in session he might pull your ears or scold you. If you failed to answer questions on the lesson given you in the morning that afternoon you were given five lashes.[108]

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The school was mainly for the sons of the better-to-do Filipino who lived in the poblacion. Children from the nearby barrios rarely attended this school.

## THE PHILIPPINE REVOLUTIONS AND THE REPUBLIC OF NEGROS

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In 1856 Negros was raised to the status of a military-political province; in 1890 it was divided into the provinces of Negros Occidental and Negros Oriental. In 1887 Negros' population was estimated to be 270,891, an increase of more than 65,000 in ten years.[109] Gadiane mentions this administrative division of Negros and reports that a "military government was organized at Dumaguete under Governor Joaquin Tavira."[110] Negros' new provinces were still classified as corregimientos (military provinces) and governed by army officers.

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[108] The stress on teaching Spanish in Siaton is interesting since this was not typical of most of the schools during the Spanish period. In 1885 a Franciscan friar wrote a pamphlet which ridiculed the Filipinos' efforts to learn Spanish and stated: "All a Filipino needed to enable him to go to heaven was to learn how to pray, to plow, and to be obedient to his superiors, especially to the parish priests." Encarnacion Alzona, A History of Education in the Philippines: 1565-1930. Manila, University of the Philippines Press, 1932, pp. 96-7.

[109] Galang and Osias, op. cit., pp. 405-6. In 1893 Echauz states Negros had a population of 320,606 with 42 towns and that the number of Recollect priests in the island had increased to 47. Echauz, op. cit., p. 37.

[110] This statement is from Gadiane's manuscript and is supported by Pedro Teves, "Una Breve Historia de Dumaguete," The Official Program of Dumaguete City. Dumaguete, Negros Oriental, November 24, 1948, p. 46.

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known as the Gobierno Cantonal de la Isla de Negros. 175*
Eager to exploit this unexpected victory and to add Negros to his camp, Aguinaldo appointed Araneta "Politico-Military Governor of Negros." However, Araneta had previously contacted Captain Glass of the U. S. cruiser Charleston, then in Iloilo Bay, requesting American recoghition and protection. Glass refused because at the time hostilities had been suspended due to peace negotiations and American occupation was limited to Manila. Negros, therefore, was still a Spanish possession.[121]

Many influential leaders in western Negros were hacenderos who wished to safeguard their property. Though not unsympathetic to the revolution, they were a conservative force and desired a quick settlement of affairs, one which would ~~protect their~~ investments. They feared that Aguinaldo's agents might stir the people to revolt against the newly-established provisional government (which they later did) unless it was under the strong arm of the United States. The wealth of some of the sugar planters is illustrated by Colonel Smith's statement that when he came to Bacolod one hacendero was living in a mansion which had cost more than $120,000. It was this propertied class

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121"Department of Military Governor of the Philippines in Civil Affairs," Annual Report of the War Department, June 30, 1900. Washington, D.C., Government Printing Office, I, No. 10, 1900, pp. 249-50. Hereafter cited as War Department Report, I, 1900.

which established the Negros Republic and sought American support.[122] It was the same group who later abandoned the sickly republic with its increasing disorders for a stable regime under the American flag. Behind all of these events loomed the product, sugar!

The last of December, 1898, Rios abandoned Iloilo and Cebu and sailed for Zamboanga; this left Spain with only two outposts in the Philippines, Zamboanga and Jolo. Gadiane writes that Rios's warship, Paragua, shelled both Tanjay and Sibulan where rebels were located before stopping at Dumaguete to pick up the waiting Spaniards.

The two priests of Siaton, Juan Lorenzo, of Giliga-on and Lorenzo Cordon, of the poblacion, left Siaton by a small boat for Dumaguete after storing church records, altar equipment and priestly robes. All the Spanish priests in Dumaguete sailed with Rios on the Paragua for Zamboanga, and left the church in the control of Filipino fathers.[123]

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[122] Report of the Philippine Commission to the President (Testimony and Exhibits). Washington, D.C., Government Printing Office, II, 1900, p. 415. Hereafter cited as Philippine Commission Report, II, 1900.

[123] Gadiane's account concerning the Paragua appears to be correct. The Paragua, according to Wilcox, was one of thirteen gunboats later purchased by the United States from the Spaniards on Basilan Island. This is probably the same boat which took Rios and his group to Zamboanga. Wilcox, op. cit., p. 238.

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Echauz concludes his short account with a description of a religious sacrifice by this group.

The wealth of Negros' growing sugar industry made plundering forages to the lowland quite profitable. The large estates of the hacenderos were rich prizes. William Taft reported:

> In the Spanish times forces of a thousand to fifteen hundred men [Babailanes] was not at all unusual. They...made forays down into the rich sugar haciendas that are in West Negros and sometimes to the rich planters of eastern Negros [probably at San Carlos and the Bais-Tanjay area] ..."[148]

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The contrast between the rich and the poor was especially vivid in western Negros. The wealth of the hacenderos grew with the expansion of sugar agriculture. One American observer, writing in 1901, commented:

> The situation in the Island is somewhat similar to that in Europe during the Middle Ages,--the great families rule the land. The Lazuriaggas [Luzuriagas], the Mapas, the Lacsons, are the Capulets and Montagues of the Island of Negros.[149]

Many of the sugar planters exploited their workers, as was the custom throughout the islands, and most of the abuses that existed during the Spanish period continued under the Negros Republic. The rapidly growing population of Negros increased the number of landless farmers who probably looked enviously on the great holdings of the hacenderos.

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The Babailanes raided and stole from Spaniards and Filipinos alike. They had a set tariff of blackmail which

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[148] Senate Document No. 4242, p. 14.

[149] W. F. Norris, "Legal Conditions in the Island of Negros," The Green Bag, XIV, No. 1, (January, 1902), p. 20.

Inalad, Bonbonon, Giliga-on and Bonawon. A new concrete bridge was built over the Canaway River; this improved the transportation facilities during the rainy season. 175* 653 494

In 1935 the Philippine Commonwealth was established. No elections were held this year for municipal officers; their terms were merely extended for an additional two years.[165] During this period the water system of Siaton was installed. The national, provincial, and municipal governments each contributed $5,000 for the construction of the new water system. A concrete reservoir was built at Sitio Talio, west of Naga, and the water brought to the poblacion by gravity. The water was piped only to the residences of the more prominent people of the poblacion. Public faucets were also installed at the plaza and a few other places. The system is inadequate for during the dry season the pressure becomes so low that the water runs only for short periods during the day. 175* 653 365 565

In October 1937 clouds of locusts came to Siaton. The insects covered the plaza and climbed into the church, houses, and stores. Nearly all of the unharvested rice was destroyed. In the same year Fidel Tayko was re-elected as Siaton's mayor, the new name substituted for presidente. His defeated opponent protested the election as fraudulent and won his case in Dumaguete. The victor became mayor 175* 731 175* 666

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165"The first elections under the Commonwealth were held December, 14, 1938, for local offices." Tolentino and Zaide, op. cit., p. 151.

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assumption of certain skills by local specialists who are paid a cash wage.

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Table XXXVIII[1] illustrates the itemized costs of three different dwellings built in Caticugan in 1951.[10] House C's cost probably comes closer to the cost of the typical Caticugan dwelling than the other two dwellings. This house had two rooms--sala and kitchen--lacked wooden shutters, cement post supports, and little lumber was used. Table XXXIX[1] lists the items and cost of building a poblacion dwelling inhabited by a Siaton municipal official. No bamboo or nipa were used; the cost of the two dwellings illustrate the difference in dwellings between Caticugan barriofolk and Siaton principalia.

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The owner of House C did not hire any carpenters; he held a palihog that cost eight dollars. The work accomplished by palihog assistants could have been done in half a day by two laborers. The palihog, in this case, is an example of how "... the prestige factor inherent in the giving of a feast compensates for the lessened efficiency and the lower return."[11] While precise figures cannot be

[556]

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1 [See p. 667ff, cat. 435 or 342--Analyst]

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[10] Some men of Caticugan make extra money by working for lumber firms in Dumaguete. For example, a father and son in Barrio Caticugan were hired by one firm to cut first-class timber (salay, gisok, sambulawan, yakal, and amoning) in the mountains a day's walk from their home. They were paid eight cents per board foot with an additional two cents per board foot for bringing the lumber from Pinac-an (where they worked a permit issued to the Dumaguete lumber firm) to the poblacion. Another group of four men in Barrio Caticugan worked four days cutting lumber from felled trees in the nearby mountains; they earned a total of twenty-five dollars, or a daily wage of about one dollar and fifty-five cents. These were the only two groups hired to cut timber in Caticugan.

[11] Melville F. Herskovits, Economic Anthropology: A Study in Comparative Economics. New York, Alfred A. Knopf, 1952, p. 107.

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796 or their supporters which represent a certain number of votes. The candidate selling the most tickets wins the honor of being the "Queen" of the fiesta, the runners-up are the "Princesses" or the "Queen's 'damas.'" In the larger *poblacions* and cities these contests became elaborate affairs and the candidates' parents or relatives may spend thousands of pesos to make their daughter the "Queen". In these areas, the contest is more often a struggle within the small elite than within the community as a whole.

796 The organization of each fiesta is done by various committees, a method which gives Filipinos, particularly those living in *barrios*, some valuable experience in committee work—one basic aspect of democracy in action.[7] Committee organization increases in size and complexity as one moves from the small *barrio* fiesta to large urban fiestas. There are usually the following committees in most fiestas: executive or board of directors; arches (to build the bamboo-paper decorated arches under which the patron saint is carried during the procession); athletics (to arrange for various competitive sports); auditorium and decoration (to build a temporary dancing area, especially in the *barrios*, or prepare and decorate the plaza or schoolhouse); beauty or popularity contest; dance; decorations (often listed as "all lady teachers" whose responsibility is to decorate the church and altar); finance and audit (usually chaired by the municipal treasurer); invitation and reception; lights (sometimes such a committee must arrange to rent a generator to supply electricity during the fiesta period); music; parade; publicity; program; and patrons and donors (to obtain prizes for the various contests held during the fiesta).

796 565 The membership of the *barrio*, and particularly the *poblacion*, fiesta committees is largely composed of the *principalia*—the more prominent people of the community. In the *barrio*, social and economic stratification is not as visible or complex as in the *poblacion*; but it exists, nevertheless, in a milder form. The importance of the *principalia* in organizing the Philippine fiesta is a distinct difference between most of the fiesta of Mexico where the organizational and administrative aspects of the event are disdained by the more prominent citizens. If the fiesta is to be more effectively used as a way of giving the people increased experience in committee work, the organizational aspects need to be broadened to include more individuals outside the *principalia*. Whether this can be accomplished, however, under the present systems of social stratification in the Philippines is somewhat dubious.

[7] In a penetrating and provocative article, Lansang states the lack of experience of most Filipinos with "so elementary a democratic tool as the committee of conference." Jose Lansang, "The Philippine-American Experiment, a Filipino View," *Pacific Affairs*, 25:233, September, 1952.

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pines is somewhat dubious. Usually the executive committee is composed of the mayor or other municipal officials, schoolteachers, and prominent merchants in the larger *poblacions*. In a survey made of 28 different fiestas held in 16 different *poblacions*, the executive committee was almost always completely dominated by men. In certain committees, such as decoration, invitation, reception, dances, and prizes, there are normally more women than men, yet *the chairman* of these committees is usually a man. Very few women are included in the finance and audit committees of the fiesta. The Filipina's privilege of controlling the family purse-strings is not extended to the management of fiesta finances.

The predominance of men on the fiesta committees is due to a number of factors. Men, with their greater physical strength, are more appropriate as members of such committees engaged in building arches, constructing a dance platform, etc. Women, traditionally assigned certain positions in Philippine society, are the logical choice (culturally) for committees needed to decorate the church altar (making lovely paper flowers, a skill taught them by the older generation of Spanish priests), etc. Yet the predominance of males over females in the rural fiesta organization reflects another factor, i. e., the secular nature of the complex. Catholicism in the *barrios* and *poblacions* is primarily feminine. In those sacred aspects of the fiesta the women normally predominate, yet the contemporary fiesta is a complex which falls largely within the sphere of masculine activities. There are many other interesting and significant aspects of the Philippine fiesta which merit attention but cannot be dealt with here owing to space limitations.

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The material which follows is a "reconstruction" of the "fiesta core," *vesperas* and *kahologan*. This "core" is typical of nearly all of the fiestas observed by the writer in Negros Oriental province and of those fiestas analyzed through their printed fiesta programs. Variations in the fiesta complex do occur before or after this "core" with some fiestas having a formal program covering as much as eight days. The fiesta's length is often increased by synchronizing it with other events such as a provincial Boy Scout meeting, the opening of a new bridge in the area, etc. Another difficulty inherent in this "reconstruction" of the fiesta complex "core" is that it blurs differences between small *barrio* and larger, more urban *poblacion* fiestas. This reconstruction is more typical of a medium-size urban *poblacion* than a typical small *barrio* or sitio.

*Vesperas*, the day before *kahologan* is also called "Proclamation Day," "Eve of the Fiesta," or "Fiesta Vesperas," although in the printed fiesta programs the most common title is "Proclamation Day"—when the elected

trees. The new unpainted wooden residence of the parish priest is near the church. The plaza of Siaton is unimproved except for a circle of cement used for fiesta dances, now covered with pungent copra, and a basketball court. Across the street from the plaza is a small wooden building which houses the telegraph and postoffice and offices of the municipal agricultural agent and the government midwife. To the rear of the postoffice building is a neat wooden Protestant church.

The new elementary school is the pride of the community and the center for social gatherings--functions usurped from the church. There are three painted wooden buildings, but the other structures are temporary classrooms of bamboo and nipa. The schoolyard is covered with a green lawn and there are cement paths lined with oleander and small shrubs. By the domestic science building is a struggling rose garden which every "progressive" school must have. Across the street from the school buildings are several sari-sari stores which cater to the appetites of the school children. Farther west a new concrete bridge spans the wide, shallow (in the dry season) Siaton River. Overlooking the bridge is Pangligiran hill where Don Antoy, a legendary supernatural, lives in a grand palace of marble and gold, invisible to ordinary humans.

The houses of the poblacion are similar to those seen along the National Road. However, there are some white wooden houses where local officials live. To the

Many people of Caticugan continue the corn harvest ceremony of their pre-Spanish ancestors but perform it within the privacy of the family group. I know of families in Caticugan who absolutely denied holding a dulot yet whose neighbors said they did. In the northern barrios there was no embarrassment in discussing the dulot. It was a barrio custom. In Caticugan many barriofolk recognized the dulot as a backward unchristian custom, yet they do not feel entirely secure in discarding it; to discard the dulot means to challenge their beliefs in encangtos, kolisaos and kataos.

The decline of the dulot also reflects the growing individualism so noticeable in Caticugan. The group has been losing the firm control once held over the individual. This change is apparent in the role of the family in courting and marriage customs. The old cooperative labor groups have almost disappeared in Caticugan; with increasing population and subdivision of land through inheritance the fields are often so small that volunteer labor activities are less necessary today. It also has become cheaper to pay for help than to furnish workers with meals. Caticugan is en medias res of a gradual transition from a bartering to a money economy that stimulates the growth of individualism.

The population of Caticugan has expanded considerably over the years, but the yield of the fields appears to have decreased. The acreage yield of corn in the northern barrios is more than twice as large as in Caticugan. An

harvesters received 16 per cent of the grain as their share. 241

Caingin harvests require hard work, more so than in the lowland, due to the slope of the fields and the less comfortable working conditions. Yet, according to informants, the harvests are not without their pleasant aspects. The womenfolk visit; old friends renew acquaintances and new friends are met. The young people often have better courting opportunities; some people said they first met their spouses at these harvests. The children play games at the end of the day. Accounts of these harvests in the mountains gives one the impression that they are much gayer affairs than lowland harvests. The end of a caingin rice harvest is usually climaxed by a loto. 574 241

The Rice Harvest Loto

The loto is quite similar to the dulot held for caingin and lowland corn harvests.[17] The purposes of the

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16 (Continued) in this manner for the figures on corn, both upland and lowland. For example, one informant said it took three gantas of seed corn to plant his lowland field from which he obtained a total harvest of twelve baskets. These figures were recorded as one corn field of three-fifths of a hectare (1.48 acres) with a harvest of about 4-1/6 cavans. For rice the farmers could give their harvest figures in gantas of palay.

17 Loto is the root word of the verb "to cook"; magloto the future tense, nagloto is the present tense, and naloto the past tense. Loto with a hard final o means a "food offering made for the rice harvest" but with a soft final o means "mourning clothing" worn by both sexes. Loto or kan-on also means "any food cooked" but is usually understood to mean cooked rice or cornmeal. While the harvest ceremonies for corn and rice are basically the same, loto is normally used to describe the rice ceremonies while dulot is applied to the corn harvest ceremonies.

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loto and the dulot are to offer a thanksgiving for a good harvest (or a better one next year), to honor and placate departed souls and the unseen spirits, and to accomplish magical multiplication of the grain. While there are certain minor differences between the loto and the dulot, the food offerings are almost identical. The dulot most likely is a variation of the rice loto that was transferred to the harvests of caingin and lowland corn after the latter grain was introduced to the Philippines by the Spaniards in the 16th century. Oracion's account of the rice harvest ceremony of the primitive Magahats corresponds closely to the loto and dulot of Siaton.

However, the ceremony for the harvest of lowland rice in Caticugan and neighboring barrios is quite different from either the loto or dulot. Most likely the stronger influence of Catholicism, better educational opportunities, and more frequent contacts with the principalia of the poblacion, are probable factors that have led the lowland barriofolk to modify the paganistic harvest ceremonies of their forefathers. The lowland rice loto in Caticugan has been changed into a basically Christian ceremony while the corn harvest dulot is quite different from the dulot practiced in the northern barrios of the Siaton River valley. A special investigation was made of variations of the dulot that illustrate the processes of change as they are occurring in the Siaton River valley. This material is presented later in this chapter.

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The day before the loto the womenfolk prepare pilipig, toasted rice pounded almost flat in the rice mortar.[18] The morning the loto is to be held by the owner of the caingin, his family prepares the food offering. Oracion writes that during the rice harvest ceremonies of the Magahats

> The food for the diwata [unseen spirits] is cooked separately on an open hearth outdoors by the owner himself. It is believed that since this is a thanksgiving offering the owner should show his heartfelt reverence by actually performing all the work.[19]

Whether this is the case for the food offering of the caingin loto in Siaton I do not know. However, the family who holds the ceremony for the dulot has the responsibility of preparing the food offering. Friends, however, often help the host family cook the food to be served to guests after the loto.

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In the evening (among the Magahats when there is a full moon) a temporary bamboo table is constructed and put in the center of the harvested caingin. On this table are placed plates of pilipig, seven tigols (home-made cigarettes), seven tinostos (home-made cigars), seven tilads (the ingredients for betel chewing), one roasted chicken, one boiled egg, sometimes shelled, seven bina-ang (a type of rice cake), seven binaluksan

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[18] I never witnessed a loto; this is a reconstructed account based on information gathered from various informants in the Siaton River valley and Caticugan.

[19] Oracion, op. cit., p. 59.

(rice wrapped in coconut leaves and then boiled), one plate of cooked rice, and four bamboo containers of tuba made from either the coconut or ediok palms.[20]

Guests normally do not participate in the offering but stand or sit around the edges of the field. Some women may be inside the house preparing food for the meal that follows the ceremony. If the caingin owner feels confident, he may conduct the ceremony himself. Otherwise he will request a man well-versed in the ritual to make his offering. The "speech" given during the brief ritual, however, appears to be an improvisation and not a recitation that requires a nimble memory. Yet many people do not wish to perform the ceremonies for the loto or the dulot because they believe any mistakes might offend the unseen spirits they seek to please.

The ceremony is always conducted by a man. No cases were reported of a woman who made the loto or dulot; this is interesting because the magical rites connected with lowland agriculture are normally performed by women. The man goes to the center of the caingin and stands by by the table. Speaking to the spirits and kalags (souls) of the parents or relatives of the caingin cultivator, he invites them to dine on the proffered food. The specialist may repeat his invitation in a whisper or speak loudly. According to one female informant, what is said usually is:

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[20] The Magahats offer one chicken, seven tilad, seven rice cakes, seven tinostos, two glasses of tuba, and three candles. Oracion, op. cit., p. 59-60.

Most barriofolk go to Omanod to work as harvesters while some women and young girls go to barter bread, matches, used American clothing and other wares for corn. These vendors rarely sell their wares for money. They barter for corn, and get more corn than they could if they sold their articles. Sometimes, when the harvest is over, the vendors will sell their remaining merchandise rather than carry it home. Others go to Omanod solely to buy corn for the price is lower than in Siaton poblacion. The people usually stay with relatives or friends in Omanod during the harvest period.

Unhusked corn is usually stored in the house, the ears piled in a corner of the room or in a bin. Corn is not husked until it is ready to be shelled and ground. Lagit stones or sea shells may be put with the corn to protect it from the weevils that often do considerable damage. Perhaps only one out of every twenty families in Caticugan has a separate storehouse for corn. The average family's corn supply is small and consumed steadily so individual storehouses are unnecessary. Storehouses that exist are usually built near the residences, although in a few cases they may be at the field's edge. Theft is rare because many would be afraid to steal corn for fear of barang.[50]

[50] Barang is the belief in the supernatural ability of certain persons to cause illness or death to their enemies. These specialists are said to own magical bees that are trained to penetrate the victim's body at their owner's command. Several cases of deaths allegedly due to barang motivated by thievery were reported by the barriofolk of Caticugan.

TABLE XX (Continued)

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|---|---|
| 21. Kalamongay stems ("kalamongay sometimes looks like a dead stick but it keeps sending out new growth all the time") | 21. To keep the sap flowing |
| 22. Lead from a bullet | 22. Protection against "envious persons" |
| 23. Paniawan vine | 23. Protection against "envious persons" |

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The purposes of the various items used in the guhang lihi can be classified into three categories: (1) to protect the buri from "envious persons"; (2) to improve the guhang's flavor; (3) to ensure an abundant and constant flow of sap. The flow and the taste of sap are two uncertainties in making guhang; this may account for their more complete coverage by magic.

There is good reason for this obvious concern over "envious persons" who may desire to harm the buri producing guhang. It is difficult to refuse friends, and especially relatives, a free glass or two of guhang. Yet if one does not refuse there would be little to sell. Both sexes are fond of guhang and gather regularly around the buris when the owners are collecting guhang. If a palm is noted for a particularly fine-flavored guhang, it attracts more barriofolk. While many will not ask for a free drink the purpose of their presence is painfully clear to the tree's owner. Their thirst normally is limited only by the donor's generosity.

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I often frequented guhang trees because they were excellent places to gather information; "mellowed" by the drink the people often enjoyed discussing and arguing over answers to questions. I never saw a group refused free drinks. If an owner were "greedy" with his guhang nothing would have been said at the time which the guhang owners know. This disgruntled individual might later return to the tree as "envious person"; generosity in Caticugan was usually sired of a warm heart and a practical mind.

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One of my most pleasant memories is sitting with the men at the top of the buri, under the little thatch covering, drinking, smoking and talking. Thirty feet above the ground the air was cooler and fresher and a breeze usually rustled the dead fronds. Below the community stretched out under its quilt-like fields. At the palm's base might be a small group of men and married women drinking guhang as it was lowered from the top in a bamboo container tied to a rope. If a few young dalagas passed, salacious wisecracks would usually be made by the young men with malicious cheerfulness and the girls might be so bold as to stop for a drink. In the distance one could hear the dull echo of a manamguete's "bamboo gong" (tambol), signaling the vendors who wished to purchase guhang that he was in his tree.

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When the groups gather at the guhang trees it is a time of relaxation, of gossiping, joking and discussing plans for tomorrow. A game of dama (similar to checkers) might be started.

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unwelcome addition to the generally meatless diet of the barriofolk.[2] 224

Hunting wild pig is a strenuous, often dangerous, task. One may trot behind barking dogs for hours, up and down hills, across ravines, through tangled undergrowth and knife-like dry grass. When the exhausted pig is cornered it is vicious. Now and then a hunter is badly mauled and frequently dogs are killed by a wounded pig. There are stories of hunters killed by a wild boar (tangwan) but such tragedies are rare.[3] The following incident describes a hunt that occurred in the vicinity of Barrio Cahangahan.

> One time my brother and I and two other people went out hunting wild pigs. Our dogs found a scent of a wild pig and the chase began. After two hours of chasing the tangwan that had badly

[2] Every Christmas season the young people of Caticugan carol for the residents of the barrio and the poblacion. The donations of money or food they receive are used for a party. One group of fourteen young men in 1952 decided instead of contributing chickens for the party to hunt wild pigs and donate whatever meat they killed. The group, with twenty-two dogs, was able to kill, in one morning, four pigs that each weighed from thirty to forty-five pounds. 574 224

[3] I never participated in a wild pig hunt. Several times I was invited to accompany a group on a hunt but refused on the basis that a previous operation (I exhibited my scar!) made it impossible for me to trot after the dogs for hours. This was not true but I was rather certain I could not maintain the necessary pace for a hunt. I did not wish to endanger my position among the young men by becoming an object of humorous ridicule. Gathering information on the hunting of wild pigs was not difficult except for the data on the bood--which I would not have been permitted, most likely, to witness had I participated in a hunt. 123

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Marine molluaks are gathered mainly by women and young girls; men and young boys infrequently participate. The molluaks are gathered at low tide usually during or just before a full moon; the women enjoy collecting snails and clams. They bathe, gossip, playfully splash water on friends while dipping coconut shells into the sand for the clams. The marine clams most frequently gathered are Kalaykay and Toway; the marine snails are Tabono and Tandaday.

At the July full moon I visited the seashore one afternoon. The most popular place to collect snails and clams is a rocky stretch of beach just east of the Siaton River mouth. About seventy individuals were hunting along the rocky beach; they were women or young girls and a very few elderly men. Ten were from Catiugan; others came from the poblacion, from Barrios Mantuyop, and from Sumalaring. Some dug in the sand for clams, and put them into a container or popped them into their mouths. When their mouths were full they walked to the beach and put these clams in a container. Some women dropped the clams into their blouse fronts.

The most abundant of all these marine snails and clams is the Kalaykay; about the size of a quarter. The Tandagay, said to be "very good eating," are often collected on rainy days when they stick to stones in shallow water.

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Barriofolk rarely go to the nipa swamps just to collect clams and snails. They usually combine this task with getting nipa leaves.

When the holes[1] are dug, the posts are laid beside them. Their tops point in a particular direction, depending on the month. Napta states that for January, February and March the posts must face the northeast, for the following three months the southwest, for the next three months to the east and for the last three months toward the northeast. The directions correlate with the southwest and northeast monsoons. This custom is to prevent accidents to the house such as fire or flood. 335 789 777

Some informants said that the tops of the posts should be pointed with the wind. Two dwellings in Caticugan were begun in June and the posts were pointed toward the southwest before they were placed in their holes. Sometimes the post ends are charred to prevent termites from eating the wood after it is in the ground.

Putting heavy posts in their holes appears to be one of the few occasions for a palihog; several palihogs were witnessed in Caticugan for this task. In one case friends and neighbors of one man were invited to help him and his son put posts in holes already dug. Eight men came; when they finished the job, which took about an hour, they ate a meal prepared by the owner. After the meal the men went home but not until some of their wives and children also had come to eat. 335 574 476

There are different ways of erecting bamboo house posts. (See Plate LXIII.)[2] Since bamboo rots quickly in the ground a few barrio houses had bamboo house posts that rested on stone foundations. In one case short 335 342

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basins were made of wood instead of the tin ones used today. No one had Coleman lanterns for light.

HOUSE-WARMING CEREMONY

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When a new dwelling is finished it is customary to hold a novena to bless the house and its occupants; during the ninth (and last) evening of the novena a taktak ug bokbok occurs. When the prayers are over, the guests jump up and down on the floor "to make the destructive bokbok beetles fall to the ground." Some smoke rattan lashings with the sap of the salngan tree or soot from a lamp as a termite preventative.

No taktak ug bokbok was held during my visit; the dwelling must be completed. In Talo-ot, for example, one family had been living in their house for more than a year but the kitchen was unfinished. The "house warming" was not held "because our house is not finished. We must wait."[24]

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If visitors sleep in a dwelling the first night it is occupied they must continue to sleep in the house for

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[24]A story is reported from Guindulman, Bohol, of the young married couple who moved into a new dwelling. The husband's mother-in-law advised them to eat meagerly the first three days in their new house. Only four bananas were to be cooked and eaten, one each for the husband, wife, maid and the last banana to be put in the cupboard. "'The ordeal is called a lihi,' Pemyong the husband explained. 'It sets a sort of pattern for frugal living. The limited meal of one banana and one pata [a salted black fish caught in the river] would remind us to economize always. The extra banana represents our savings which will accumulate through the years and make us rich.'" Joan Fernandez, "How to Get Rich," The Philippines Free Press, XLIII, No. 36 (September 6, 1952), pp. 22-3. This custom is unknown in Caticugan.

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three consecutive nights. If this is not done the occupants will be plagued with misfortune and illness.

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Some house posts have white crosses painted on them as protection against harmful spirits. A few houses had placed under the entrance ladder a small cross made of a thorny wood (salay). The barriofolk explain that this custom of painting or putting crosses on or near their homes originated shortly before the last war. Tales of a "headless" nun who brought typhoid came to southern Negros from Cebu. This supernatural nun was said to visit a dwelling and call out, "Good evening." If any occupants answered her before the greeting was repeated three times one of the family became ill of typhoid and died. To protect themselves the people started to paint crosses on the posts or to erect one near the house entrance. Houses so "protected" were avoided by the "headless" nun who also did not trouble people with the family name of Cruz (cross).

When these tales reached southern Negros some people in Siaton were said to have built crosses as thick as a man's leg. Even today some people will not answer a "good evening" greeting from a visitor outside their house until it is repeated three times. There is a parallel here with the Spanish custom that once required Filipinos to introduce themselves three times to Spaniards before they were recognized.

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*Kahologan* begins around four or five in the morning with the *diana* or reveille. After this event some *poblacions* may have a small fireworks display or shoot off a few booming rockets. Then, from about six to nine, masses are held. The church is usually jammed and more men are present than at the regular weekly services. (In the *barrios* only one mass is performed on *kahologan*, often the only mass of the year in the small chapel owing to the shortage of priests in the Philippines.)[9] After the masses there is a light breakfast (*pa-init*) of various types of rice cakes (*puto, bodbod*, or *bingka*), bread, hot chocolate, fruit, etc. The remainder of the morning is devoted to sports— basketball, volleyball, and softball games, horse, bicycle, and "crab" races, carabao fights, eating contests, or billiard competition. Often teams vie for prizes or trophies which have been donated by patrons, and are awarded *kahologan* evening.

At twelve noon the church bells are rung, often three times, and the orchestra marches around the *poblacion*, playing loudly and enthusiastically. This is the *jornada*. Rockets may be fired into the air and the *luthangs* (home-made bamboo cannons) shot. This is when the "big feast" of the fiesta is served. There is often much competition among the *principalia* to attract to their dwelling for this dinner the most prominent visitors to the fiesta. Since food is synonymous with hospitality for most Filipinos, the tables groan under the weight of different meat courses, rice and noodle dishes, *lechon* (roast pig), drinks (coke, beer, and perhaps whisky and brandy), etc. A number of Filipino hostesses told the writer, when he attended fiestas in in the larger *poblacions* or in Dumaguete, that they admired the American custom of serving a meal consisting of only several courses. However, to do so during a *kahologan* dinner, they said, would be considered unfavorably by their guests. Meals are served in relays, the tables being cleared after one setting and reset for the next group of guests. Visiting friends during *kahologan* is often most painful, since one must eat, at least the delicacies prepared by one's hosts, although one's capacity to consume more food is absolutely non-existent.

After dinner, which may continue for several hours, with guests coming

[9] In 1952 there were 2492 Catholic priests in the Philippines for an estimated 15,810,024 Catholics, or one priest for 6340 Catholics. The average of the Philippines is lower than the average of Latin America (one priest for 5104 Catholics) and much lower than the average for the United States (one priest for 620 Catholics). Leo A. Cullum, S.J., "Distribution of Priests", *Philippine Studies*, 1:169-173, September, 1953. A review of an article written by J. Luzzi, S. J., "L'appel de l' Amerique latine", *Nouvelle Revue Theologique*.

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666 of the 'poblacion', thanks to the deep and abiding interest of congressman.. in the welfare and well-being of the community.

A top government official of Negros Oriental province stated in his message printed in one fiesta program that he would be unable to attend the event because:

> I am leaving for Manila soon in the interest and welfare of our province.

The congressman of one of the districts of Negros Oriental praised a local official in his fiesta message, stating he

> (official's name) . . , is the guiding star that points to me the things needed by this town and hence I can say safely that the improvements and beautification of (the town) . . . is due mostly to the endeavor and sacrifices of our beloved. . . . (official's name).

The former Vice-President of the Philippines in his message printed on one fiesta program urged that the people work together because:

> Communal solidarity is necessary for the success of this affair just as national unity is essential for the growth of a nation. . . . To promote this unity, it is imperative for us to cultivate a community spirit against the factors that cause dissension and disorder among the people—corrupt practices of officials and individuals alike, such as abuse of authority and profiteering practiced by opportunists on the helpless masses. These corruptions can be remedied by the combined efforts on the part of the government authorities and the people.

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554 The fiestas stimulate local commercial activities. All who can afford it, and many who cannot, buy a new dress or a pair of trousers, clothing for the children, get a permanent wave, or purchase large supplies of food for their expected guests. Some Filipinos will borrow money or mortgage their land in order to have the means to entertain properly their visitors during the annual fiesta. So much personal and family prestige is involved that few measures are too drastic for some to maintain the expected level of hospitality; this is particularly true in the *poblacions*. Frugalities of the year, the penny-pinching to make ends meet, the saving for the unknown exigencies of the future, are discarded by many Filipinos for several days of "fun and frolic," of living fully.

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443 To the *poblacions* and *barrios*, even such as Caticugan but less so, come many itinerant vendors selling a variety of wares, normally unavaila-

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574 181 Third, the fiesta is an economic investment. One's guests will, in the future, be one's hosts during their fiesta. In fact, this is one of several reasons given for organizing new *barrio* fiestas in southern Negros. The people felt ashamed to attend fiestas in neighboring communities without having a fiesta of their own when they could reciprocate enjoyed hospitality. In the long run, the bread thrown on the water returns. In some cases doubled. From this point of view the fiesta may not be as wasteful as many Filipinos believe.

796 181 *Fourth*, the fiesta serves a religious function, particularly in the *barrios* distant from the *poblacion* church. The fiesta is often the only time in the year the priest visits the local chapel and holds mass in the community for the barriofolk. Sometimes combining a baptismal or wedding celebration with the fiesta serves to reduce the family expenses by making a normal entertainment unnecessary by coordination with the fiesta. *Fifth*, the fiesta re-inforces the people's feeling of solidarity within the *barrio* or *poblacion*, although sometimes the event may enhance competitiveness between different communities. Most Filipinos take great pride in their *barrio* or *poblacion* fiesta. *Sixth*, the *barrio* and *poblacion* fiesta often reunite, for the only time of the year, members of the immediate families. The ideal pattern is for one always to return to one's home fiesta. It is not at all uncommon to meet relatives from Siquijor, Cebu, Panay, Leyte, or even more distant places, at Negros Oriental fiestas.

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796 794 181 *Seventh*, the fiesta furnishes the church with a sizeable annual income. The money collected for baptisms, masses, and the church's participation in the various religious activities of the fiestas is an important aspect of the financial support of the church by the people. The fiesta often renews the authority of the church in more isolated areas where this authority and responsibility lies dormant for most of the year. *Eight*, the fiesta in the larger *barrio* and *poblacion* is a commercial stimulant to the economic life of the community. Prices are often raised, purchases of food and clothing more frequent and larger than normal. The fiesta creates new wants and needs which do not exist during most of the year.

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426 181 *Ninth*, the fiesta is a means by which the indebtedness of many families is increased, by borrowing money to entertain their guests properly. Some families may mortgage their land for "agricultural" loans and others sell farmyard animals to raise a little cash for the fiesta. However, the waste may not be as great as imagined by many Filipinos. One's guests may next month be one's hosts. The fiesta also stimulates many people to work harder, and for others it is an oppotunity to augment the pitifully small family cash income by selling food and drink. *Tenth*, in the larger *barrio*

largest stores in Siaton poblacion are operated by the Chinese as are the only two bakeries.[63] On the whole, the Chinese do not mix socially with the poblacion principalia (prominent persons).

The Spaniards called the Chinese Sangley from the Amoy word Sengli, i.e., trade.[64] In Siaton and Negros, the Chinese are called Inchek.[65] During the Spanish period in Siaton the Chinese wore their national dress. "They had long black pants which blew in the wind and coiled their hair on top of their heads." At first their stores sold only cloth, ~~such as~~ blankets (coverings would be a better word) with dragon designs. They also sold large tadyaos (clay ~~jars) with a~~ dragon design, used to make wine. Similar Chinese jars are fairly common among many of the primitive groups in the Philippines and are exceedingly costly. No such jars exist in Siaton today.

Sometimes the Chinese merchants fought among themselves. Then the Guardia Civil would tie the offenders' pig-tails together and drag them to jail. One incident was reported of a Chinese father who tried

[63] In Manjuyod poblacion I visited a Chinese bakery and talked with the owner who said the Chinese from Macao and Canton are usually the bakers in Negros Oriental.

[64] Victor Purcell, The Chinese in Southeast Asia. Oxford University Press, 1951, p. 585.

[65] Cheng suggests two possible derivations of Inchek. First, when the Chinese were asked what was their race they jestingly replied to the questioner: "Their (in) uncle's (chek)." Second, that the Chinese referred to themselves as people of "foreign" (in) "nationality" (chek). Cheng, op. cit., p. 5.

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to build a new school in the poblacion. He told the people to collect the materials for the building and selected the plaza as the site. The parish priest, Jorje Carcabilla, objected to the erection of the school on land that belonged to the church.

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A bitter struggle between the two leaders followed. The quarrel over the school was secondary; the root of the disagreement was the conflict between the parish priest and the commandant over the management of local affairs and the accession of heirs of the Spanish throne. The political rivalries of Spain were carried to the Philippines. Carcabilla was a supporter of the Carlista party and Torres of the Isabelina party who were then quarreling over the accession rights of Isabel and Carlos, King Ferdinand's children.

Cadiane describes the priest as "cruel, like a soldier," but he is an obvious admirer of Torres. The priest emerged victorious in this dispute and classes continued to be held in the old school building. This victory of the parish priest over the commandant of the Guardia Civil indicates the power the priests then wielded in the Philippines.

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Zaide writes that the average parish priest during the Spanish period was "virtual ruler of the town."[106]

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[106]Zaide, The Philippines Since the British Invasion, p. 165.

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Echauz concludes his short account with a description of a religious sacrifice by this group.

The wealth of Negros' growing sugar industry made plundering forages to the lowland quite profitable. The large estates of the hacenderos were rich prizes. William Taft reported:

> In the Spanish times forces of a thousand to fifteen hundred men [Babailanes] was not at all unusual. They...made forays down into the rich sugar haciendas that are in West Negros and sometimes to the rich planters of eastern Negros [probably at San Carlos and the Bais-Tanjay area] ..."[148]

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The contrast between the rich and the poor was especially vivid in western Negros. The wealth of the hacenderos grew with the expansion of sugar agriculture. One American observer, writing in 1901, commented:

> The situation in the Island is somewhat similar to that in Europe during the Middle Ages,--the great families rule the land. The Lazuriaggas [Luzuriagas], the Mapas, the Lacsons, are the Capulets and Montagues of the Island of Negros.[149]

Many of the sugar planters exploited their workers, as was the custom throughout the islands, and most of the abuses that existed during the Spanish period continued under the Negros Republic. The rapidly growing population of Negros increased the number of landless farmers who probably looked enviously on the great holdings of the hacenderos.

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The Babailanes raided and stole from Spaniards and Filipinos alike. They had a set tariff of blackmail which

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[148] Senate Document No. 4242, p. 14.

[149] W. F. Norris, "Legal Conditions in the Island of Negros," The Green Bag, XIV, No. 1, (January, 1902), p. 20.

palm's sap started to flow April 14 and stopped June 22. The gross income of the owner was $54 of which $12 was spent for tan-bark, leaving a net profit of $42. The money from guhang sales, deposited in a "bamboo bank" (a pole of the house wall), was not counted until the buri died so the figures are probably accurate.

The price of a mature buri in Siaton ranges from $10 to $25. In the municipal tax records buri owners are assessed one dollar for each palm. If the mananguete is not the tree's owner, profits are divided in several ways. Sometimes the profits are split 50-50 after the owner has deducted what he considers the buri's value. In another case the mananguete received one-fourth of the profits plus all the free guhang his family could consume. The money from the sale of guhang from this buri was deposited in a bamboo bank kept in the palm. The owner said he did not want to keep the cash in his near-by dwelling "because I might be tempted to gamble with it."

The buri's value is also reflected in the number of disputes that often result concerning its ownership and use. Three court cases occurred during my residence concerning the illegal use of another person's buri. In one case the defendant was accused by the plaintiff of illegally using two of his buris to make guheng and asked $100 damage. There are many quarrels over buri palms that do not reach the local court. An example of such a quarrel that happened in Naga is given on the next page.

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One time Ingoy [informant's first cousin] came to my place and started to make guhang from my buri. I was gathering coconuts for a Chinese in the poblacion. My wife and children were left alone in the house. My children were playing in the space under the house. Suddenly Lucia [informant's wife] heard buri palm leaves falling and she shouted to the children not to go near the tree. But Ingoy was in the tree and he answered: 'I'm the one here cutting leaves. What do you want? Where is your husband? I want to fight him because I want to go to San Ramon [penal colony in Mindanao].' So my wife immediately got me and I came home but he was gone. For three or four days I stayed in the house but Ingoy did not return to the buri.

One day he passed near my house carrying a sack of corn to be ground. I called him: 'You come here.' Ingoy said: 'Why?' I said: 'I want to talk with you.' He said: 'You come here if you want to talk to me.' So I went to him and asked him: 'Are you the one who cut my buri?' Ingoy said: 'Yes. I did it.' I said: 'Is it true you said you wanted to fight with me and go to San Ramon?' Ingoy said: 'Yes. It is true.' So I hit him three times. But he did not try to fight back. Nicara was weaving in a house near-by and she laughed. Ingoy's sister who saw us fighting cried: 'Please do not kill Ingoy.' [Informant imitated female voice of Ingoy's sister.] So Ingoy went on his way and his wife was crying but he left my buri alone.

Ingoy complained to the barrio lieutenant. He told him that I and my children ganged up on him. But I said I have witnesses and if he wanted to bring the matter to the court I was willing. But he never did. It was Ingoy's wife who brought Ingoy back to his house because after this quarrel he did not go home directly. I told Ingoy: 'It is not like before when I was small and whatever you and my relatives said I had to follow blindly. Now I have to take care of what is my own. Our parents usually quarreled and now that our parents are dead, their children will be the ones to quarrel.

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If the flow of the sap decreases or stops there are various remedies for the situation. A gash may be cut in the side of the palm's trunk at its base and a small fire built near the incision. The sap may resume its flow but the fire gives it a smoky taste. Others repeat the lihi previously described each day adding the fluid from the bottle until

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> land, animals, plants such as bamboo, coconut and buri palms, etc. Sometimes the father or mother selected one of their children to live with them and to take care of them when they got sick during their old age. When the father or mother was about to die, they called the poblacion officials to have them as witnesses that the son or daughter who stayed and took care of them would receive the rest of their properties. Sons and daughters in these times never went against the will of their parents.

This procedure--calling in poblacion officials as witnesses--was probably more typical of poblacion residents than the barriofolk.

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Parents, before their death, often temporarily partition lands among their children. This division may be made upon the children's request, particularly after they are married. Married brothers or sisters with children are often permitted to farm a larger field than childless or unmarried brothers and sisters, because the married couple "have more mouths to feed." This arrangement also minimizes quarrels among the children after their parents' death, according to the barriofolk. Yet these temporary partitions of land are often a source of conflict. Siblings who receive a larger parcel of land do not wish to have it reduced so their brothers and sisters will share equally.

While legally, and in most cases actually, property is equally distributed among the children, there is a tendency for the eldest sibling to try to get the "lion's share." A lawyer in Tanjay said that most of his civil cases result from the efforts of eldest siblings to get

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or retain more than an equal share of their parents' property. One incident was said to have occurred in Barrio Datag when a younger brother poisoned his elder brother with _botete_ fish because the latter refused to repartition equally their father's land after his death. The elder brother had been given temporarily a larger field than his brother by their father.

Again two brothers fought with _bolos_ over a supposedly unequal division of their parents' property in Barrio Canaway. Several disputes over equal inheritance among brothers and sisters were brought to Siaton _municipio_ and others were settled informally in the _barrios_. Elder siblings often have the advantage over younger brothers and sisters since they are usually married with children. As heads of the family they can wield considerable influence in such matters.

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Another reason why land is usually not permanently divided among their children before the parents' death is that the _hatud_ (bride-price) is normally paid by the son's parents, although he may contribute part of it.[12] If one's parents' property is permanently divided before all sons are married, then the unmarried sons would have to furnish their bride-price without aid from their

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12. The _hatud_ is not a payment to acquire a wife as property of her husband or his family. In most cases the payment is small and the money, animals, and food furnished by the groom's family are used by his bride's family in entertaining guests after the wedding. In some cases, however, the _hatud_ is so large that a sizable profit is made by the girl's family.

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parents' estate. The eldest son of one family whose parents were dead, when questioned why he had not divided their property among his younger siblings, replied:

> At present I cannot agree to the division of our parents' property for the reason that most of us are still unmarried and our youngest sister is still in school. She is not eighteen yet. The money spent by my parents to marry my brothers and sisters was taken from the income of our parents' property.

The eldest son and one of his younger brothers were bachelors.

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One mother's children were urging her to press for division of her deceased parents' property, that was being farmed by her eldest brother. This arrangement had been in force for many years. While the brother gave each of the heirs a share of the harvest, his nieces and nephews believed their mother's share would be larger if they farmed the land. However, the woman was reluctant to demand that her brother divide the land since several children were still unmarried.

In both these cases the individuals farming the fields received one-half of the harvest plus their share of the harvest as heirs. For example, if two of five brothers tilled the fields of their dead parents, furnishing the seed and animals, they receive 70 per cent of the harvest; 50 per cent for cultivating the fields and 10 per cent each as two of the five heirs. The land tax is divided equally among all heirs. It is to the

disadvantage of such heirs to repartition the fields among their younger brothers and sisters. If they did, they would be unable to work all the fields or receive 50 per cent of the harvest; they would receive only the crops raised on their own fields. 428 578.

Another case will illustrate how temporary division of the fields of the deceased (or living parents) in Caticugan caused rancor and dissension among the heirs. One father, while he was alive, divided his land between his two sons. Shortly after his death a flood ruined part of the elder son's field near the Mantuyop River. The division had been acceptable to both sons until the flood. After the flood the elder son demanded repartition of the land, arguing his field now was less valuable than that farmed by his younger brother. This quarrel smouldered during my entire residence.

When parents become very old they often live with married children. Sometimes the children are given permission to farm their parents' fields but the latter continue to share in the harvest; the children are their parents' tenants. An old woman in Caticugan had divided her land between her daughter and spinster sister. She still received part of the harvest each year from her field that was cultivated by her son-in-law. It was understood that on her spinster sister's death the latter's property would revert to her niece (i.e., daughter of her elder sister). Other elderly persons retain part 388 428

loaned her the money to purchase the fields. No decision had been reached on this case during my residence. 428

If some heirs are too young to farm the land they inherit, an elder sibling or relative may cultivate the fields until the heirs marry or are capable of tilling the land. Conflicts sometimes occur from these arrangements. In Barrio Canaway the parents of several small children died; their uncle (FaBr) cared for them and farmed their parents' fields. Later some of the children married and the unmarried children moved from their uncle's house to live with their brothers. They began to farm their parents' fields but the uncle refused to part with two parcels of land. He claimed one field as payment for the care he had given his nieces and nephews, and that the other field had been sold to him by their deceased parents when the children were young. The heirs claimed that their uncle had no legal documents to show for this alleged sale and that his family had lived off the harvests--which was full payment for their care. Their case was informally settled at Siaton municipio, in favor of the children. Often these disputes, when brought to the municipio, are not formally taken to court but are informally settled by the mayor or the chief of police. 423 518

Land records in Siaton municipio usually are not changed when children or relatives inherit property. Sometimes the records remain in the heirs' parents' name "out of respect to their memories." There is also a 423 428

rare. In fact, the only example that could be cited was when Lucas Ege died, his large dwelling in the poblacion was torn down and the timber and posts were distributed among his heirs. The average house in Caticugan would hardly be worth the trouble of disassembling it. 428

The customs of Caticugan illustrate the central concept of Philippine inheritance law--equal distribution among the heirs. Also illustrated are the complexities of the system as practiced in Caticugan. Some siblings attempt to inherit more than a rightful share; there occur devious arrangements to disinherit legal heirs, secret agreements, delayed division of property, inaccurate land records, and other methods of transferring property on death without legal safeguards. Under such conditions it is not surprising to find that much tension and conflict in the barrio center around land, usually involving both consanguine and affinal relatives.

## TYPES OF LAND DISPUTES

Nearly 20 per cent (sixteen cases) of eighty-four civil and criminal suits analysed from the available court records of Siaton municipio resulted from illegal cultivation of another's land, boundary disputes, or attempts to obtain more than one's rightful inheritance.[14] The chief 423 578 685

[14] A court of the First Instance is located in Siaton poblacion; each month, on certain days, a judge comes to the municipio to reside over the court. There is a judge in residence in Tolong poblacion who hears cases for this municipality and Sta. Catalina.

of police and the mayor are often consulted informally and disputes are settled outside the court without formal record of the disagreement. The chief of police said that most informal settlements involved disputed land boundaries, unequal division of land among heirs or the value of shares. Equal division of the land by area often is not "equal" since some parcels are rockier or more fertile than others. Often the fields that border one's land belong to relatives and were once owned by common grandparents, parents or siblings.

Cadiane writes of land disputes he dealt with when serving as justice of the peace in Siaton from 1906-1914. For example, one case filed in his court in 1912 concerned the ownership of about 6[illegible] acres in Sitio Habay (Barrio Sandolot).

> Nearly 60 people claimed to own part of this land. I set a day for all the claimants to be at the land they claimed. I went to the land in question, on the last Saturday of August, 1912, at about 9 o'clock in the morning. When I reached Habay nearly 200 people had gathered there. I asked the people if their land in the barrio had been registered. All the people said no because they had to clear their land of big trees. They needed axes to cut the big casay trees that were abundant in this place. I asked the people how they happened to own the land they claimed. Most of the people said that they inherited the land from their parents and grandparents. I told them to divide the land equally among themselves and not to fight over their claims because if they did, I told them further, the government would confiscate their lands and distribute it to other people. I told them that the barrio lieutenants of Sandolot, Datag and Habay would be the ones to divide their land in question so each one would register their land. I advised them not to go against my decision because if they did, no land would be given to them. The land was divided and registered by each owner and the dispute was settled. There have been no disputes over this land in Habay until the present time.

Cadiane states that during the Spanish and early American periods many local disputes centered about the ownership of coconut or buri trees planted between the field boundaries--a type of dispute that is common today in Siaton. 423 578 685

The following excerpt from the life history of a middle-aged male resident of Naga illustrates vividly the troubles over land. This informant's problems, while not typical of every family, indicate the types of arguments in many families. Questions in () were asked by the writer during the interview. 423 578

> (Did you ever have any quarrels with your relatives?) Sometimes we would quarrel. (About what?) Boundaries of our land. One of my relatives removed the correct boundaries between our land. (What boundaries?) Like when one fixes a fence, one may move the new fence a little farther over on someone else's land.
>
> Some of my relatives moved his fence onto my land about a handspan every year. If I do not watch them hard a handspan of land is stolen from me every year. Like Domingo [his mother's brother's son] planted buri palms in the center of our field boundary. When the buris grew big he fenced the field. He put the fence on the outside of the buris instead of in the middle. [The point is as the palm trunks expand the fence would slowly move onto the informant's land]. So I told Domingo that his fence would have to pass through the middle of the buris but he said the buris are growing. But I said: 'Suppose the buris grow one fathom onto my land? You will take this land too?' (What did you do about it?) One time we brought the quarrel to the teniente de barrio and Domingo was advised to put the fence in the middle of the buris. He agreed to do this but when he repaired the fence he did not put the fence in the middle.
>
> One of my nephews, Antero (Your real nephew?)--no, he is my pagomangkon sa pagpagaowan because his mother is my first cousin. Well, Antero was plowing his field which is next to mine. He made a fence on part of my land. I told him not to plant anything near the fence because I was going to pull it up.

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People who are interested in cheating neighbors can gain by cheating this way. Like the older brother of Domingo [the informant's first cousin] whose land borders that of Escoy [a non-relative]. He [Mariano, Domingo's older brother] planted coconuts between the field of his and Escoy's. But Escoy does not visit his fields very often. He does not pay much attention to his boundaries. So Mariano put his fence so all the coconuts were on his side and made the fence out of tuba [a popular wood used to make fences for it grows easily when transplanted]. Escoy did not pay any attention to this. So everytime Mariano repaired his fence he put it so the coconuts were on his side. He also planted buri close to the fence. When they grew big, he built the fence so all the buris were inside the fence on his side. Until now Mariano has cheated Escoy out of almost a six foot strip of land.

(You did not finish your story about Antero, your first cousin.) Well, he did not move back his fence and it is still on my land. He did not plant anything there, however. (Why don't you move the fence back to its proper place?) Well, when the fence gets old I'm going to do that.

I fought with Mariano over a land quarrel. One time when Mariano was putting in posts for a fence he did not follow the boundaries exactly. Instead of following the boundaries he curved the fence a little to get some of my land. So I pulled up the posts and put them in the right place. He got mad so we fought. When I was fighting with Mariano he picked up a stone and hit me on the forehead near my eyelid. This matter was taken to the municipio. While we were in court Mariano tried to say this wound was caused by my falling. But the judge and the sanitary inspector said that type of wound could not be caused by falling but was due to a blow from a stone. So Mariano was sentenced to three day's work in the municipio. At this time Mariano was a man of the mayor and he whispered to the mayor at the trial. But the mayor just said: 'It is only three days, you just work it out.' If I don't watch my cousins they will cheat me out of some of my land.

When I was 10 years old--there were eight in my family--my mother quarreled with her brother and sister over land. One of my mother's brothers built a fence on part of my mother's land. I told my mother what Julio [the informant's maternal uncle] was doing. So my mother told Julio that the fence was on part of her land. Julio said: 'Never mind, it is only over a little on your side.' Julio's wife urged him to do this. She said: 'You try to get a

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little more land because we have plenty of children. This case was brought to the court and my mother was alone against her seven brothers and sisters. The case was not finished for a long time. (Who won?) My mother won the case.

My mother was the youngest in her family. During this time my mother's father was still living. My mother's brothers were already married, ahead of my mother. So my mother's father gave land to the married children. He said to his married children: 'I'm still alive and eating so I'll hold this piece of land myself. When I die you divide this land into two equal parts. One part goes to my daughter [informant's mother] and then you divide the other piece among yourselves.' When my mother's father died, the older brothers and sister did not want to give my mother any land.

(Do other people quarrel ~~over~~ land in Naga or Caticugan?) No, I'm the only one. Oh, I forgot, there is Day and Maria who are quarreling over land. (Tell me about this quarrel.) Day changed the boundaries of her land. (Who is Maria?) Day's husband is the first cousin of Maria's father. Maria's father had a brother and her father and his brother jointly owned a piece of land. Maria's father's brother sold his half of the land to Day. The other half belonged to his father. When this land was sold to Day it was divided equally and the boundaries established. When Day built a new fence she moved it over a little onto the land that belongs to Maria's father. When Maria found out she pulled up the posts and returned them to the correct boundary. She told Day to bring the matter to the court. But Day did not do this. Maria lives in Dangola. Everytime she visits her land she finds out the fence is not in the right place. So Maria has told the people she does not know why Day wants to cheat her out of her land when Day has no children. Maria offered to buy the land from Day but Day does not want to sell.

It is tiresome to have this type of person having land bordering your land. Good if I were the first one to build the fence. I would build it on the right boundary. These people who want to cheat you build the fence in the right place the first time. When they rebuild the fence they make it a little more over on your land. In three years, by this way, they can get enough land to plant coconuts.

Another woman explained, in her life history, the

of land disputes she knew about in Caticugan.

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middle-aged woman, born in the barrio, and respected by most of the people.

(Did your parents ever quarrel with their relatives over land?) No, just their offspring today. (What are the quarrels about?) The owner of land near our place is Juana, my father's sister's daughter. She had a clerk come from the municipio to measure her land. She wanted her land to extend into my land. So this is the question now. We do not want Juana to claim part of my land because it belonged to my father.

There is another case between Juana and Mang. The old declaration of Juana's land measured only 141 meters while Mang's measured 142 meters. Mang's declaration [land record] was old because it was made in 1914. Recently Juana claimed part of Mang's land because her 1951 declaration measured 280 meters. They have taken the quarrel to court.

Juana went to the chief of police to complain about a buri that was made into guhang by Mang. So the chief of police sent a policeman to measure the land to determine ownership of the buri. After measuring the land they found it was on Mang's land. So Juana lost this complaint. Not satisfied by the decision of the chief she complained to the judge. When the complaint was filed with the judge he called a preliminary trial between Juana and Mang. He asked Mang whether she could employ a lawyer; and she said no because the land rightfully belonged to her. I was sitting near Mang and whispered to her to ask the judge if Juana could also employ a lawyer. But Mang was shy and did not say anything. The judge urged Mang to have a lawyer because how could she answer his questions without one. If she could not answer his questions she would lose the case. So the case is still pending.

Clement, Mang's brother, cut some bamboo located on the land in question. So Juana again went to the judge. She asked him if she had lost the case because Clement cut bamboo without her permission. The judge said no and that he would subpoena Clement and Mang to come on October 31. But the subpoena was made out wrong because the judge came October 30. So the case is still pending. Juana has told others she would not talk to the judge because she had paid the chief of police $14 to talk for her; it will be he who will face the judge. Mang says if she is defeated she will see the Public Defender in Dumaguete.

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(When you were a young girl were land disputes taken to the municipio or the teniente de barrio?" Before the gulang old people were good because whenever they had a controversy over land they settled it by themselves--but today it is very different. I do not remember my parents ever making trouble regarding land boundaries. (What about your relatives when you were a young girl?) They never quarreled about land that I can remember. (In the old days were there many quarrels over land?) Before, in the old days, there was little land trouble but today there is much. After the war when people received money from war damage, land troubles flared up because they had money to spend for the court. Juana said: 'I have money for the expenses of my case.' She got $400 from the war damage committee according to others.

There are a number of reasons for the apparent increase of land disputes in contemporary Caticugan. During the Spanish period, Gadiane states, fewer arguments occurred over ownership of fields per se (in comparison with the present); however, many quarrels developed regarding correct field boundaries. Once more land was available to the barriofolk and fewer people lived in the locality. Parental authority was stronger in the past; children denied this authority less frequently than they do today. Increased mobility of the people, however, has brought many disputes to the poblacion court that once were settled by barrio lieutenants in the rural communities. Today few barriofolk have more land than they need to feed their families and there is little land for sale--even if one has the money to buy it. The real importance of land is not its sale value but its food-producing capacity.

One type of land conflict that frequently occurred in the past and seems to be the major source of contention today is quarrels over correct field boundaries. Field boundaries are usually marked with rickety bamboo fences, bamboo or

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banana clumps, coconut or buri palms--all relatively impermanent. No surveys have been made so no accurate records of boundaries exist in the municipio. Since land is rarely sold, boundary disputes often involve such quarrels.

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TENANCY ARRANGEMENTS: LOWLAND

Under the common paddy tenancy arrangement in Caticugan the tenant furnishes the work animal and farm implements, pays all costs of transplanting and cultivating while the landlord furnishes the seed and shares harvest expenses equally with his tenant. The net produce of the paddy is divided 50-50. In some tenancy arrangements, the tenant furnishes the carabao and the plow, the landlord the seed; both share equally all costs of production and divide the net produce 50-50. A few tenants furnish everything--animal, plow, seeds--and pay production costs except for the harvest which the landlord shares equally; the tenant receives 66-2/3 per cent of the net harvest. If this arrangement is reversed the tenant receives the smaller harvest share.

The Philippine Rice Tenancy Act (first passed in 1933 and amended in 1946) defines the legal relation of tenant and landlord. According to this Act, if a tenant furnishes the work animal and farm implements, the landlord the seeds, and both share equally the costs of transplanting and cultivation, the net harvest is to be divided 45-55 in favor of the tenant.[15] According to the Act, expenses of harvesting and threshing are to be deducted from the

[15] A personal letter to the writer from Mr. Deogracias E. Lerma, Chief, Tenancy Division, Court of Industrial Relations, Department of Justice, Manila, September 18, 1951.

and drink his wine. One time we were practicing the rigodon for the fiesta in the convento. The priest was away. When he returned he did not scold us but he had a heavy face. He did not like it because we had profaned the sanctity of his abode.[90]

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The Spaniards often both punished and rewarded the Filipinos; this led to an ambivalent attitude toward most of them that persists into the present.

The Messianic Outlaws of Southern Negros

Conditions worsened for both Filipinos and Spaniards during the last part of the 19th century. Hostility to Spanish rule increased among educated Filipinos. Filipino leaders were deported to penal colonies and innocent intellectuals were persecuted. As various political and social abuses were not abolished, a reaction known as the "Propaganda Movement" developed among Filipino leaders. This movement began in 1872 and ended two decades later when the revolutionary society, Katipunan, was founded.

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Beginning with the 1870's a series of disturbances or uprisings occurred in various parts of the island. Some of these disturbances were due to bandits who lived in the mountains and robbed the people of the lowlands. These outlaws had existed since the early days of the Spanish administration of Negros. With the development

[90] The rigodon is a quadrille first introduced at the XIII's court and later diffused to Spain and eventually to the Philippines. Francisca R. Tolentino, Philippine National Dances. New York, Silver Burdett Company, 1946, p. 261.

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of the sugar industry during this period, these bandits found even richer spoils to loot in the haciendas and centrals. Some of these uprisings, however, were of a messianic or nativistic nature with supernatural sanctions and sometimes a racial aspect directed against the Chinese. In 1878 the Guardia Civil was first established in Negros; in the same year a detachment was sent to Siaton.[91] The arrival in Siaton of the Guardia Civil, which in those days was moved from one region to another as "shock troops," is an indication that military force was needed to suppress growing lawlessness. Conditions in Siaton so deteriorated within a ten-year period that in December, 1887, the Governor-General of the Philippines, Valeriano Weyler, anchored a battleship with 500 soldiers off Siaton.[92]

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In 1887 the southern part of Negros was disturbed by the activities of Ponciano Elofre, also known by his nicknames "King Kanoy" or "Buhawi" (Waterspout) who had thousands of followers.[93] Elofre was a cabeza of Barrio

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[91] Marco, op. cit., p. 110. It is the Cadiane manuscript that states that a Guardia Civil detachment came to Siaton.

[92] In 1888 Weyler fought the Moros of Lanao to end a conflict that had begun in 1887. David P. Barrows, History of the Philippines. Rev. ed. New York, World Book Company, 1926, p. 348.

[93] This account is a reconstruction of material obtained from the Cadiane manuscripts and interviews with the daughter-in-law of one of Elofre's adopted sons (actually his nephew), Santiago Tayko, a former capitan of Zamboanguita who knew Elofre, and several other informants. Elofre is not mentioned by name in either Lebaux' Apunte or Marco's Reseña.

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Nahandig (some say Kaladias) located in the interior part of the present municipality of Zamboanguita. He was married but never had any children except those he adopted. Klofre is remembered as a man of means since "one could not become a cabeza unless he owned some property then." He was said to be good-natured, generous, and a devout Catholic. His almost fanatic devotion to his religion led him to organize Saturday prayer meetings in his barrio; these began to attract many people. After the religious services there was dancing, singing and often a cockfight. Later the people, through cooperative labor, built a small chapel in Klofre's barrio.

As more people were attracted to these services, particularly from Zamboanguita poblacion, local Spanish officials grew suspicious of Klofre's motives. Klofre allegedly urged his followers not to pay their taxes, although others state he did not encourage the people to revolt against Spanish authority. His prayer meetings were attended by devout Catholics, many of whom believed he possessed unusual powers. It is also said that Klofre was unable to pay the taxes required of him as a cabeza and from this inability his troubles with the Spaniards began. The Spanish authorities, however, appeared to believe he was inciting the barriofolk to revolt against the government. Their suspicions of Klofre grew as the crowds at his barrio services increased. Throughout the Philippines at this time political conditions were such as to stimulate the Spanish authorities to suspect any large Filipino gathering.

Finally the Guardia Civil went to Klofre's barrio to arrest him and suppress the meetings. After several clashes in which some of his followers were killed, Klofre decided to surrender to the authorities to halt any further bloodshed. Another account, however, states that he and his father were secretly visiting a nephew in Zamboanguita poblacion, and that Klofre intended to give himself up when he was surprised by the Guardia Civil. In the struggle to capture Klofre, his father was killed. Klofre and his brother-in-law, Valentin Tubigan, nicknamed "Cachila" (i.e., Spaniard because of his long black beard), were able to escape.[94]

Klofre's escape from the Guardia Civil allegedly was due to his supernatural powers and his anting-anting (amulet). At first the two men established their residence at Sitio Abolay (Aboli), west of Barrio Olambid in the northern part of Siaton municipality.[95] Later they

[94]Ruiz also states his full name was Valentin Tubigan or "Cachila." Ruiz, op. cit., p. 150. One informant said Klofre was visiting his father's residence in Zamboanguita with no intention of surrendering. While there his dagger began "to bleed." Klofre's father believed this to be a bad omen and urged his son to leave before the Guardia Civil learned he was in the poblacion. Klofre refused and later the soldiers surrounded his father's residence, tied him to a chair and bayoneted his father to death before Klofre's eyes. Because of his supernatural powers, Klofre and Valentin were able to escape.

[95]The former capitan of Zamboanguita (whom I interviewed), when he was eleven years old, claims he actually saw an example of Klofre's magical powers. While at a house with Klofre, the latter requested a glass of water. The water did not arrive quickly and Klofre was quite thirsty, so he knocked a large bamboo, part of the house's structure, and fresh water gushed forth. One day when hungry and without money, Klofre told one of his friends to cut open a squash growing in the field. Inside the squash was found 20 centavos. When his followers were hungry, Klofre is said to have spread his handkerchief on the sea, sailed away, and returned later with plenty of fish.

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moved to Sitio Dagangdang north of Olambid. Gradually the legends of Klofre's supernatural powers spread throughout the southern part of Negros. Ruiz writes that he claimed to be a "Living God" while other informants say Klofre was invulnerable to bullets. His magical powers were believed to reside in a mole on the back of his neck. He was able to make it rain at will. One day, in the presence of nearly 1,000 followers, Klofre climbed a coconut tree and prayed for rain, which soon fell in torrents. The Guardia Civil, then searching for Klofre and his group, had to abandon their hunt because of the heavy rain. It was from this incident that Klofre received his nickname, Buhawi, "Waterspout."

Klofre predicted that the world would be destroyed by a great flood, although no specific date was set for the catastrophe. After the flood the world would be plunged into utter darkness and those who did not follow Klofre would perish in rivers of boiling water and fire. Klofre wore a uniform of black pants with vivid red stripes down the seams and a black coat with orange stripes on the breast. However, he wore only this gaudy uniform when the Guardia Civil were chasing him "because he did not wish to frighten his followers."

> With this prophecy [that he was a Living God] he succeeded in attracting people from various towns on the coast who blindly followed him...He had his own police who went to the nearby towns to collect candles and tribute from the people. Persons who could not pay these were taken before the Living God who punished them at will for failing to follow orders.[96]

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[96]Ruiz, op. cit., p. 149.

Cadiane writes that thousands of people from the coastal poblacions and barrios flocked to Klofre's mountain lair.

> There were very few people left in the poblacions of Negros Oriental. Young and old, father and son, going with him anyplace. It was said that the people were fearful of him if they failed to obey what he said. They were told to bring to Klofre a candle, five centavos, a chicken and egg which were signs of homage to him. There were about 15,000 people in the mountains who were followers of Buhawi, even some Loog.[97]

Various stories are told of Klofre's mountain residences that he constantly changed due to Guardia Civil patrols. He was said to always be surrounded by his soldiers while beautiful women and handsome young men alternately danced and sang the Katihado (a dance in which the participants compose their songs extemporaneously) to entertain him. Klofre's "palace" was so bright it seemed as if it were illuminated with electricity. When he lived in Barrio Nahandig he would wave his silk handkerchief at the side of a near-by cliff that miraculously opened, exposing inside a richly decorated room. When new followers came with offerings, Cadiane reports Klofre told them:

> You must believe and have faith in me. I am the owner of your salvation. For those who are with me, and those who died from the beginning to now, are witness of my calling to you. So you just clap your hands and nothing will happen to you.

The clapping of hands appears to have been both a ritual and a magical protection against harm for Klofre's followers.

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[97] Ruiz, op. cit., p. 148: "From each new convert he collected tribute for his personal expenses, plus a candle." Cadiane's estimate of 15,000 followers is probably an exaggeration, although there is no way the actual numbers can be determined.

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So many people from Siaton began to visit or became followers of Elofre that in 1888 the parish priest, Julian Adan, told Andres Ragay, the local judge, to go to his mountain camp to investigate.[98] Ragay visited Elofre's group and is said to found all reports about him correct. He discovered a former clerk of the Siaton cascareal, Pio Kiti, recording names of Elofre's new followers who came from Tolong, Maloconan, Giliga-on, Siaton, Bonbonon, Zamboanguita, Dauin, Bacong, Valencia, Dumaguete, Sibulan, Tanjay and other coastal settlements of Negros Oriental. Elofre did not attract many followers from western Negros, probably due to the poor transportation facilities.

After Ragay's report to the priest and local officials, a plan was formed to capture Elofre. It was agreed that the Guardia Civil patrols of Tolong, Bais, Guihulngan, Dumaguete, Zamboanguita, and Siaton were to march from their respective poblacions and secretly meet near Elofre's camp. The patrols met as planned. When the attack began Elofre cried: "Make your belief in me strong for we are being attacked by the Devil." Elofre and most of his followers escaped, although one soldier and four of Elofre's followers were killed and sixty men, women, and children arrested. After this encounter Elofre and

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[98]Adan is said to be the first person to bring goats and sheep to Siaton poblacion. Goats were a pre-Hispanic animal in the Philippines while sheep were brought to the archipelago by the Spaniards.

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his followers seem to have been inactive for a short period. Some said that angels had taken Klofre to heaven but that he would return. Peace and order so improved that the soldiers stationed in Siaton under Lt. Col. Villabrille who had arrived with Weyler returned to Manila.[99]

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In the middle of the year (1888) Klofre's followers became active again, stealing cattle or carabaos from the lowlanders, "Sometimes cutting off only the two hind legs or just taking the tongue." The barriofolk began again to go to the mountains to join Klofre. "This was in July, 1888, because the corn was already in tassels," Cadiane writes. Conditions became so unsettled that it was dangerous to leave the centers of population. Guardia Civil patrols combed the mountains, and often shot any suspicious character on sight. There were a few days, during this period, Cadiane reports, that bodies did not arrive from the mountains in Siaton poblacion due to the Guardia Civil patrols. "Sometimes they would only bring back a string of ears, one ear for each man shot. These strings of ears were often nearly three feet long." Cadiane describes Siaton poblacion at this time.

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[99] Cadiane manuscript's conflicts with the account given by Ruiz who states Villabrille did not go to Manila when his group left Negros; he was sent to Antique province, Panay, where another "God" had made his appearance. Ruiz, op. cit., p. 150.

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The condition of the poblacion was like that of a cave because when the sun set nobody would walk the streets. When one talked it would be in a whisper because there might be soldiers or followers of Buhawi listening under the house. If you talked against the soldiers, they would take you to their headquarters. If you said anything against Buhawi, his men might hear you and take you to face him in the mountains. There was continual stealing in the near-by area and continual shooting in the mountains. You would hear the rattle of the guns and of the machitas (heavy cutting knives carried by the Guardia Civil). You would hear the sorrowful howling of the dogs.[100]

The disorder and violence in this locality continued until 1889. One day Manuel Ege, the son of Capitan Lucas Ege (who had been re-elected capitan for the fourth time in 1889), was captured by Elofre's followers. Ege, however, managed to escape and reported their presence in the mountains. Fortunately, forty Guardia Civil soldiers from Tolong were stationed in Siaton, under the command of Lt. Dominick (Ruiz, Domenech).[101] The following morning as the people attended mass news arrived that Elofre's

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[100] Valentin seems to have had his personal following, although subject to the command of Elofre. In the latter part of 1888, after the attack on Elofre's group, Valentin and some of his followers held a meeting in the house of Alegio Ragpa, Barrio Datag. The people danced, shouted, sang, and clapped their hands for Valentin said: "Clap your hands and we shall never be in danger." News of this meeting reached the poblacion. A messenger was sent to Valentin, telling him the people did not mind his gathering but the Guardia Civil said it was illegal and for them to disband immediately. Valentin refused. As a result several Guardia Civil soldiers and local policemen returned to Datag and attacked the group. Valentin was reported to have wiped off the bullets that hit him "like fireflies that were lighting on his chest." Finally Valentin said, "Because you cannot get us, we will be the ones to get you" and the soldiers and policemen fled in fear, leaving behind a companion thought to be dead but who was merely badly wounded. This man returned to the poblacion and another patrol was sent after Valentin but he had left Datag.

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[101] Ruiz gives a slightly different version. A rainy and dark night in August, 1887 Elofre decided to attack the poblacion. The Guardia Civil, stationed in Siaton, decided to hunt him out but just then Lt. Domenech arrived and advised that the attack should be postponed until the next morning. Ruiz, op. cit., p. 148.

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group was meeting in the house of Bernabe Cajonera in Barrio Sandolot (Ruiz states Sitio Nabais, Sandolot) in preparation for an attack on the poblacion.

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More than 100 soldiers and local policemen marched to Sandolot to surprise Klofre's followers. As the soldiers moved through the fields of ripe corn surrounding Klofre's meeting place they could hear the people singing and clapping their hands. The men were filled with "sadness and fear for they were going to meet Klofre who was even more powerful than Valentin who had just wiped off the bullets shot from their guns." This surprise attack resulted in the death of Klofre. Gadiane writes:

> As the Guardia Civil were firing their guns they saw someone who was quite big and stout, dressed in black clothing with red and white stripes, going up the hillside. In his right hand he was holding a pinoti [a bolo-like knife]. The Guardia Civil believed this man was Buhawi so they concentrated their fire on him. Buhawi did not run or even walk fast. He was just walking in a natural pace up the steep slope of the hill. After firing for awhile the soldiers no longer were able to see Buhawi. They went up the hill after him. When they reached the top of the hill they saw at the opposite bank of the river, in a small clearing, a man kneeling on one knee, holding a pinoti. They fired at him many times but he did not fall. They did not know Buhawi was already dead. So the Guardia Civil went near and one man pushed the body. They then saw blood was coming out of his mouth and that a bullet had passed through his rectum into his head.

Thus died the King called Kanoy.

His body was carried to Siaton poblacion where it was bathed in coconut oil, dressed, the hair neatly combed, and placed in a chair in front of the casareal. Criers were sent throughout the poblacion and near-by barrios telling the people to come to see the former

superman. The corpse was later sent to Zamboanguita under heavy guard because the rumor was that Elofre's followers were going to try to highjack their dead leader. In Zamboanguita Elofre's relatives were called to identify the body. 175* 579 668 792

The legends concerning Buhawi continued to multiply after his death. It was said that it took five days to carry the body from Siaton to Zamboanguita yet it did not decompose. A friend donated a blanket, mat, and pillow for Elofre's burial. Several evenings after the funeral this friend heard a voice in the darkness say: "Pari, here are your things." Going outside his house he found his blanket, mat, and pillow used to bury Elofre. Elofre had been resurrected. There are some old people who today believe that Elofre was never shot, that he is still alive and may return. For the most part, however, the life and legend of Buhawi are being forgotten rapidly; he is not part of the folklore of the younger people, many of whom have never heard of the former King Kanoy.

The death of Elofre did not end all the disturbances in southern Negros. In 1890 Elofre's brother-in-law, Valentin, and the latter's brother, Higino (Ruiz: Higinio known as "God Talisic"), held a meeting near Magdalamas, a mountain in the vicinity of Sitio Kaladyas, Barrio Bonawon. A large number of armed men and women attended the meeting. New threats to Siaton's peace were feared, so a Guardia Civil patrol was sent to capture the group. They fought Valentin's followers, who were trapped in 175* 579 668

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their meeting house, for twenty-four hours. Early in the morning a woman cried: "Stop shooting! All the men are dead."[102]

When the soldiers entered the house they found Valentin, his wife, Higinio, and several others dead. More than twenty female followers of Valentin and Higinio were captured. The bodies of the dead were carried to Siaton and placed in front of the casareal for the populace to inspect. When the Guardia Civil group returned to the poblacion with the bodies some people heard mysterious drums.[103]

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[102] Ruiz states that in 1888 a Guardia Civil patrol, guided by spies, attacked the hiding place of Valentin and Higinio. They resisted arrest and were killed. Their bodies were brought to Siaton poblacion. On Klofre's death, his wife "took upon her shoulders his mantle of divinity, calling herself the Dowager Queen and was taken around in a chair." She and her brother-in-law of her husband joined forces. It was the news of these two individuals that brought Weyler and Villabrille to Negros in December, 1887. First, two companies of infantry were sent by Weyler, who did not arrive himself until 1887. Ruiz reports that the soldiers searched for Valentin and Camartin, another local outlaw, but were unsuccesaful. Villabrille finally took his troops to Antique province, Panay. This account conflicts in the matter of dates with Gadiane's manuscript that states Klofre was not killed until 1889 and Valentin and Higinio shot in 1890. Ruiz, op. cit., p. 150.

[103] A month after Valentin's death, Juana Gaitera, "The Princess of the Mountains," surrendered to Lt. Radok of the Siaton Guardia Civil. She and her group had come to the poblacion in the past, beating drums but were "chased away" by the soldiers. Gaitera and her few followers seem to have been harmless and the officials were not concerned over their activities. Gaitera was taken by Radok to the local judge who ordered her sent to Bacolod for judgment. Later her brother who lived in Siaton received a letter from Juana who wrote she was living in San Ramon, Zamboanga, with a Spanish surgeon whom she planned to marry.

beard and wore an uniform like a spider's web with red and black stripes." Finally he steeled himself and went to Torres for aid in making the census. 175* 681

The deaths of Klofre and Valentin did not end the disturbances in southern Negros. During the 1890's another ladrone (bandit), Camalting, roamed the interior regions of Negros Oriental, robbing and terrorizing the people of the lowlands and the mountains. While he never attacked Siaton poblacion he came as far south as Barrio Casala-an.[114] Camalting's band dispersed when he was murdered by his three wives who wearied of the constant flight from the Guardia Civil patrols. They are said to have gotten their husband intoxicated and stabbed him while he slept. The wives surrendered to Lucas Bueno, the Guardia Civil surgeon, who turned them over to his superior, Torres. General peace appears to have returned to this part of the island until the raids of the Babaylanes during the revolution. 175* 579 668

In 1895 orders from Dumaguete arrived in the poblacion to prepare a list of trainees from eighteen to twenty-two years old for the infantry and Guardia Civil forces. The rebellious activities of many Filipinos were increasing. The "Propaganda Movement" had failed to achieve real political and social reform in the Philippines while such 175* 668 702

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[114] Ruiz mentions a noted outlaw of this region named Camartin who probably is the same person as Camalting. Ruiz, op. cit., p. 148.

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advisory council of eight members and a military governor appointed by the American army. The military governor selected the judiciary, commanded the troops, and had the power to veto any act of the civil government. As LeRoy writes: "It was a system whereby the military governor could, if tyrannically inclined, nullify the much advertised 'home rule' of Negros, or could, if wisely willing to direct things from the background, foster real self-government into being, provided, that is, he had the right sort of cooperation from the native officials..."[132]

In October, 1899, the people voted Melecio Severino the first Filipino governor of the Republic of Negros.[133] The new government was inaugurated in November, 1899, one year after the fall of Bacolod to Araneta's forces. After the inauguration of the Republic the provisional government of Negros Oriental was dissolved and its property and funds transferred to Bacolod. A "subdelegation" was established in Dumaguete, due to inadequate communication facilities and the distance from Bacolod; it carried out the decrees of the Republic.[134]

The Babaylanes of Siaton

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One reason for the failure of the Republic of Negros was disturbances caused by outlaws who ravaged the

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[132] LeRoy, op. cit., II, p. 109.

[133] Zaide and Tolentino, op. cit., pp. 88-9 and LeRoy, op. cit., II, p. 111.

[134] War Department Report, I, 1900, pp. 253 and 276.

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land. The Spaniards had never been successful in suppressing the marauding bands of bandits who roamed the forested mountains of Negros and the isolated southern region. These groups would suddenly strike at the haciendas, mountain or lowland barrios, burn and loot the buildings, attack the inhabitants, and then retreat to their almost inaccessible lairs. Similar outlaw gangs existed in the Philippines during the Spanish period; they were not unique in Negros. The members of these outlaw groups were usually called ladrones or tulisanes (robbers or thieves) while the friars often referred to them as remontados (figuratively, to take to the hills).[135]

The Filipinos who composed these motley bands were the criminals, the adventurous, the discontented and the fanatics. Some were unwilling members impressed by threats of the loosely-organized outlaw bands. Political and social abuses under the Spaniards drove many otherwise peaceful Filipinos into these rabbles.

> ...in the more settled communities of Luzon and the chief islands of the Bisayas, the tendency to 'remount' and escape the compelling restraints of a civilization in some respects irksome, to avoid the penalty of crime, or, in many cases it doubtless has been, to flee from the abuses of authority or a maladministration of government, has been displayed not so much in a return to the primitive life of the forests as in the formation of bands of outlaws. The close connexion of the inveterate ladronism of the Philippine Islands with the activities of an over-paternal, sometimes tyrannical, friar or military commander in the town, is a thing thoroughly well established.[136]

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[135] LeRoy, The Americans in the Philippines, II, p. 107.

[136] LeRoy, Philippine Life in Town and Country, pp. 29-30.

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Some of the outlaw bands had a messianic or nativistic character that probably stemmed from the threats made to their way of life by the Spanish administration, or from a growing realization of the disintegration of their traditional values.[136] Detailed accounts of these groups of Negros, particularly the Babaylanes in southern Negros are scarce; Gadiane's account of Babaylanes activities in this part of Negros is of increased value for this reason.

There were three general types of outlaw bands in Negros, although their activities often were similar. The largest group was the Babaylanes (that Gadiane translates as "People who are against the rule of the government"). This name is most likely derived from babaylan, the title given to the native priests in pre-Hispanic Philippines.[137] The Babaylanes have been compared with pulajans of Samar, the Colorum movement of Batangas and Tayabas, the Santa Iglesia of Nueva Ecija and Bulacan, and the Guardia de Honor of Pangasinan and the Ilocos provinces. All of these movements had a tone of religious ritual with crusading "Popes," self-appointed "Messiahs," distinctive costumes, bottles of holy oil, prayer books, and various amulets to protect them from harm.[138] The Babaylanes

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[136] Ralph Linton, "Nativistic Movements," American Anthropologist, XLV, No. 2, (April-June, 1943), pp. 230-40.

[137] Zaide, The Philippines Since Pre-Spanish Times, p. 67.

[138] Vic Hurley, Jungle Patrol: The Story of the Philippine Constabulary. New York, E. P. Dutton and Company, 1938, pp. 130-2.

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numbered in the thousands; an estimated 1,500 outlaws existed in Negros Oriental at the beginning of the Negros Republic.[139] There were even more Babaylanes in Negros Occidental.

The Babaylane movement is said to have come from Antique Province, Panay, before the revolution.[140] Their leader in Negros was a former hacienda laborer, Dionisio Magbuela, but usually called "Papa Isio."[141] Isio posed as an instrument of divine vengeance and his followers believed they were ordained by Jesus to liberate the people of Negros from Spaniards and Americans alike.[142] Isio's group believed if the Republic of Negros were overthrown (or later the American provincial governments) that the hacenderos' land would be reapportioned. No machinery would be permitted to enter Negros for the sugar plantations and only rice would be cultivated.[143] Governor

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[139] Senate Document, No. 4242, p. 225.

[140] Philippine Commission Report, II, 1900, p. 415.

[141] Senate Document, No. 4242, p. 225.

[142] Hurley, op. cit., pp. 137-8. Another outlaw, said to be the son of a Negrito mother, was Dalmacio whose headquarters was on the slopes of Canlaon volcano. He was finally captured by Captain John H. White in 1902.

[143] "Report of the Major-General Commanding the Army." Annual Reports of the War Department, Fiscal Year Ending 30 June 1899. House of Representatives Documents, No. 2, 56th Congress, 1st Session, No. 3903, Washington, D.C., Government Printing Office, 1899, In three parts, Part 3, p. 348. Hereafter cited as House Document No. 3903, III, 1899.

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Leandro Locsin (when American provincial governments in Negros had been established) characterized the beliefs of the Babaylanes as a "mixture of socialistic principles, anarchistic instincts, and a strange aberration of religious and fanatical notions...[144]

The second type of criminal group in Negros was Filipinos who posed as patriots, fighting for the new Philippine Republic, but were actually bandits who clothed unlawful activities in the new flag of independence. This group developed during the revolution. They were a break-off from the third type of outlaw bands--robbers who made no pretensions at being patriots or having special religious beliefs. These two groups were never as well-organized as the Babaylanes and the latter were often blamed for their plundering.

Negros was a congenial environment for development of outlaw bands. The island's mountainous backbone was an excellent hiding place from pursuing authorities, Spanish, Filipino, or American. "There have always been Babaylanes in the southern part of the island of Negros under the Spanish rule...."[145] The relatively isolated and unsettled Tablas plateau of southern Negros was a favorite haunt of the Babaylanes, which may have influenced its settlement pattern. Prior to the revolution

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[144] Senate Document No. 4242, p. 439.

[145] "Hearings before the Committee of the Philippines of the U. S. Senate." Senate Document No. 331, Part 2. 57th Congress, 1st Session, 1901-02. No. 4243. Government Printing Office, 1902, p. 1790. Hereafter cited as Senate Document No. 4243.

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the Babaylanes were an intermittent evil, being inactive for periods and then coming "...out of the woods when the times were hard and terrorizing the people."[146] The meager transportation and communication facilities of the island hindered the efforts of the police and troops to stamp out their raids.

Echauz devotes a chapter to the Babaylanes in his Apuntes. He writes that it is not his purpose to report on the fighting spirit of these people but to discuss babaylanismo as a "peaceful group practicing their rites in places beyond the reach of authority."

> A decided partisan of a sect which has been unceasingly hunted, the babaylan comes to town only when called to account by legal authority or to cure a sick person...enjoying the profitable life of a quack doctor...He carries no rosaries or escapularies around his neck but in a pocket tied on his back he carries his amulet or anting-anting... He does not pray to God but makes sacrifices and reads from his book printed in different colored inks...This group gets together every new moon in the month of March of every year and in a bigger and more solemn meeting at the same period every seven years...The major assembly or the sanhedrin coincides with our Holy Week...In the great assembly of 1874 celebrated in the mountains of Tubungan officiated the great leaders, Ingo of Cabatuan, Ingo of Barok, Julian, Tatwan, Pall and Pacio of Leon, all of Iloilo. More than a thousand people attended...the meeting...these people...perform their rites in small doses throughout six years and on the seventh year do it on a gigantic scale... The number seven comes into all his undertakings and ceremonies; seven are the hogs sacrificed; he celebrates his reunions every seven years; he burns seven tunics and seven blankets and leaps over the pig seven times before plunging the sacrificial dagger.[147]

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[146] Senate Document No. 4243, p. 1790.

[147] Echauz, op. cit., pp. 139-44.

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Echauz concludes his short account with a description of a religious sacrifice by this group.

The wealth of Negros' growing sugar industry made plundering forages to the lowland quite profitable. The large estates of the hacenderos were rich prizes. William Taft reported:

> In the Spanish times forces of a thousand to fifteen hundred men [Babailanes] was not at all unusual. They...made forays down into the rich sugar haciendas that are in West Negros and sometimes to the rich planters of eastern Negros [probably at San Carlos and the Bais-Tanjay area] ..."[148]

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The contrast between the rich and the poor was especially vivid in western Negros. The wealth of the hacenderos grew with the expansion of sugar agriculture. One American observer, writing in 1901, commented:

> The situation in the Island is somewhat similar to that in Europe during the Middle Ages,--the great families rule the land. The Lazuriaggas [Luzuriagas], the Mapas, the Lacsons, are the Capulets and Montagues of the Island of Negros.[149]

Many of the sugar planters exploited their workers, as was the custom throughout the islands, and most of the abuses that existed during the Spanish period continued under the Negros Republic. The rapidly growing population of Negros increased the number of landless farmers who probably looked enviously on the great holdings of the hacenderos.

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The Babailanes raided and stole from Spaniards and Filipinos alike. They had a set tariff of blackmail which

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[148] Senate Document No. 4242, p. 14.

[149] W. F. Norris, "Legal Conditions in the Island of Negros," The Green Bag, XIV, No. 1, (January, 1902), p. 20.

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they demanded from the wealthier class and local officials. The municipal officials who failed to raise the money demanded by Isio were "hung without any hesitation whatsoever."[150] In 1900 Isio announced that Filipinos who associated or cooperated with Americans would be decapitated, just as the towns that did not revolt against the Negros Republic, allegedly dominated by the sugar planters, would be burned. The anti-American attitude of the Babaylanes was encouraged by agents of Aguinaldo's government who secretly came to Negros, joined the outlaw bands in the mountains, and incited them to attack the local government.[151]

The Babaylan disorders, and the other outlaws in Negros, spurred the leaders of Bacolod to request American aid for their provisional government. The wealthy sugar planters feared the spread of lawlessness in the island would increase and destruction of their property would become more serious. Luzuriaga explained to General Otis when the Negros delegation visited him in Manila in 1899:

> This is a sect [Babaylanes] partly religious and also anarchistic which existed during the times of the Spaniards, and as commissioners from Panay [Tagalog agents of Aguinaldo] promised these people a division of the property of the people in power they succeeded in getting them to revolt in arms against the [Negros] government. In consequence of this houses were burned, cattle were taken possession

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150 Worcester, op. cit., p. 232.

151 Senate Document, No. 4242, p. 731.

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of, and all the plantations in some districts were burned. I have heard that there were about 100 [sugar] plantations burned.[152]

When Colonel Smith arrived in Bacolod his troops fought the Babailanes. Some of the engagements between the Americans and the Babailanes were more than mere skirmishes. For example, Smith's troops attacked a Babailane camp near Bobong, western Negros, with the result that they lost 60 of their men while 300 Babailanes and two of the "generals" were killed. The continued lack of law and order in western Negros was one reason why many Bacolod leaders requested a provincial status for the island when William Taft visited them in 1901.

Colonel Smith wrote that after the Tanjay revolt, Negros Oriental was peaceful "if an unsuccessful raid of Tulisanes [Babailanes] on the pueblo of Siaton be excepted."[153] This raid Cadiane vividly describes, furnishing one of the most detailed accounts available of the southern Babailane movement. According to Cadiane these raids occurred during 1898 and 1899 and the Babailanes came from Tolong. They probably originated in western Negros and crossed to Tolong by way of Kabankalan.

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In 1898 the Babailanes marched along the coast of southern Negros with the alleged objective of capturing Dumaguete. Their dress varied. Some wore striped clothing

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[152] Philippine Commission Report, II, 1900, p. 414.

[153] War Department Report, I, 1900, p. 252.

or two-fifths of all we dig and slice. The caingin owners are busy then making a new caingin, this is why they are glad to see us. It is as if we had planted our own cassava. We live there and help make slices. Some of the people bring their own food and others get food from the caingin owners. We live in their houses.

Last year my wife went to Dodong's field in Padang. Mostly women went because it was during the plowing season. It was March. I did not go, just my wife. Our share was four sacks of mixed dried cassava and camotes chips. People in Padang live differently than the people in Naga. In the mountains one can plant many things. Here we just plow in season. In the mountains one can plant red squash, gabi, pesula [a variety of squash] sikwa [commonly called patola: Luffa acutangula Linn.]. There are no big houses in the mountains. They are not permanent because after three years the caingin owners have to look for another place to caingin.

Women and children are usually the ones that go to the mountains to harvest the caingins. I was told by some informants that "men would be olao [ashamed or embarrassed] to harvest rice in someone else's caingin. The people would say they did not know how to make their own caingin." However, some men do go, particularly the unmarried men (olitaos) who are said to "follow the dalagas [unmarried] young women." This is an interesting comment; for a young man courts a girl in the barrio under many handicaps. To be able to work and talk with her, away from the surveillance of the family, would have many advantages.[14]

Rice is cut one stalk at the time with a small knife. Rice heads are put into small baskets strapped to the harvester's side; later they are emptied into larger baskets. Rice is threshed and corn is harvested by the

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[14] I never observed a caingin corn or rice harvest,

or retain more than an equal share of their parents' property. One incident was said to have occurred in Barrio Datag when a younger brother poisoned his elder brother with botete fish because the latter refused to repartition equally their father's land after his death. The elder brother had been given temporarily a larger field than his brother by their father.

Again two brothers fought with bolos over a supposedly unequal division of their parents' property in Barrio Canaway. Several disputes over equal inheritance among brothers and sisters were brought to Siaton municipio and others were settled informally in the barrios. Elder siblings often have the advantage over younger brothers and sisters since they are usually married with children. As heads of the family they can wield considerable influence in such matters.

Another reason why land is usually not permanently divided among their children before the parents' death is that the hatud (bride-price) is normally paid by the son's parents, although he may contribute part of it.[12] If one's parents' property is permanently divided before all sons are married, then the unmarried sons would have to furnish their bride-price without aid from their

[12] The hatud is not a payment to acquire a wife as property of her husband or his family. In most cases the payment is small and the money, animals, and food furnished by the groom's family are used by his bride's family in entertaining guests after the wedding. In some cases, however, the hatud is so large that a sizable profit is made by the girl's family.

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parents' estate. The eldest son of one family whose parents were dead, when questioned why he had not divided their property among his younger siblings, replied:

> At present I cannot agree to the division of our parents' property for the reason that most of us are still unmarried and our youngest sister is still in school. She is not eighteen yet. The money spent by my parents to marry my brothers and sisters was taken from the income of our parents' property.

The eldest son and one of his younger brothers were bachelors.

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One mother's children were urging her to press for division of her deceased parents' property, that was being farmed by her eldest brother. This arrangement had been in force for many years. While the brother gave each of the heirs a share of the harvest, his nieces and nephews believed their mother's share would be larger if they farmed the land. However, the woman was reluctant to demand that her brother divide the land since several children were still unmarried.

In both these cases the individuals farming the fields received one-half of the harvest plus their share of the harvest as heirs. For example, if two of five brothers tilled the fields of their dead parents, furnishing the seed and animals, they receive 70 per cent of the harvest; 50 per cent for cultivating the fields and 10 per cent each as two of the five heirs. The land tax is divided equally among all heirs. It is to the

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## Adopted Children as Heirs

Children are rarely adopted by married couples who have children; when they are adopted they usually do not inherit under any circumstances (unless nieces or nephews) and never inherit equally with their parents' siblings. In Caticugan children are adopted by childless couples or unmarried adults. Exceptions are when one's brother's or sister's children become orphans or their parents are unable to support them. A brother or sister may then raise a niece or nephew who usually receive no share in their foster parents' property since the uterine children are the heirs.

Adoption in Caticugan is never legal in the sense that it is arranged through the courts. In Siaton poblacion only one case was reported where a childless couple legally adopted the wife's first cousin as their son. This couple also made a will leaving all their property to the adopted son. Thus adopted children are sometimes deprived of the property their foster parents may wish to leave them. For example, an adopted son of a barrio family was given a parcel of land by his foster father before his death. After the father died his children repossessed the land from the adopted son. He brought the dispute to the local court but lost his case because he could not produce legal evidence of adoption. On the other hand, there are incidents where foster parents left land to their adopted children and the uterine children respected the wishes of their deceased parents.

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Unmarried individuals or childless couples who adopt children have considerable difficulty in leaving property to them. One fairly common method was resorted to by a woman in Naga whose adopted son (her FaSiDaSo) was deeded his foster mother's property without any payment. The woman had raised the boy from infancy and wanted him to have her land but her brother and sister had protested. They had told friends that after their sister's death they would take away the land given the adopted son.

In Siaton poblacion one childless couple adopted the illegitimate child of their maid (the actual father was alleged to be the foster father's maternal uncle) and registered the child's birth in the municipio as their uterine daughter. The couple also deeded all their property to their adopted daughter, an arrangement that their brothers and sisters strongly disapproved. Often deeding land to adopted children is kept secret by foster parents "otherwise other relatives will always be pestering you not to leave your land to adopted children." Some barriofolk stated that foster parents would often like to leave property to adopted children but hesitate because they do not wish to start a quarrel among their relatives.

In a barrio near Caticugan a couple with children adopted the husband's brother's daughter. On their death, the uterine children did not give any of their parent's property to their adopted sister (i.e., first

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cousin). She complained that she had faithfully served and cared for her foster parents (her paternal uncle and aunt). If she had been a servant her "bill" would have been larger than the value of the land she requested. However, the children countered that this was her duty for her foster parents had fed and clothed her since infancy.

In Barrio Caticugan one informant's father had been adopted by his grandmother (his FaFaSi). On her death bed the woman requested that all her property be inherited by her adopted grandson (her BrSoSo), and urged that there be no dispute after her death. It was so done. When the same informant's second wife died, after a childless marriage, she made a will leaving all her property to two nieces (the daughters of a sister) she had raised from childhood. The barrio lieutenant (teniente de barrio) and all the women's other nieces and nephews (her brothers and sisters were dead) were called to the dying woman's side, and she explained her wishes. The will was witnessed and signed by the barrio lieutenant and no dispute occurred after her death.

In Naga a couple had adopted a boy unrelated to either the husband or the wife. When I asked if his adopted son would inherit equally with his uterine children, the husband replied: "I suspect my real children will object. But if my adopted son wants to get married, I will pay for all the costs, including the bride-price (hatud)." Adopted children usually receive a share in

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the movable property of their foster parents, particularly the farm animals. The logic is that "they helped care for these animals" and earned their inheritance rights.

Many barriofolk in Caticugan adopt nieces and nephews. This is understandable since relations with the families of their brothers and sisters are very close under usual circumstances. If a childless couple adopts a niece or nephew their property would be inherited by legal heirs since on their death their lands would normally go to their nieces' and nephews' parents. However, non-related or godchildren are sometimes adopted. One woman's goddaughter's mother died "before the baby was finished with the nipple." The child was adopted and raised by her childless godmother. "She had no children so she made a will [in order that the adopted girl would inherit her property] so her nieces and nephews would not molest her adopted daughter."

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Wills are rarely made in Caticugan or Siaton poblacion. The barriofolk state that "only educated people in the poblacion make wills." One old informant said "if parents made a will in the old days [that would probably be due to their desire to leave their property to others than the natural heirs] they would just be looking for trouble." Wills were made by Filipinos during pre-Hispanic times. Robertson writes that oral and written wills made were carried out strictly and never contested.

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the land is owned by the person listed and his or her "heirs" or "brothers." For example, one paddy in Caticugan, inherited on the death of a parent, is owned jointly by seven brothers and sisters. The land records often do not indicate these facts of ownership because the land continues to be registered under the name of an owner dead many years. Heirs often fail to change the land registration records at the municipio due to the small fee charged for the service.

Of the individuals interviewed during the survey in Caticugan, 50 per cent owned their ricefields, 37 per cent were tenants and 13 per cent owned some paddy and tilled others as tenants. In Sandolot-Datag area, of the thirty-one families interviewed, 74 per cent owned their ~~paddies while 26 per~~ cent were tenants. In order to obtain as wide a sample as possible, I did not request these families to give data on all of the ricefields they cultivated, but obtained figures for just one paddy. Therefore, some owners may have been also cultivating paddies as tenants. Three of the tenants in Caticugan were farming paddies owned by either a wife's brother or mother; another worked a paddy owned by a mother's brother. In Sandolot-Datag three tenants had as landlords a sister's husband, father's brother, and a third cousin, respectively.[35] [602]

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[35] A recent survey of thirteen barrios states that 31 per cent of the landlords of tenants were related by blood or marriage to their renters. Rivera and McMillan, op. cit., p. 43.

the landlord always carted the fence away for his personal use. Normally tenants live in their own houses. Several landlords assisted tenants living in the more isolated barrios to build new homes by furnishing nipa shingles. 427

When the harvest is divided the landlord or one of his family, quite often the wife or a daughter, will go to the field to help in the division of the crop; this, however, is not always the case. Some landlords permit a tenant to bring his share to his own house. A tenant's family is allowed to eat all the green corn they wish; this increases their share. Restrictions in this matter, probably would be almost impossible to enforce. I neither witnessed nor heard of violent quarrels over the division of crops between tenant and landlord. The only argument I heard was a vicious verbal fight between a brother and sister in Siaton poblacion over the division of corn from a jointly-owned field that was farmed by the brother.

Another reason for the generally friendly relationships between tenant and landlord may be that they often are relatives. While kinship does not necessarily prevent exploitation of one's tenant-relative, it often tempers the situation. Under barrio social organization, one is less likely to come into open conflict with an aunt, uncle or affinal relative than with a non-relative. Relatives often are more considerate in arranging farm tenure than non-relatives. The pitiful exploitation of 427 602

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new slats installed. A local riddle accurately describes 356
the general appearance of most of the Caticugan dwellings. 524

Since birth all patches. What is it? A house
(Sukad nabata tupak semina. Unda [illegible]? Balay)

COST OF BUILDING A BARRIO DWELLING

The basic materials used to build a barrio dwelling 435
are obtained in the locality, i.e., bamboo, nipa, house 178
posts, rattan, etc. Wire, nails, and galvanized iron 438
sheets are purchased in poblacion stores or, more frequent- 342
ly, obtained in Dumaguete. The use of wire, nails, iron roofing and cement, for example, in the construction of new dwellings in Caticugan, though still small, is increasing. More families would have purchased these materials during my residence except for highly inflated prices and restricted supplies. This trend toward using materials that are made and normally purchased outside the community (in contrast to going to the mountains to obtain materials) will continue to reduce the bartering that still persists in their basic economy and decrease the barriofolk's self-sufficiency.

In the past, a family who decided to build a new 476
dwelling in Caticugan were assisted by neighbors and 602
friends. Today, however, when an individual constructs a 178
new house it is mainly a family task. If additional labor 463
is needed the builder may hire local carpenters. House construction exemplifies the transitional process--from community cooperation, to family, and gradually to the

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assumption of certain skills by local specialists who are paid a cash wage.

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Table XXXVIII[1] illustrates the itemized costs of three different dwellings built in Caticugan in 1951.[10] House C's cost probably comes closer to the cost of the typical Caticugan dwelling than the other two dwellings. This house had two rooms--sala and kitchen--lacked wooden shutters, cement post supports, and little lumber was used. Table XXXIX[1] lists the items and cost of building a poblacion dwelling inhabited by a Siaton municipal official. No bamboo or nipa were used; the cost of the two dwellings illustrate the difference in dwellings between Caticugan barriofolk and Siaton principalia.

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The owner of House C did not hire any carpenters; he held a palihog that cost eight dollars. The work accomplished by palihog assistants could have been done in half a day by two laborers. The palihog, in this case, is an example of how "... the prestige factor inherent in the giving of a feast compensates for the lessened efficiency and the lower return."[11] While precise figures cannot be

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1 [See p. 667 ff, cat. 435 or 342--Analyst]

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[10] Some men of Caticugan make extra money by working for lumber firms in Dumaguete. For example, a father and son in Barrio Caticugan were hired by one firm to cut first-class timber (salay, gisok, sambulawan, yakal, and amoning) in the mountains a day's walk from their home. They were paid eight cents per board foot with an additional two cents per board foot for bringing the lumber from Pinac-an (where they worked a permit issued to the Dumaguete lumber firm) to the poblacion. Another group of four men in Barrio Caticugan worked four days cutting lumber from felled trees in the nearby mountains; they earned a total of twenty-five dollars, or a daily wage of about one dollar and fifty-five cents. These were the only two groups hired to cut timber in Caticugan.

[11] Melville J. Herskovits, Economic Anthropology: A Study in Comparative Economics. New York, Alfred A. Knopf, 1952, p. 107.

51:Hart E-3 (1950-1952)1954 OA1 Philippines
Central Bisayan OA14



574 181 Third, the fiesta is an economic investment. One's guests will, in the future, be one's hosts during their fiesta. In fact, this is one of several reasons given for organizing new *barrio* fiestas in southern Negros. The people felt ashamed to attend fiestas in neighboring communities without having a fiesta of their own when they could reciprocate enjoyed hospitality. In the long run, the bread thrown on the water returns. In some cases doubled. From this point of view the fiesta may not be as wasteful as many Filipinos believe.

796 181 *Fourth*, the fiesta serves a religious function, particularly in the *barrios* distant from the *poblacion* church. The fiesta is often the only time in the year the priest visits the local chapel and holds mass in the community for the barriofolk. Sometimes combining a baptismal or wedding celebration with the fiesta serves to reduce the family expenses by making a normal entertainment unnecessary by coordination with the fiesta. 621 181 *Fifth*, the fiesta re-inforces the people's feeling of solidarity within the *barrio* or *poblacion*, although sometimes the event may enhance competitiveness between different communities. Most Filipinos take great pride in their ● 602 *barrio* or *poblacion* fiesta. *Sixth*, the *barrio* and *poblacion* fiesta often reunite, for the only time of the year, members of the immediate families. 181 The ideal pattern is for one always to return to one's home fiesta. It is not at all uncommon to meet relatives from Siquijor, Cebu, Panay, Leyte, or even more distant places, at Negros Oriental fiestas.

996 794 181 *Seventh*, the fiesta furnishes the church with a sizeable annual income. The money collected for baptisms, masses, and the church's participation in the various religious activities of the fiestas is an important aspect of the financial support of the church by the people. The fiesta often renews the authority of the church in more isolated areas where this authority and responsibility lies dormant for most of the year. *Eight*, the fiesta in the larger *barrio* and *poblacion* is a commercial stimulant to 435 181 the economic life of the community. Prices are often raised, purchases of food and clothing more frequent and larger than normal. The fiesta creates new wants and needs which do not exist during most of the year.

426 181 *Ninth*, the fiesta is a means by which the indebtedness of many families is increased, by borrowing money to entertain their guests properly. Some families may mortgage their land for "agricultural" loans and others sell farmyard animals to raise a little cash for the fiesta. However, the waste may not be as great as imagined by many Filipinos. One's guests may next month be one's hosts. The fiesta also stimulates many people to work harder, and for others it is an oppotunity to augment the pitifully small family cash income by selling food and drink. *Tenth*, in the larger *barrio*

Most abaca used for weaving is bought in the northern barrios of Bantolinao and Nasig-id. Several women were furnished abaca by the owner who later received one-half of the cloth.

Fiber to be woven must be stripped from the abaca plant with special care; for example, no pulp should remain on the fiber. Often growers who sell abaca to the Chinese in Siaton poblacion purposely leave pulp on the fibers so the bundles will weigh more.

Dyes

Three vegetable dyes, tagun, taloto, and antipolo, were once used to dye colored weft thread for abaca cloth. Tagun (Indigofera suffruticosa Mill) grows wild in the nearby hills; once in the past it was cultivated as a source of black dye. Domesticated tagun, according to the barriofolk, made a better dye than the wild variety. Water was heated and tagun leaves were added; a little lime was then sprinkled into this mixture and care taken lest the water boil. "If the water boiled," one woman explained, "the dye was not any good because the leaves become tender right away." Bark of the taloto and antipolo trees was powdered to make a red dye. Red fibers were sometimes re-dyed with tagun "so they would be reddish and very shiny." Today these vegetable dyes are rarely, if ever, used. Weavers buy chemical dyes in the poblacion; a package of four different dyes costs ten cents.

To the
south, about a 20-minute walk, is the sea, and fisher- 361
men have their boats, nets and their fish corrals in the offshore waters. To the west of the mouth of the Siaton River is Baybay, a small sitio in a coconut grove.

One could see Caticugan from the National Road were it not for the coconut palms. Caticugan, Naga, Talo-ot and Dangola are really one community, although known by different names and divided by low bluffs or shallow streams. Kinship ties, trading activities, 621 ●
land ownership, and friendships all bind the people in the different settlements into a functioning group. There are two main paths to Caticugan. One path skirts 363
the cockpit which is empty except on Sundays or holidays, while the other path fords the river around a bend to the north. (See Plate XVIII.)[1] Taking the path by the cockpit one crosses the river, passes through a small willow-covered flood area and up a small rise to the fields of lower Caticugan, often called Pilapil
(rice paddy) by the older residents. Northwest along 273
the path one passes dead buri palms, killed by the process of making guhang, and the houses of the people. There is a little sari-sari on the porch of one house 366
where cookies, pop, kerosene, lard, and matches are sold. Continuing, one comes to a tiny bamboo chapel 368
and the only wooden residence, that of the richest man 362
in Caticugan. The path finally ends at the bluffs of Dangola.

1 [plate XVII (p. 131) is missing -- ANALYST]

51:Hart E-3 (1950-1952)1954 OA1 Philippines
Central Bisayan OA14



574 181 Third, the fiesta is an economic investment. One's guests will, in the future, be one's hosts during their fiesta. In fact, this is one of several reasons given for organizing new *barrio* fiestas in southern Negros. The people felt ashamed to attend fiestas in neighboring communities without having a fiesta of their own when they could reciprocate enjoyed hospitality. In the long run, the bread thrown on the water returns. In some cases doubled. From this point of view the fiesta may not be as wasteful as many Filipinos believe.

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held and Francisco Sugboanon, nicknamed Escongyawa ("Escong the Devil") was elected capitan. Francisco's last name, Sugboanon, means he was a Cebuano, which is the first indication in Gadiane's history of emigrants from Cebu in Siaton. About four hundred people are said to have moved from Mangudkod to Kalumpang. However, not all of the settlers left Mangudkod.[48]

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When the people settled at Kalumpang the office of cabeza de barangay was installed for the first time and the tribute was increased to seventy centavos (thirty-five cents) according to the Gadiane manuscript. A road was built from Kalumpang to the beach to replace the old footpath that followed the Canaway River bank. The present site of Siaton poblacion was then "covered with trees, tall grass, and swamps. Wild pigs, carabaos, and deer lived there."

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The fear of Moro raids continued among the people. A stone watch tower (called Bantayan or Baloarte) was built at the beach near the Canaway River mouth. The men from Kalumpang took turns watching for Moros from this tower. How disturbing a force the Moros must have been on the daily life of the people in this area is illustrated by the following paragraph from the Gadiane manuscript.

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[48] After Capitan Pinando came Intoy (1803-04); Monty (1805-06); Alfonso (1807-08); Senforoso (1809-10); Cruz (1811-12); Jantoy (1813-14); Abang (1815-16); Etib (1817-18); Francisco Sugboanon, nicknamed "Escongyawa" (1819-1820).

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a total estimate of 3,600 Christian Filipinos. Nine cabezas lived in Bonbonon, three in Giliga-on and the remainder in the general vicinity of the poblacion. The Recollect fathers in Negros had increased from six in 1850 to thirty in 1880, another sign of the growing population of the island.

The Local Spanish Administration in Siaton

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Gadiane's manuscript gives one insight into the local Spanish administration of Siaton during the latter part of the 19th century. In many ways the present administration of Siaton municipality is patterned on the Spanish system, with a mayor instead of a capitan and barrio lieutenant for the cabeza de barangay.

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The cabezas de barangays were the agents or representatives of the capiten in the various barrios under the latter's jurisdiction. Gadiane writes that the cabeza originally served for only one year in Siaton, then for two, and finally their term was lengthened to three years. Zaide describes the office and functions of the cabeza.

> The pueblos [poblacions in the sense municipality is used today] were divided into barangays [barrios], each under a chief called cabeza de barangay. Originally the office of the cabeza was hereditary, then eventually elective. All cabezas paid no tribute and, after serving for some time, they became members of the town aristocracy--the principalia. The chief duty of the cabeza was to collect taxes in his barangay.[77]

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[77] Zaide, The Philippines Since Pre-Spanish Times, p. 176.

20: Hart E-5 (.95.) 1954 OA1 Philippines
Central Bisayan OA14



175*
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In Siaton the cabezas were also responsible for the forced labor called polo or prestacion personal, required by the Spaniards. Until 1884 the Spaniards required all male Filipinos from sixteen to sixty years of age to work forty days each year in building or repairing public bridges and roads, cutting timber, working in artillery foundries, shipyards, etc. One could escape the polo by paying a sum of money, called falla, in lieu of actual labor.[78] In 1884 the polo was reduced in the Philippines from forty to fifteen days.

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In Siaton, however, the polo was said to be only thirty days each year and the men were paid thirty centavos (fifteen cents) a week for their labor.

Gadiane, who once supervised these workers, said the men often paid a falla of two pesos (one dollar), the equivalent of ten hours of work. "Many just paid because the mud was sticky and knee-deep in the roads when it rained." The cabezas had to attend church every Sunday in the poblacion. If they failed to attend they were punished, sometimes whipped, by the Spaniards' in the poblacion. Zaide writes: "Every Sunday, after Mass, the gobernadorcillo, the cabezas de barangay, and other town officials...would repair to the convent, and, on bended knees, kiss the hand of the padre."[79]

175*
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[681]

[78] Zaide, op. cit., pp. 172-3 and James L. Le Roy, The Americans in the Philippines: A History of the Conquest and First Years of Occupation with an Introductory Account of the Spanish Rule. New York, Houghton Mifflin Company, 1941, I, p. 45.

[79] Zaide, The Philippines Since the British Invasion, p. 164.

In 1884 the tribute system, the original financial mainstay of the revenue of the Philippines, was repealed.[80] In its place was substituted the cédula personal, ostensibly a fee for a certificate of identification, but virtually a graduated poll tax. The cédulas, unlike the tributes, had to be purchased by every resident of the islands over eighteen years of age--Spaniards, foreigners, and Filipinos, regardless of sex. As there were sixteen different classes of cédulas, the one which most Filipinos had to purchase cost two pesos (one dollar).[81]

This tax was collected by the cabezas on the basis of a list of taxable individuals, called padron de tasas, in his settlement, the cabecería. To cover the cost of collection, the cabeza was given 3 per cent of what he collected while the capitan received 1 per cent. As under the former tribute system, Spanish authorities never inquired very closely how much more the cabeza might collect for himself as long as he paid the required taxes.[82]

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[80] In 1894-1895 the estimated Philippine revenue was $13,579,000 of which $4,586,000 came from cédulas with an additional $482,800 from the special head tax on the Chinese. Le Roy, op. cit., I, pp. 53-4.

[81] Carl C. Plehn, "Taxation in the Philippines: I," Political Science Quarterly, XVI, No. 4 (December, 1901), pp. 691-5. This article and its sequel (Political Science Quarterly, XVII, No. 2, March, 1902, pp. 125-48) give a scholarly survey of the Spaniards' methods of taxation from Legaspi to Dewey.

[82] Ibid., p. 681. Santiago Tayko stated that the cabezas in Siaton retained 3 per cent of all the taxes they collected.

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The Siaton cabezas often had trouble collecting their taxes; some people would flee to the hills when they came to collect. The cabeza had to find them or pay their taxes from his own pocket. Zaide writes:

> If the collection fell short of the amount due to the government owing to the inability of some barriofolk to pay, or because of their death, he had to reimburse the shortage out of his own pocket. Evidently, he paid a high price for the honor of being a cabeza de barangay. Notwithstanding the financial sacrifice many Filipinos aspired to the office of cabezaship because a cabeza enjoyed a high political and social position in the pueblos, next only to the gobernadorcillo.[83]

In Siaton, however, there were individuals who did not wish to be a cabeza. Such uncooperative persons were whipped or jailed by the Spaniards. While the promise of a higher social position, a certain financial reward, and perhaps later a capitanship were important reasons why many desired to be a cabeza, coercion or actual force often made some men accept the office. It was from barriofolk who fled to the hills to avoid paying taxes and from discontented cabezas that a considerable number of the followers of the outlaw bands in southern Negros were recruited.

175*
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In 1872 Father Cabriada returned to Siaton as its parish priest and three or four years later (1875-1876) another typhoon swept over southern Negros, causing

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[83] Zaide, The Philippines Since the British Invasion, p. 162; Le Roy, The Americans in the Philippines, I, pp. 42-3.

[capitana] of the municipalities were to act as justices of peace."[112] The first justice appointed in Siaton was Felipe Tayko who had no law degree but "whose position and circumstances warranted it." 175* 624

Often the first justices resigned and, according to Cadiane, "sometimes there was no justice of peace in Siaton and the capitan acted as the justice." Cadiane himself was justice of the peace in Siaton from 1906-1914.

Until the appointment of the justices, land disputes in Siaton had been settled either by the capitan or the teniente mayor (chief lieutenant,, a position similar to the present vice-mayor of a municipality). During the Spanish period there were few court cases over land claims "because wide areas were still uncultivated, although there were disputes over boundaries which were settled very easily." There were normal disturbances of peace and order due to theft, fights caused by gambling debts or drunkenness, etc. Persons caught stealing were given 150 lashes at the church entrance after the Sunday mass. The offenders were jailed until their wounds had healed. "Mostly, those who were caught and punished left 175* 685 624 622 [689] 175* 681

[112] Cayetano S. Arellano and Florentino Torres, "The Judiciary," Census of the Philippine Islands: 1903. Washington, D.C., United States Bureau of Census, 1905, IV, p. 403. Some sources state the justices of the peace were authorized in 1885. The confusion is because the reform, a royal order of May 29, 1885, was not confirmed until January 24, 1887. There was a lag of six years between the confirmation of this decree and the appointment of the first justice of the peace in Siaton.

Barrio Casala-an. This new site was south of Nawakat, about four or five miles from the coast. Just before they departed the people held an election and Stib was made capitan. 175 166 [623]

The subsidence of Moro raids during the first part of the 19th century was not the sole reason for this gradual southward migration of the community. In fact, Moro raids were to continue into the latter half of the 19th century.

> When the town was at Mangudkod the people were always ready for any eventualities, because even in this far place the Moros were always paying them a visit in order to make captives of the people.

Neither does exhaustion of the land nor overcrowding seem to have been the most important factors for this movement toward the sea. Famines were said to have been unknown. The crops were abundant--"even if they could plant only once a year the crops would last for three years." The attraction of the lowlands with perhaps more fertile soil and located near the sea, however, was strong.

One factor of considerable significance which helps to explain this southward migration of the original nucleus of Siaton poblacion was the desire of the priests to bring the Filipinos "under the bells." To have the people concentrated in more accessible lowland

According to the gulang [old people] when the Moro boats were far out to sea there occurred a strong wind and rain. Maybe the Moros were baliw [supernaturally cursed with bad luck] because of the toko. 175* 787 825

This why today the gulang will say to a child who oversleeps: 'My God!, if it were like the old days when the Moros came to our place to make captives, children who overslept would find on awakening they would be sleeping in a Moro boat far out at sea.' The children today reply: 'I don't believe you.'

Founding of Siaton Poblacion

Kalumpang proved to be an unsatisfactory site because of its hilly nature and rocky soil. Capitan Francisco Sugboanon, who had been re-elected in 1827, and the former capitans met, discussed the matter, and brought it to the attention of the people. The barriofolk were divided on the selection of a new site. The people living in Bondo, Canaway, and Inalad wanted the new location to be on their (east) side of the Canaway River. The inhabitants of Mangudkod (who had not migrated to Kalumpang), Lingaton (a sitio of Sandolot), Dolog, Casala-an, Sandolot, Dateg, and Mantuyop desired the new community to be located on the Canaway's west bank. 175* 166

It was finally decided, due to the differences of opinion, to hold a paleo. A paleo was a method of voting, particularly well-suited for illiterate groups. Every individual, young and old, man and woman, had one vote, i.e., one stone. These stones were to be put in a certain spot on a designated day. 175* 623

175*
623

These stones were counted at the end of the day with all the people watching. The pile which had the greater number of stones won the election. The people who wanted the poblacion located east of the Canaway River piled their stones at the north. Those who wanted the poblacion located below Kalumpang piled their stones at the south. When the election day was over and the stones were counted in the two piles, the pile at the south had more stones. Everybody accepted the decision that the new poblacion's location was to be in the lowland below Kalumpang. This is the location of the present poblacion of Siaton.

The founding of the present poblacion of Siaton dates from this 1828 election.

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In this new location the people built their houses grouped together. They did not wish to arrange their houses in straight lines. If the Moros came it was easier to protect themselves if their houses were clustered. The people began to construct a new wooden church for now there were two priests living in Siaton, Fathers Arias and Presbitero Felix. In 1829 Ztib was re-elected capitan and the erection of a new stone church was begun. The wooden church was later used as a stable by the Spaniards.

175*

There is no information in the Gadiane manuscript regarding the date that the Spaniards first came to Siaton. Gadiane writes that a Spanish lieutenant was first stationed at Bonbonon in 1819. The fact that capitans and cabezas were elected to direct community affairs, tributes were collected, and priests active in the region indicates, however, that Spanish authority had reached the locality before 1819.

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175*
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There was hardly a branch of the local government to which the influence of the priest did not extend, directly or indirectly. He was the inspector of primary schools, the town censor, honorary president of all local government committees, a member of the town council, assisted in choosing the local officers (technically without a vote), signed all certificates of election, participated in decisions to build public works, and even had the authority to decide at what hour the town council would assemble.[107] The priests of Siaton parish were not atypical.

175*
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Cadiane writes of the schooling he received in Siaton *poblacion* during the latter part of the 19th century.

> Here was the real study. There were many students. You were given three days to learn a lesson. If you did not learn your lesson you were told to lie on your stomach on a bench and you were whipped three times. If you were absent from class the number of days you were absent was doubled and you were whipped this many times.

A great deal of time appears to have been spent in studying Spanish.

> If you did not speak Spanish in the class and outside in the yard we were in danger of being punished if someone reported us. If we were discovered or reported not speaking Spanish we were whipped six times, [i.e., given six lashes]. We had a Spanish

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[107] *Report of the Philippine Commission to the President*. Washington, D.C., Government Printing Office, I, 1900, pp. 57-8. This report is often called the "Schurman Report" after the head of the Commission, Jacob Gould Schurman. Hereafter cited as *Philippine Commission Report, I, 1900*.

The sugar-producing areas of Negros were expanding. In 1836 less than 300 tons of sugar had been produced while thirty years later the production had increased to nearly 12,000 tons. The declaration of Iloilo city as a free port in 1855 stimulated the infant sugar industry. "The total value of exports leaving the port of Iloilo... jumped from ₱82,000 [$41,000] in 1858 to over ₱1,000,000 [$500,000] in 1863, with most of this increase in exports coming from the shipment of sugar from Negros."[111] In the same periods (the 1860's) the sugar haciendas of Negros began to develop; some of them covered several thousand acres and supported their owners in luxury.

175* 433 439 [504]

The Justices of the Peace in Siaton

The year following the division of Negros into two provinces (1891), the first justice of the peace was appointed in Siaton. In 1885 a royal decree, a "concession to public opinion," had provided for the appointment of a justice of the peace to every municipality. This office previously had been filled by the capitans. "When such persons [lawyers or others 'whose position and circumstances warrant it'] could not be found the petty governors

175+ 624

[111] Wernstedt, op. cit., p. 79. Walker states that in the early 1900's Iloilo owed its existence largely to Negros' sugar industry. Walker, op. cit., p. 10.

[capitana] of the municipalities were to act as justices of peace."[112] The first justice appointed in Siaton was Felipe Tayko who had no law degree but "whose position and circumstances warranted it." 175* 624

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Until the appointment of the justices, land disputes in Siaton had been settled either by the capitan or the teniente mayor (chief lieutenant,, a position similar to the present vice-mayor of a municipality). During the Spanish period there were few court cases over land claims "because wide areas were still uncultivated, although there were disputes over boundaries which were settled very easily." There were normal disturbances of peace and order due to theft, fights caused by gambling debts or drunkenness, etc. Persons caught stealing were given 150 lashes at the church entrance after the Sunday mass. The offenders were jailed until their wounds had healed. "Mostly, those who were caught and punished left 175* 685 624 622 [689] 175* 681

[112] Cayetano S. Arellano and Florentino Torres, "The Judiciary," Census of the Philippine Islands: 1903. Washington, D.C., United States Bureau of Census, 1905, IV, p. 403. Some sources state the justices of the peace were authorized in 1885. The confusion is because the reform, a royal order of May 29, 1885, was not confirmed until January 24, 1887. There was a lag of six years between the confirmation of this decree and the appointment of the first justice of the peace in Siaton.

Bisayas Pagans OA11

CB 563 BP 608

Sandugo is when one man makes a small cut in another man's arm and drinks the blood and the other man does the same thing. Then they call each Sandugo or Igso [an abbreviated form of Igso-on, i.e., brother] among friends. A Sandugo can tell if one of his Sandugos is back-biting [criticizing] him. I do not know how. Maybe it is because they have drunk each other's blood.

CB 563 BP 438

During the later Spanish period few Bukidnons lived in the hills near Siaton poblacion. The Guardia Civil patrolled the hills and were said to shoot any Bukidnon on sight.[60] During the American period, as a few informants could remember from their youth, Bukidnons came to barter honey and rattan for corn and rice. A man named Tacio, a former resident of Salag, was reported to have had many Bukidnon friends. They often came to Salag to get him to settle their quarrels. A few stories were told by the barriofolk of Bukidnons coming to the lowland to steal grain and animals. Most of the barriofolk regard the Bukidnons as inferior humans.[61]

CB [86]

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[60] The constabulary force organized in 1869 was called the Guardia Civil. Sawyer writes they "...were well paid and were dressed in a very smart and neat uniform...They were armed with Remington rifles and bayonets, and in addition carried a heavy chopping knife." By 1880 there were three divisions of the Guardia Civil, one being stationed in the Visayan region. The district office was in the district capitol, company headquarters in the provincial capitols, and detachments were sent to areas where they were needed. Sawyer, op. cit., p. 28; C. Zaide, The Philippines Since the British Invasion, pp. 156-7; Dean C. Worcester, The Philippines: Past and Present. New edition in one volume with biographical sketch and four additional chapters by Ralston Hayden. New York, Macmillan, 1930, pp. 308-9.

CB 625

[61] The Caticugan barriofolk refer to Christian Filipinos living in the mountains as Bukidnons.

CB [10]

Most barriofolk go to Omanod to work as harvesters while some women and young girls go to barter bread, matches, used American clothing and other wares for corn. These vendors rarely sell their wares for money. They barter for corn, and get more corn than they could if they sold their articles. Sometimes, when the harvest is over, the vendors will sell their remaining merchandise rather than carry it home. Others go to Omanod solely to buy corn for the price is lower than in Siaton poblacion. The people usually stay with relatives or friends in Omanod during the harvest period.

Unhusked corn is usually stored in the house, the ears piled in a corner of the room or in a bin. Corn is not husked until it is ready to be shelled and ground. Lapit stones or sea shells may be put with the corn to protect it from the weevils that often do considerable damage. Perhaps only one out of every twenty families in Caticugan has a separate storehouse for corn. The average family's corn supply is small and consumed steadily so individual storehouses are unnecessary. Storehouses that exist are usually built near the residences, although in a few cases they may be at the field's edge. Theft is rare because many would be afraid to steal corn for fear of barang.[50]

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[50] Barang is the belief in the supernatural ability of certain persons to cause illness or death to their enemies. These specialists are said to own magical bees that are trained to penetrate the victim's body at their owner's command. Several cases of deaths allegedly due to barang motivated by thievery were reported by the barriofolk of Caticugan.

palm's sap started to flow April 14 and stopped June 22. The gross income of the owner was $54 of which $12 was spent for tan-bark, leaving a net profit of $42. The money from guhang sales, deposited in a "bamboo bank" (a pole of the house wall), was not counted until the buri died so the figures are probably accurate.

The price of a mature buri in Siaton ranges from $10 to $25. In the municipal tax records buri owners are assessed one dollar for each palm. If the mananguete is not the tree's owner, profits are divided in several ways. Sometimes the profits are split 50-50 after the owner has deducted what he considers the buri's value. In another case the mananguete received one-fourth of the profits plus all the free guhang his family could consume. The money from the sale of guhang from this buri was deposited in a bamboo bank kept in the palm. The owner said he did not want to keep the cash in his near-by dwelling "because I might be tempted to gamble with it."

The buri's value is also reflected in the number of disputes that often result concerning its ownership and use. Three court cases occurred during my residence concerning the illegal use of another person's buri. In one case the defendant was accused by the plaintiff of illegally using two of his buris to make guhang and asked $100 damages. There are many quarrels over buri palms that do not reach the local court. An example of such a quarrel that happened in Naga is given on the next page.

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One time Ingoy [informant's first cousin] came to my place and started to make gubang from my buri. I was gathering coconuts for a Chinese in the poblacion. My wife and children were left alone in the house. My children were playing in the space under the house. Suddenly Lucia [informant's wife] heard buri palm leaves falling and she shouted to the children not to go near the tree. But Ingoy was in the tree and he answered: 'I'm the one here cutting leaves. What do you want? Where is your husband? I want to fight him because I want to go to San Ramon [penal colony in Mindanao].' So my wife immediately got me and I came home but he was gone. For three or four days I stayed in the house but Ingoy did not return to the buri.

One day he passed near my house carrying a sack of corn to be ground. I called him: 'You come here.' Ingoy said: 'Why?' I said: 'I want to talk with you.' He said: 'You come here if you want to talk to me.' So I went to him and asked him: 'Are you the one who cut my buri?' Ingoy said: 'Yes. I did it.' I said: 'Is it true you said you wanted to fight with me and go to San Ramon?' Ingoy said: 'Yes. It is true.' So I hit him three times. But he did not try to fight back. Nicara was weaving in a house near-by and she laughed. Ingoy's sister who saw us fighting cried: 'Please do not kill Ingoy.' [Informant imitated female voice of Ingoy's sister.] So Ingoy went on his way and his wife was crying but he left my buri alone.

Ingoy complained to the barrio lieutenant. He told him that I and my children ganged up on him. But I said I have witnesses and if he wanted to bring the matter to the court I was willing. But he never did. It was Ingoy's wife who brought Ingoy back to his house because after this quarrel he did not go home directly. I told Ingoy: 'It is not like before when I was small and whatever you and my relatives said I had to follow blindly. Now I have to take care of what is my own. Our parents usually quarreled and now that our parents are dead, their children will be the ones to quarrel.

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If the flow of the sap decreases or stops there are various remedies for the situation. A gash may be cut in the side of the palm's trunk at its base and a small fire built near the incision. The sap may resume its flow but the fire gives it a smoky taste. Others repeat the lihi previously described each day adding the fluid from the bottle until

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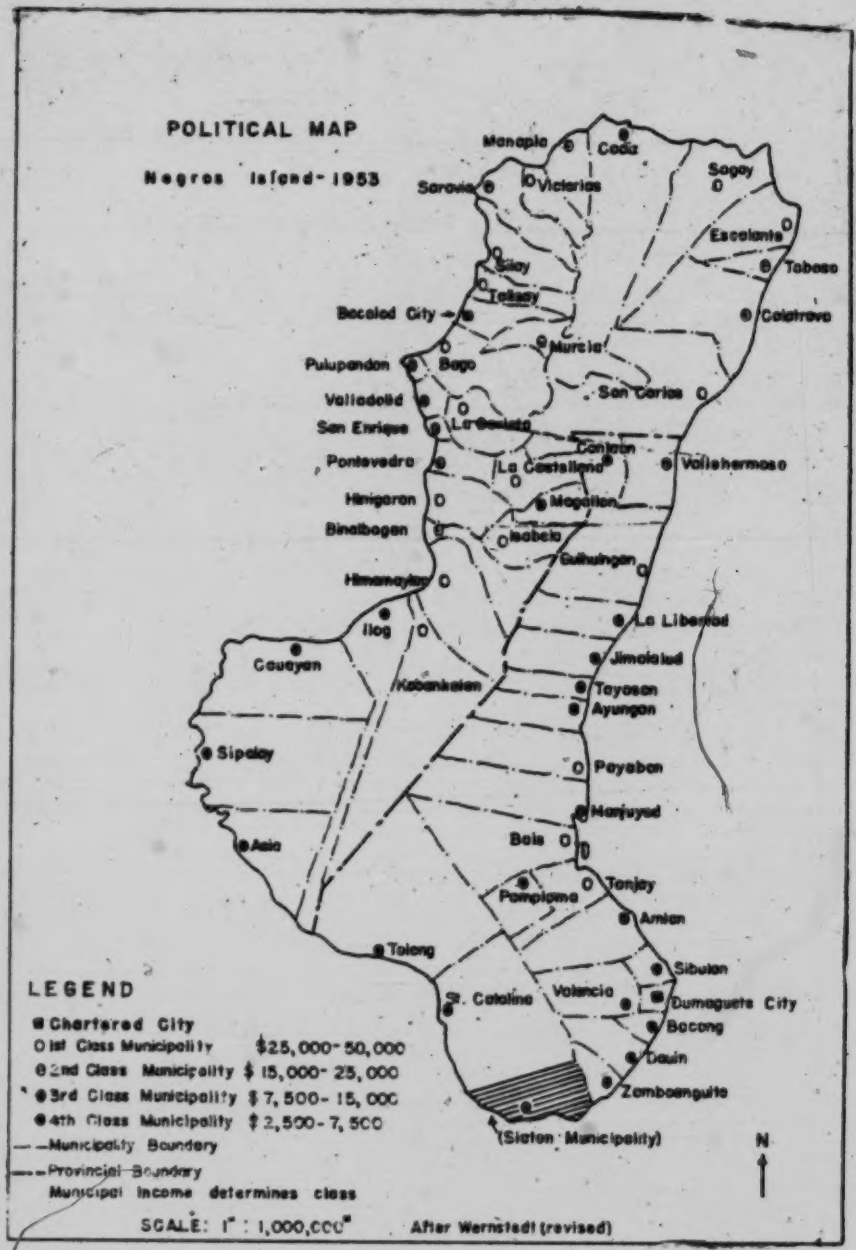


P. 30

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treasurer, postmaster, agricultural and sanitary inspectors are appointive positions. The provinces are roughly similar to American states while the municipalities correspond in many aspects to American counties. The mayors of the chartered cities, Dumaguete and Bacolod, are appointed by the President of the Philippines. One municipal district, Bago, is located in Negros Oriental; all the officials of this district are appointed by the provincial governor.

The Visayans

101

This section is a brief introduction to the people of the Visayas with emphasis on the present inhabitants of Negros. The pre-Hispanic names for Negros were Buglas (Binglas), Nayon, and Mamaylan, the latter two probably derived from settlements in the vicinity of Himamaylan.[7]

174

The Negritos or people of a mixed Indonesian-Papuan-Negrito stock were the first inhabitants of the Philippines.

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When the Spaniards first visited Buglas, they reported Negritos living on the island. "In one of the large islands there were so many of them [Negritos] that it is for that reason called the island of Negros."[8]

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[7] Miguel de Loarca, "Relación de las Yslas Filipinas" (Relations of the Filipinas Islands), Iloilo City, Philippines, June, 1582. Emma H. Blair and James A. Robertson, The Philippine Islands, 1493-1898. Cleveland, Ohio, Arthur H. Clark, 1903-1909, V, p. 47.

[8] Francisco Colin, S.J., "Native Races and Their Customs" (Labor Evangelica). Madrid, 1663. Translation in Blair and Robertson, op. cit., XL, p. 45.

Caticugan, Dangola, Naga, and Talo-ot, was 578 according to my census made in 1951. However, there was no way to determine the population of the other sitios except by additional censuses, and time did not permit. Barrio or sitio locations are also indicated on the map, the majority being near the coast, rivers, or the National Road.[76]

The census figures are misleading if one attempts to analyse the decline or rise of the population of individual barrios in Siaton. Even though the inhabitants state and all evidence indicates that the population of Caticugan (including Naga, Talo-ot and Dangola) has increased considerably since 1900, the census figures show a decrease. Sitios often are transferred from one barrio district to another between censuses and no records are made of these changes. This is the explanation for the very rapid increase of population of Barrio Sumaliring between 1918 and 1939, from 360 persons to 1,273. Some sitios counted in 1918 as part of the poblacion were transferred to Sumaliring before 1939.

I tried to untangle this situation for Siaton municipality but abandoned it as hopeless. However, to

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[76] The locations of many barrios and sitios were made by questioning informants. The writer did not visit all of them. There is no certainty that all of them are shown and the location of many is approximate on Plate XVI. Some settlements are shown north of Siaton's municipal boundary for the people consider them part of their municipality. The barrios in the region along the Siaton River valley to Apoloy and the strip through which the National Road passes are the most accurately located communities on this map.

illustrate the complexities of the changes and to offer partial explanations, Camboay and Napacao were once sitios of Canaway; Cabangahan and Bonawon sitios of Giliga-on; Maloh and Datag sitios of the poblacion; Mantiquil, Sandolot, and Calanan sitios of Casala-an; and Tayak a sitio of Bonbonon. The dates of the various transfers were unknown by the inhabitants.

The census figures indicate that the poblacion and barrios Bonbonon, Caticugan, Giliga-on, Inalad, and Mantuyop--all bordering the present National Road--are the oldest settlements. The census data also suggest strongly that the Siaton River valley was relatively thickly settled at an early date; in 1903 there were nearly 1,000 persons in the somewhat isolated vicinity of Casala-an. The history of this area, presented in Chapter III, supports this tentative conclusion.

Barrio Bonawon's population increased more rapidly than any other locality in Siaton municipality. From 824 inhabitants in 1918 the Bonawon vicinity grew to 2,393 persons by 1948. Between 1939 and 1948, for example, the population doubled. As a case study special attention was given to this vicinity. Once a sitio of Barrio Giliga-on, Bonawon was relatively isolated from the eastern part of the municipality due to inadequate transportation. Probably not until 1930 did busses reach Bonawon. Bonawon has fertile soils and, being

p. 100

near the sea, the people can both farm and fish. Improved road conditions and the desire for land probably led many to move to this "frontier" before the last war. 161

During the war and Japanese occupation of Negros, Bonawon was ideally situated. It was too far from either Tolong or Siaton to be patrolled. People from Zamboanguita, Bacong and Cebu (particularly Bato and Santander) came to Bonawon. As the new persons settled in Bonawon, they prospered. Many who arrived as tenants are now small landowners. They attracted relatives and friends from Negros and Cebu. Others married and decided to settle permanently in the locality after the war. These factors appear to be the primary reasons for the increase in the population of Bonawon. According to local informants, no new territory was added to Bonawon between 1939 and 1948.[78] 166 161

Table X[1] illustrates the relation of Siaton municipality to the remainder of the province in regard to barrio district and poblacion population sizes. The average population of the 21 municipalities of Negros Oriental in 1948 was 18,390 which is almost the same as that of Siaton. The chart indicates that the average 161

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[78] In 1952 a proposal was approved by the municipal council of Siaton to create a new barrio, Tambo, within Bonawon district. The proposal was prompted because "Bonawon is over-populated and one barrio lieutenant cannot attend properly to his duties." [632]

1 [See p. 101, tbt. 161. --Analyst]

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a total estimate of 3,600 Christian Filipinos. Nine cabezas lived in Bonbonon, three in Giliga-on and the remainder in the general vicinity of the poblacion. The Recollect fathers in Negros had increased from six in 1850 to thirty in 1880, another sign of the growing population of the island.

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[77] Zaide, The Philippines Since Pre-Spanish Times, p. 176.

southeastern Negros by a cluster of volcanic peaks. Two of the island's best known volcanoes are Canlaon (8,088 feet), north-central Negros, and Cuernos de Negros ("Horns of Negros") in the southeast. Canlaon is still an active volcano while Cuernos de Negros is dormant.[2] On a clear day the blue outline of Zamboanga peninsula, Mindanao, normally wreathed with clouds, is visible from Siaton.

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Political Divisions of Negros

Negros is divided into two provinces, Negros Occidental and Negros Oriental, the latter including the subprovince of Siquijor Island which lies off the southeast tip of Negros. In 1948 1,482,219 people lived in Negros' two provinces: this was 8 per cent of the total population of the Philippines.[3] In the same year there were 50 provinces, 983 municipalities, 21 chartered

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[2] Steere, traveling in Negros in 1898, states Canlaon Volcano was once known as Malaspina. He visited Cuernos de Negros and wrote that while he and his party heard of no recent accounts of eruptions, "...we were struck with the appearance of immense ancient lava streams reaching from the summit of the mountain to the sea. Some of them looked like gigantic railway embankments, so even was their grade and so level their surface. They were too recent to have weathered into good soils and were covered for the most part with low trees and coarse grass." J. B. Steere, "Volcanoes and Earthquakes in the Philippines," Scientific American, N.S., LXIVIII, (June 18, 1898), p.395.

[3] 1948 Philippine Census (Population), p.9.

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cities and 18,859 barrios in the Republic of the Philippines.[4] Some basic statistics on Negros are given in Table I. (See Plate III.)[1]

TABLE I

| Province | Square Miles | Population (1948) | Number of Municipalities (1952) | Number[5] of Barrios (1952) |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Negros Occidental | 2977 | 1,038,758 | 30 | 314 |
| Negros Oriental | 2020 | 386,203 | 21 | 330 |
| Siquijor Island Sub-province | 129 | 57,258 | 6 | 133 |
| | 5126 | 1,482,219 | 57 | 777 |

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The most important function of provincial governments is supervision of the various municipal governments within a province.[6] The provincial governor and board are elected by the people of the province as are mayors and many of the municipal officials. The municipal

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[4] Ibid., p.8. Since the 1948 census Mindoro Island has been divided into two provinces, Mindoro Oriental and Mindoro Occidental.

[5] Ibid., pp.169-78. Since the 1948 census four new municipalities have been established in Negros: Asia, Sipalay, Magallon and Pamplona. The new barrios which were also created in these municipalities have been added to the above chart.

[6] Joseph R. Hayden, The Philippines: A Study in National Development. New York, Macmillan Company, 1945, p.286.

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treasurer, postmaster, agricultural and sanitary inspectors are appointive positions. The provinces are roughly similar to American states while the municipalities correspond in many aspects to American counties. The mayors of the chartered cities, Dumaguete and Bacolod, are appointed by the President of the Philippines. One municipal district, Bago, is located in Negros Oriental; all the officials of this district are appointed by the provincial governor.

The Visayans

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This section is a brief introduction to the people of the Visayas with emphasis on the present inhabitants of Negros. The pre-Hispanic names for Negros were Buglas (Binglas), Nayon, and Mamaylan, the latter two probably derived from settlements in the vicinity of Himamaylan.[7] The Negritos or people of a mixed Indonesian-Papuan-Negrito stock were the first inhabitants of the Philippines. When the Spaniards first visited Buglas, they reported Negritos living on the island. "In one of the large islands there were so many of them [Negritos] that it is for that reason called the island of Negros."[8] Whether

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[7] Miguel de Loarca, "Relación de las Yslas Filipinas" (Relations of the Filipinas Islands), Iloilo City, Philippines, June, 1582. Emma H. Blair and James A. Robertson, The Philippine Islands, 1493-1898. Cleveland, Ohio, Arthur H. Clark, 1903-1909, V, p. 47.

[8] Francisco Colin, S.J., "Native Races and Their Customs" (Labor Evangelica). Madrid, 1663. Translation in Blair and Robertson, op. cit., XL, p. 45.

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Until 1734 Negros was divided between Panay and Cebu for administrative purposes. In this year, Negros was unified as a military province. During this period of Spanish rule, there were two types of provinces, civil and military. Civil provinces were pacified areas called alcaldias while corregimientos were regions not completely pacified and governed by army officers.[31] Negros did not become a civil province until 1901.

Nascent Siaton

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The date of the first settlement of Siaton is probably lost forever in the unchronicled past. This small riverine valley on the coast of southern Negros would have been attractive to settlers. Here were two sizeable rivers, the sea with its abundant resources, and level land for cultivation. Bonbonon Bay was an excellent harbor for small boats and the region was near Cebu and Bohol, which in the 16th century were sending out emigrants in search of new farm land. In 1620 Siaton is reported to have been under the jurisdiction of the Dumaguete parish.[32] This would indicate that during the first part of the 17th century Siaton was known, and that there probably was a settlement in the area and a sufficient number of people to interest the Church. On the other hand, southern Negros was located

[31] Arturo M. Tolentino and Gregorio F. Zaide, The Government of the Philippines: Origin, Development, Organization and Function. Manila, R. P. Garcia Publishing Company, 1948, p. 55.

[32] Ruiz, op. cit., p. 151.

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grammar translated into Visayan and also a big Spanish-Visayan dictionary. If you asked your teacher questions while the class was in session he might pull your ears or scold you. If you failed to answer questions on the lesson given you in the morning that afternoon you were given five lashes.[108]

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The school was mainly for the sons of the better-to-do Filipino who lived in the poblacion. Children from the nearby barrios rarely attended this school.

## THE PHILIPPINE REVOLUTIONS AND THE REPUBLIC OF NEGROS

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In 1856 Negros was raised to the status of a military-political province; in 1890 it was divided into the provinces of Negros Occidental and Negros Oriental. In 1887 Negros' population was estimated to be 270,891, an increase of more than 65,000 in ten years.[109] Gadiane mentions this administrative division of Negros and reports that a "military government was organized at Dumaguete under Governor Joaquin Tavira."[110] Negros' new provinces were still classified as corregimientos (military provinces) and governed by army officers.

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[108] The stress on teaching Spanish in Siaton is interesting since this was not typical of most of the schools during the Spanish period. In 1885 a Franciscan friar wrote a pamphlet which ridiculed the Filipinos' efforts to learn Spanish and stated: "All a Filipino needed to enable him to go to heaven was to learn how to pray, to plow, and to be obedient to his superiors, especially to the parish priests." Encarnacion Alzona, A History of Education in the Philippines: 1565-1930. Manila, University of the Philippines Press, 1932, pp. 96-7.

[109] Galang and Osias, op. cit., pp. 405-6. In 1893 Echauz states Negros had a population of 320,606 with 42 towns and that the number of Recollect priests in the island had increased to 47. Echauz, op. cit., p. 37.

[110] This statement is from Gadiane's manuscript and is supported by Pedro Teves, "Una Breve Historia de Dumaguete," The Official Program of Dumaguete City. Dumaguete, Negros Oriental, November 24, 1948, p. 46.

While Siaton was an independent parish, including Dauin, the priest still lived in Dauin due to the danger of Moro raids in Siaton. 175*

The first tributes were collected in 1817 from the people of Mangudkod. Individuals over eighteen years had to pay twenty centavos (ten cents) to the government. The tribute (or tributo) was established during Legaspi's day and was a kind of head tax paid to Spain. The tribute was payable in money or kind to the encomenderos.[40] 175* 651

In 1817 or 1818 an earthquake occurred in southern Negros "which lasted for nearly three months", i.e., the after-shocks. 175* 731 252

> The earth was always moving, so the people had difficulties in cooking their food. They had to build a big fire and hang their pots over it. Or they cut one bamboo node, put rice inside, added water, and corked the end. They threw this node into the fire and when the bamboo was charred, the rice was cooked.

This was one of the many earthquakes which shook this region; some caused serious destruction.

During the office of Capitan Etib (1817-1818) the group decided to send a small colony from Mangudkod to begin a settlement which is today Barrio Bonbonon. Bonbonon is situated near the bluff of the southern 175* 166

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[40] The payment made in Siaton, according to Cadiane, was not that common in the Philippines. At first the tributo was eight reales (about fifteen centavos), raised to ten in 1602 and twelve reales in 1851. Zaide, The Philippine Since Pre-Spanish Times, p. 171.

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held and Francisco Sugboanon, nicknamed Escongyawa ("Escong the Devil") was elected capitan. Francisco's last name, Sugboanon, means he was a Cebuano, which is the first indication in Gadiane's history of emigrants from Cebu in Siaton. About four hundred people are said to have moved from Mangudkod to Kalumpang. However, not all of the settlers left Mangudkod.[48]

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When the people settled at Kalumpang the office of cabeza de barangay was installed for the first time and the tribute was increased to seventy centavos (thirty-five cents) according to the Gadiane manuscript. A road was built from Kalumpang to the beach to replace the old footpath that followed the Canaway River bank. The present site of Siaton poblacion was then "covered with trees, tall grass, and swamps. Wild pigs, carabaos, and deer lived there."

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The fear of Moro raids continued among the people. A stone watch tower (called Bantayan or Balcarte) was built at the beach near the Canaway River mouth. The men from Kalumpang took turns watching for Moros from this tower. How disturbing a force the Moros must have been on the daily life of the people in this area is illustrated by the following paragraph from the Gadiane manuscript.

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[48] After Capitan Pinando came Intoy (1803-04); Monty (1805-06); Alfonso (1807-08); Senforoso (1809-10); Cruz (1811-12); Jantoy (1813-14); Abang (1815-16); Etib (1817-18); Francisco Sugboanon, nicknamed "Escongyawa" (1819-1820).

In 1884 the tribute system, the original financial mainstay of the revenue of the Philippines, was repealed.[80] In its place was substituted the cédula personal, ostensibly a fee for a certificate of identification, but virtually a graduated poll tax. The cédulas, unlike the tributes, had to be purchased by every resident of the islands over eighteen years of age--Spaniards, foreigners, and Filipinos, regardless of sex. As there were sixteen different classes of cédulas, the one which most Filipinos had to purchase cost two pesos (one dollar).[81]

This tax was collected by the cabezas on the basis of a list of taxable individuals, called padron de tasas, in his settlement, the cabecería. To cover the cost of collection, the cabeza was given 3 per cent of what he collected while the capitan received 1 per cent. As under the former tribute system, Spanish authorities never inquired very closely how much more the cabeza might collect for himself as long as he paid the required taxes.[82]

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[80] In 1894-1895 the estimated Philippine revenue was $13,579,000 of which $4,586,000 came from cédulas with an additional $482,800 from the special head tax on the Chinese. Le Roy, op. cit., I, pp. 53-4.

[81] Carl C. Plehn, "Taxation in the Philippines: I," Political Science Quarterly, XVI, No. 4 (December, 1901), pp. 691-5. This article and its sequel (Political Science Quarterly, XVII, No. 2, March, 1902, pp. 125-48) give a scholarly survey of the Spaniards' methods of taxation from Legaspi to Dewey.

[82] Ibid., p. 681. Santiago Tayko stated that the cabezas in Siaton retained 3 per cent of all the taxes they collected.

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The Siaton cabezas often had trouble collecting their taxes; some people would flee to the hills when they came to collect. The cabeza had to find them or pay their taxes from his own pocket. Zaide writes:

> If the collection fell short of the amount due to the government owing to the inability of some barrio-folk to pay, or because of their death, he had to reimburse the shortage out of his own pocket. Evidently, he paid a high price for the honor of being a cabeza de barangay. Notwithstanding the financial sacrifice many Filipinos aspired to the office of cabezaship because a cabeza enjoyed a high political and social position in the pueblos, next only to the gobernadorcillo.[83]

In Siaton, however, there were individuals who did not wish to be a cabeza. Such uncooperative persons were whipped or jailed by the Spaniards. While the promise of a higher social position, a certain financial reward, and perhaps later a capitanship were important reasons why many desired to be a cabeza, coercion or actual force often made some men accept the office. It was from barrio-folk who fled to the hills to avoid paying taxes and from discontented cabezas that a considerable number of the followers of the outlaw bands in southern Negros were recruited.

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In 1872 Father Cabriada returned to Siaton as its parish priest and three or four years later (1875-1876) another typhoon swept over southern Negros, causing

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[83] Zaide, The Philippines Since the British Invasion, p. 162; Le Roy, The Americans in the Philippines, I, pp. 42-3.

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widespread damage and destroying the poblacion stone church. In 1877 Lucas Ege was re-elected capitan.[84] It is obvious that the Eges were a prominent family in the poblacion. Lucas or Francisco Ege were capitans for ten out of a seventeen-year period. In 1877 Lucas Ege began the reconstruction of the stone church. This church was damaged by an earthquake in 1897 and largely destroyed by an earthquake in 1925.

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In 1879 Telesforo Tayko was elected capitan; his political career culminated in his election as a congressman to the national government in Manila during the American period.[85] This is the first mention of the Tayko family which has been active until this day in community affairs, often dominating the political life of the locality.

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In 1887, when Telesforo Tayko was re-elected capitan, a Spanish commissioner, Manuel Bugarin, arrived in Siaton. This year is called pongkol (cut) by Cadiane because of the graft of Bugarin in collecting the taxes.

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[84] With the end of Lucas Ege's term as capitan, he was followed by Antonio Gabriel, nicknamed "Kibotkibot" (probably the same person as Gabriel Kibotkibot, 1861-62); Francisco Ege, who served two consecutive terms (1863-66); Angel Cajonera, nicknamed "Andres" (1867-68); Damasao Ragudo (1869-70); Mariano Galabay, nicknamed "Baho" (1871-72); Francisco Ege, his third term (1873-74); Rosindo Kinamot, nicknamed "Balangka," re-elected (1875-76); and Lucas Ege, second term (1877-78).

[85] After Tayko's election as capitan in 1879 he was followed in office by Andres Ege (1881-82); Damasao Ragudo (1883-84); Angel Cajonera (1885-86); and Telesforo Tayko was re-elected in 1887. In 1889-90 Lucas Ege became capitan for the third time.

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The main purpose of Bugarin's assignment to Siaton was to collect taxes that had not been paid since 1884, the year the cédula personal was established. Cadiane writes:

> When the cabezas turned over the taxes collected, if they could not give (each of them) more than five pesos a day the amount which they turned in under five pesos was not recorded as taxes but went to the pockets of Bugarin who said: "This amount will 'go to the sea'" which meant he would keep the money and it was lost. He also received money without issuing receipts.

If the cabezas of Siaton did not turn in taxes required by their padron, they were imprisoned and their property confiscated. Plehn states: "This drastic measure was often enforced with utmost severity."[86]

Cadiane gives a vivid picture of what happened to some cabezas whose taxes were short.

> There were many cabezas in those days who turned over 50 or 70 pesos and all this money "went to the sea" which was another way of saying it was pocketed by Bugarin. The cabezas, and those who were not cabezas, were very much worried in those days because at the time even their own money 'fell into the sea.' They waited for punishment if they were unable to collect the taxes required.

There seems to have been an esprit de corps among the cabezas, the more affluent Filipinos and the capitans at this time. A meeting was held during Bugarin's time to assist the imprisoned cabezas. Many men, including Lucas Ege, gave animals to raise funds to cover the unpaid taxes of these cabezas. Damaseo Magudo (re-elected capitan in 1890) and Angel Gajonera gave more carabaos than anyone

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[86] Plehn, op. cit., p. 688.

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...se because they had been capitans during the period taxes were not collected.

The carabaos, cattle, and horses collected by this group were driven to Dumaguete to be sold. Bugarin said he would manage their sale.

> It is really very pitiful because the result was that not even one-half of one centavo was recorded in the book of tax collections. This is a very long story and it makes one very angry and sorrowful to remember the many hardships which occurred during the visit of Bugarin.

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The cabezas who were unable to pay the required taxes were jailed in the tribunal, now called the municipio, where the local officials had their offices. "At eight in the morning the cabezas were dried under the heat of the sun like a line of fish for their elbows were tied together almost until noon."[87] They were required to pull the grass and weeds in the poblacion roads. Their carabaos, cattle, horses and fields were confiscated to pay delinquent taxes. Gadiane reminisces: "It is really a very pitiful remembrance of the race. It is really very painful to recall."

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Many of the Filipinos of Siaton remember the Spaniards who lived in their midst, including the priests, as cruel and arrogant persons. When a Filipino met a Spaniard he had to remove his hat, hold it behind his head, and bow or make a sign of respect. If this were not done, the

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87. "Prisoners in charge of the Guardia Civil were always tied elbow to elbow." Worcester, op. cit., p. 309.

palm's trunk during the war when acute food shortages existed. Most of the bags and mats made in Caticugan are woven from the buri while the hats worn by the people come from Bohol.

The sale of guhang furnishes many barriofolk with their largest source of cash income. The Siaton poblacion map (Plate XVII)[1] shows the number of stalls selling guhang. The widespread use of the buri to make guhang is shown by the number of dead palms (576) cut in six weeks by the provincial agriculture office in just Siaton poblacion. Many dead buris were left standing at the end of this project. If Siaton's municipal ordinance that requires each owner of a guhang buri to pay a tax of $2.50 was effectively enforced, this local industry would bring a sizeable income to the municipality.

Older informants said when they were young little guhang was made in Siaton since only a few buris grew in the municipality. Some informants stated that the barriofolk of Siaton first learned how to make guhang from the people of Tolong. Once they learned the process they began to plant the palm. Other informants, however, said that Siaton men who worked in Dumaguete's Chinese bodegas (warehouses) learned to make guhang while in the city. When they returned to Siaton they introduced the process, teaching the people of Siaton how to make the mildly alcoholic drink. All available evidence, the possible derivation of Dumaguete's name (from manangueto, a specialist who makes guhang), the older settlement of Dumaguete,

[1] [this plate (p. 128) is missing]

palm's sap started to flow April 14 and stopped June 22. The gross income of the owner was $54 of which $12 was spent for tan-bark, leaving a net profit of $42. The money from guhang sales, deposited in a "bamboo bank" (a pole of the house wall), was not counted until the buri died so the figures are probably accurate.

The price of a mature buri in Siaton ranges from $10 to $25. In the municipal tax records buri owners are assessed one dollar for each palm. If the mananguete is not the tree's owner, profits are divided in several ways. Sometimes the profits are split 50-50 after the owner has deducted what he considers the buri's value. In another case the mananguete received one-fourth of the profits plus all the free guhang his family could consume. The money from the sale of guhang from this buri was deposited in a bamboo bank kept in the palm. The owner said he did not want to keep the cash in his near-by dwelling "because I might be tempted to gamble with it."

The buri's value is also reflected in the number of disputes that often result concerning its ownership and use. Three court cases occurred during my residence concerning the illegal use of another person's buri. In one case the defendant was accused by the plaintiff of illegally using two of his buris to make guhang and asked $100 damage. There are many quarrels over buri palms that do not reach the local court. An example of such a quarrel that happened in Naga is given on the next page.

municipal treasurer a monthly report (in triplicate) of the kind, quantity, and value, if so, if the fish caught during the month."[40] 228

Passing an ordinance does not mean it will be obeyed or enforced. In Siaton it is common knowledge that most of the bonsod owners keep two sets of books, one for personal use and the other for inspection by municipal officials. Bonsod owners or operators are 228 651 662

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[40]Section 14 of this ordinance lists types of nets or traps and fees to be paid to the municipality for their annual use.

| Type of Net or Trap (A) | Municipal License (Dollars) |
|---|---|
| Payagkay (Pamalo) | 5 |
| Pokot (Sagiwsiw) | 4 |
| Pokot (Licus) | 10 |
| Sabay (Licus) | 10 |
| Sabay (Sondong) | 2 |
| Sabay (Ta-en) | 4 |
| Sodsod | 2 |
| Basnig (Tambam) | 10 |
| Basnig (Ligbao) | 4 |
| Sabay (Ligbao) | 4 |
| Pokot (Lamba) | 6 |
| Surambao Filipino | 185 |
| Basnig, Japanese system | 375 |
| Tapsay | 2 |
| Chinchoro | 30 |
| Patulay (Malangsi) | 30 |
| Balahan | 75 |
| (Fishing) With high power light ranging from | |
| 100- 500 c. p. | 20 |
| 501-1000 c. p. | 60 |
| 1001-5000 c. p. | 80 |
| Bobo (each owner) | 3 |
| Nets (Length) | |
| 10 to 25 fathoms | 10 |
| 26 to 50 fathoms | 20 |
| 51 to 100 fathoms | 40 |
| More than 101 fathoms | 60 |

(A) Local names are given in parenthesis.

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required to pay a 5 per cent tax on their total sales to the municipality where they are located. Accounts shown to the inspectors indicate much smaller sales than are the case. Municipal inspectors sent to measure the depth of water where the bonsod is built or the length of the fish nets for tax purposes often are clerks paid less than ten dollars a month. These clerks sometimes report falsified figures. For example, they may state that a bonsod is built in shallower water than it is or that the nets are shorter than they are in order to reduce the required fees. In payment the clerks are given fish for their families by the owners thus favored.

Many requirements of the municipal ordinance, such as monthly reports, are not fulfilled by the fishermen, and no serious attempt is made at enforcement. Municipal revenue from marine fishing is much smaller than it should be. How much is lost is difficult to estimate but I feel it may be as much as 50 per cent of the potential income. The attitude toward taxes, and to government, in general, in Siaton is similar to that described by Robert Redfield in Tepoztlan. The people of Siaton, for the most part, resent taxes since they receive few benefits from the government. The frequent cases, both alleged and proven, of corruption and waste in national or provincial governments, intensify this attitude. Due to such conditions, the municipality often is deprived of revenues necessary

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to initiate improvements; the lack of these improvements is often given as a justification for defrauding the government.[41]

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An average bonsod requires considerable capital; consequently many of them are financed through partnerships. The bonsod can be very profitable but it is also a gamble against an errant typhoon, and a gamble that the capital invested will be recovered before the southwest monsoon's arrival. It is also a gamble that large catches will be made on holidays (such as fiestas) when fish bring higher prices.

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Table XXXII[1] shows the cost of three bonsods built by different persons in Siaton in 1951. The costs indicated vary; large bamboos of last year's bonsod, destroyed by the monsoon, may be washed ashore and reused. Some builders use iron anchors (sinipits); others make them locally from wood. If one uses a twine instead of an abaca net the initial investment is larger. For the two bonsods in Table XXXII[1] the cost of a twine and abaca net and a banca are included; these items do not have to be purchased each year. A banca was said to last three or four years, the iron anchors four to five years, and the abaca net seven or eight years. If one

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[41] Robert Redfield, Tepoztlan: A Mexican Village: A Study of Folk Life. Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 1930, p. 67.

1 [See p. 583, Cat. 228 or 435 -- Analyst]

votes and Gadiane 98 votes. In 1911 Felipe Tayko was elected the fourth governor of Negros Oriental. 175*

Political differences between the supporters of Gadiane and the Taykos were temporarily resolved in 1914. The Taykos joined the Nacionalista party in order to defeat the candidates of the opposition party in Siaton. In this election Santiago Tayko was elected presidente of the municipality; the office's salary was thirty-three dollars a month. 662 175*

In 1916 Felipe Tayko reached the peak of his political career when he was elected congressman from the first district of Negros. He bolted the Nacionalista party to join the Liberal party allegedly because he was promised by Liberal party leaders their nomination for representative. Gadiane writes about schism with bitterness:

> Because I was the head of the Nacionalista party I told our members that though our happiness that the two parties were united was short-lived, we will just forget Tayko's withdrawal because there are people today who do not care if their honor is marred as long as their stomachs are full. Oh, what a situation! But gone forever are the days of the Prophets who guided men so they would not make mistakes.

The same year that Tayko was elected representative Siaton was classified as a third class municipality, based on its income. Thirty-five years later Siaton was still a third class municipality. 175*

The first concrete school building in Siaton was built in 1918. Behind its erection lies the 175* 653 661

smouldering feud between the Tayko and Gadiane groups. 1757
*Presidente* Santiago Tayko was given permission to be ab- 653
sent from his position for four months in order to attend 661
to personal business. During this period the municipal council, under the probing eye of Councilor Gadiane, discovered that $5,000 had been set aside in the municipal treasury for the construction of the school. The *municipio* had burned and Felipe's father's house had been rented for eighty-five dollars a month to furnish space for the *presidente*, justice of the peace, treasurer, chief of police, classrooms, and the jail. The funds set aside for the school building had been used to pay the rent; the original amount set aside for the school building had dwindled to less than $2,000.

The municipal council passed a resolution requesting Congressman Tayko to obtain funds from the national government to build a new school. Gadiane later received a letter from Tayko, stating he had received the resolution and requesting Gadiane to stop making trouble. Several months after this incident Tayko returned to Siaton for the municipal elections. His nephew, Fidel Tayko, was a candidate for *presidente* of the municipality. Just before the election lumber arrived in the *poblacion* for the new school. Fidel won the election.

On the fifth day of the fifth month at five o'clock 1757
in the evening, 1925, a severe earthquake shook Siaton. 731
The *Flores de Mayo* procession was just leaving the church when a series of violent shocks occurred. Thick smoke

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In 1927 Nacionalista Gadiane ran against the brother of Fidel Tayko, a member of the Liberal party. Gadiane gives a brief description of some aspects of his campaign.

> I ordered from Silliman University 4000 pieces of propaganda [printed pamphlets]. I sent to my leaders (in the barrios) 2000 pamphlets. I gave some of the people in the marketplace and at the komberas [feasts] and kaliwasans [funeral memorial services] I attended. We also distributed our propaganda in front of the church after mass.

The election was dishonest. When they arrived at the polls many voters were told that the election was over. So they went home without voting. The ballot boxes were also said to be stuffed. The Nacionalista group sent a telegram to the Governor-General in Manila and an American colonel soon appeared in Siaton to investigate the election irregularities.

On the advice of the colonel the election complaint was carried to Dumaguete. Similar complaints had been lodged with the provincial government by Nacionalista groups in Bais, Bacong, and Siquijor. The Nacionalista party spent ₱3,000 for the fees of their lawyers and Gadiane spent ₱800 personally. The Liberal party was said to have spent even more money to win the case. As a result several of the poll inspectors in Siaton were found guilty and imprisoned.

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In 1928 Bautista Tayko was elected presidente and four years later his brother, Fidel, was re-elected to the same office. It was during Fidel's office that semi-permanent school buildings were constructed at Barrios Imalad, Bonbonon, Giliga-on and Bonawon.

Inalad, Bonbonon, Giliga-on and Bonawon. A new concrete bridge was built over the Canaway River; this improved the transportation facilities during the rainy season. 175* 653 ● 494

In 1935 the Philippine Commonwealth was established. No elections were held this year for municipal officers; their terms were merely extended for an additional two years.[165] During this period the water system of Siaton was installed. The national, provincial, and municipal governments each contributed $5,000 for the construction of the new water system. A concrete reservoir was built at Sitio Talio, west of Naga, and the water brought to the poblacion by gravity. The water was piped only to the residences of the more prominent people of the poblacion. Public faucets were also installed at the plaza and a few other places. The system is inadequate for during the dry season the pressure becomes so low that the water runs only for short periods during the day. 175* 653 365 565

In October 1937 clouds of locusts came to Siaton. The insects covered the plaza and climbed into the church, houses, and stores. Nearly all of the unharvested rice was destroyed. In the same year Fidel Tayko was re-elected as Siaton's mayor, the new name substituted for presidente. His defeated opponent protested the election as fraudulent and won his case in Dumaguete. The victor became mayor 175* 731 175* 666

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165"The first elections under the Commonwealth were held December, 14, 1938, for local offices." Tolentino and Zaide, op. cit., p. 151.

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During the harvest the guerrillas went as far back as the mountains to get their share of the crops. I was one who carried their share to the barrio lieutenant's house where the food was stored. Whenever the guerrillas went to the fields to divide the crops we could not say no even though we had other work to do. We had to obey them. At night we thought we would not live until the next morning--with danger from the guerrillas and the Japanese. During this time, if we had no corn, the guerrillas told us to give them anything we had--like igao [an edible wild root] or bananas. Sometimes I was told to go to their camp to help them pound igac roots. Sometimes I did not want to go but I had to go. We continued to plow and our crops were divided by the guerrillas.

The Japanese in Siaton moved to Tolong during the last part of the war. They stayed here for about a month and then returned to Siaton. One night, after burning the municipio and the dispensary, they left on a ship which had anchored offshore.

American forces invaded Negros March 29, 1945, having landed on Cebu two days earlier. Troops stationed in Siaton camped on a small knoll about a mile from the poblacion. They did not stay very long and evidently did not make much of an impact on the Filipinos. The American soldiers were rarely discussed by the people, although several dances were given in their honor in poblacion plaza.

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With the liberation of Negros, Fidel Tayko was appointed mayor by the national government and re-elected in 1948. In 1946 the elementary school in the poblacion was rebuilt with a grant from the United States-Philippine War Damage Commission.[172] A bamboo and nipa municipio was

[172] The United States-Philippine War Damage Commission was created by the Philippine Rehabilitation Act of 1946 with $120,000,000 for repairing or rebuilding roads, bridges, schools and other public installations.

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constructed on the plaza to replace the building burnt by the Japanese. In 1948 a new concrete bridge was built (the pride of all the residents of the poblacion) over the Siaton River and a similar bridge over the Canaway River was finished in 1952. The Catholic church also was rebuilt in the same year. The former structure had been a temporary one since the 1925 earthquake. The fine two-story houses with ornate cement stairways that had been residences of the more affluent principalia and were burnt during the war have not been rebuilt. In parts of the poblacion one can see lonely cement stairways in weed-covered lots, leading upward to a house which no longer exists.

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Summary

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This historical survey of Caticugan and its larger milieu supports Kroeber's comments on stratificational aspects of Philippine culture.

> Layer after layer of culture is recognizable [in the Philippines], giving a complete transition from the most primitive condition to full participation in Western civilization...In the Philippines it is true that direct historical records...go back only four hundred years. But a constellation of circumstances has brought it about that the various ancient and modern influences that have reached the islands are often traceable to their sources...the contours

20: Hart OAl Philippines OAl

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[For an analysis of agricultural extension activities in Negros Oriental, see category 116, pp. 436-448. --Analyst]

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## Agricultural Extension Activities

The practice of agriculture in Caticugan, as here described, strongly supports the statement that "one of the most serious problems of the Philippines is the lag in the development and especially in the application of farm technology."[80]

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In 1951 Philippines' yield of rice per acre was the same as the yield in 1918; this was the lowest in Asia. In Caticugan there have been few basic changes in basic agricultural methods in the century. Some of the simplest techniques for improving yields have failed to reach the people. For example, the people still select rice and corn seed in the most primitive manner. The agricultural college at Los Baños has developed methods for improving corn and rice yields through better selection of seeds; these methods would not cost a centavo yet this information has not reached the people.

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The Philippine Government's neglect of agriculture, the basic industry and source of its wealth, has been scored by numerous critics and studies over the past several decades. Budget figures are one index to the indifference of most Filipino lawmakers to agriculture.

> In 1949, the gross national product, including disbursement of the United States, was over ₱5.0 billion. Of the total amount agriculture contributed 56 per cent, fisheries 6 per cent and forestry 3 per cent.

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[80] Robert T. McMillan, "Major Rural Problems in the Philippines and Suggested Solutions." Mimeographed copy of paper read at the 12th Biennial Convention of the National Federation of Women's Clubs, Manila, March 29, 1952, p. 2.

20: Hart E-5 (195.) 1954 OA1 Philippines
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> The most obvious thing about the whole Philippine economy, therefore, is the predominant position held by plant and animal production. Added to this is the striking fact that 75 per cent of the people are dependent on such production for their livelihood...
>
> ...For the fiscal year 1951, there was appropriated to the Department of Agriculture and Natural Resources for investigations in plant industry, animal industry, fisheries, and forestry the sum of Pl.2 million, about one-fourth of one per cent of the budget. Most of this will go into salaries, wages, travel, and miscellaneous expenses leaving but a minor part for actual experimental work. The fact is that for the basic informational needs of the industries that constitute the backbone of the entire economy, almost a negligible amount is provided in the national budget. When it is considered that Philippine agriculture is regarded by its most sincere friends as very backward and susceptible to quick improvements, the neglect of even elementary experimental work on which its advancement depends is difficult to understand.[81]

This section does not propose to examine the varied problems of Philippine agriculture. Within the last six years the ~~Philippine-United States~~ Agricultural Mission (1947), the Bell Mission (1950), Wernstedt's detailed study of Negros (1952) and Spencer's summary volume, Land and People in the Philippines (1952) have covered most aspects of this major problem. However, certain comments arise out of my research in Catiagan and Negros.

Table XXIII[1] gives the budgets of the provincial agriculture office of Negros Oriental over the past eight years.

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[81] The Bell Report, op. cit., pp. 58-9.

1 [See p. 438, cat. 654 + 242 -- Analyst]

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TABLE XXIII

Annual Budgets of the Provincial Agricultural Extension Service of Negros Oriental Province[82] (1945-1953)

| Fiscal Year | 1945-1946 | 1946-1947 | 1947-1948 | 1948-1949 | 1949-1950 | 1950-1951 | 1951-1952 | 1952-1953 |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Appropriation (dollars) | 8818 | 17104 | 22672 | 24453 | 25783 | 24218 | 24957 | 34000 |

These funds come from provincial and municipal budgets and allotments from the national government. Commonwealth Act 85 (Section 1813-H as amended) states:

> Each municipality or municipal district shall annually set aside a sum of not less than THREE AND NOT MORE THAN FIVE per centum of its general fund, at the discretion of the Provincial Board and such provincial board shall set aside from its general fund a like sum which, together with the sums set aside by the municipalities and municipal districts under its jurisdiction shall constitute a special fund to be known as 'Agriculture Fund.'[83]

In 1950-51 the budget of provincial agriculture office of Negros Oriental was reduced. (See Table XXIII.) The reason reported was that the head of the office had fallen out of grace with certain members of the provincial board who determine the percentage of income devoted to the agriculture fund within the limits of Act 85. This budget reduction was said to have been made to "punish" the supervisor for his alleged "political transgressions."

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[82] Personal communication from the supervisor, September 30, 1952.

[83] The major sources of provincial and municipal income are taxes on income, real property, residence, inheritance, gifts and internal revenue allotments from national government; other sources of income are market and big animal registration fees, licenses, etc.

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In 1952-53 the agriculture office had less than eight cents for each person in the province for extension services. When one considers the cost of administrative activities, office supplies, transportation, repair of equipment, and other expenses, there was a pitiful meager amount left for agricultural extension activities. It is possible the newly-created Bureau of Agricultural Extension may solve some of these problems.[84]

The provincial agricultural supervisors' field agents are the municipal inspectors. The municipal inspectors' duties are to aid the provincial supervisors in extension activities and pest control, and to prepare reports on agricultural activities within their districts. Table XXIV[1] indicates the various agricultural districts of Negros Oriental in 1952, with the educational training and annual salaries of the municipal inspectors.

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[84] Under the new Bureau the country is to be divided into nine districts, each under a District Agriculturist who will be the superior of the Provincial Agriculturist (formerly the provincial agricultural supervisor) of each province. Luzon will have five districts, the Visayas (Eastern and Western) and Mindanao (Northern and Southern) two districts each.

1 [See p. 440, cat. 654 + 242 -- Analyst]

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TABLE XXIV

Education and Salaries:
Municipal Agricultural Inspectors - 1952[85]
Negros Oriental, Philippines

| Agricultural Districts | Municipalities | Educational Attainment of Inspectors | Annual Salary ($) |
|---|---|---|---|
| I | Canlaon<br>Vallehermoso | Mampising Agr. School | 600 |
| II | Guihulngan<br>La Libertad | Central Luzon College | 600 |
| III | Jimalalud<br>Tayasan<br>Ayungon<br>Tambo District | Central Luzon College | 660 |
| IV | Payabon<br>Manjuyod | Central Luzon College | 480 |
| V | Bais<br>Tanjay<br>Pamplona | Central Luzon College | 780 |
| VI | Amlan<br>Sibulan | Bukidnon Agr. School | 450 |
| VII | Valencia<br>Bacong | Mampising Agr. School | 660 |
| VIII | Dauin<br>Zamboanguita | Bukidnon Agr. School | 450 |
| IX | Siaton | Central Luzon College | 540 |
| X | Sta. Catalina<br>Tolong | Central Luzon College | 660 |
| XI | Larena<br>Siquijor | Central Luzon College | 720 |
| XII | San Juan<br>Lazi | Lagangilang Agr. School | 480 |
| XIII | Maria<br>E. Villanueva | Bukidnon Agr. School | 540 |

An agronomist with three years training at Los Baños served Dumaguete (Agricultural District No. XIV) at an annual salary of $900.

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[85] Figures furnished by the Provincial Agricultural Office, Dumaguete, Negros Oriental, 1952.

Table XXV illustrates the estimated square acres and acres of cultivated land of the three largest agricultural districts each of whom have only one municipal agriculture agent. 654 242

TABLE XXV

Total Area and Cultivated Area, Three Agricultural Districts, Negros Oriental, 1951

| Agricultural District | Estimated Total Area Acres | Estimated Cultivated Land (Acres) |
|---|---|---|
| No. III (Jimalalud, Tayasan, Ayungon, Tambo District) | 332,800 | 32,581 |
| No. V (Bais, Tanjay, Pamplona) | 100,960 | 23,628 |
| No. I (Sta. Catalina, Tolong) | 77,440 | 21,527 |

When transportation and communication difficulties of municipal inspectors are considered and administrative and reporting duties remembered, the most ambitious and tireless inspector can not effectively perform his duties when his responsibilities encompass such large areas. The municipal inspector of Agricultural District No. V has to make three separate municipal reports since his district comprises three municipalities. Living in one municipality, an inspector is unable to supervise closely extension services in the other municipalities.

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The municipal inspector of Siaton (Agricultural District No. IX)[1] was unknown to the majority of the barriofolk in the Siaton River valley. During my residence the inspector did not come once to Caticugan; he spent much of his time in the poblacion working on his new residence. Prior to my arrival, the inspector had given a talk to the people of Caticugan in the barrio school but this meeting was arranged on the teacher's initiative. The principal of the elementary school frequently requested the inspector to talk to the students but he never appeared; he was very shy about speaking in public.

The inspector's office was a desk in Siaton post-office. A few bottles of seeds, some dusty charts indicating the alleged increase in corn and rice yields, and a few snail shells comprised his "educational" display. He had several stacks of illustrated pamphlets in Tagalog regarding the control of rats and improved methods of pig production produced by the United States Information Service. It is not fair to criticize him for failing to distribute these pamphlets in a Cebuano-speaking area. Getting materials from the provincial to the municipal centers is not as difficult as supervising their distribution in the barrios; this is the crucial and the weakest link in the distributional process of Philippine agricultural extension activities.

For the most part, such agricultural extension activities as the value of fertilizer, better seed

1 [See Table XXIV, p. 440, cat. 654 or 242 -- Analyst]

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selection methods, pest control or demonstration areas did not exist in Siaton, I made extensive inquiries about such activities. The municipal inspector had made a sign for one "fertilizer demonstration area." This "demonstration area" was in Goshen (also called Common; the name was changed to Goshen when it was settled by a group of Seventh Day Adventists), an isolated sitio of Barrio Apoloy. The owner of the land, a provincial official, had purchased a few bags of ammonium sulphate in Dumaguete for his fields. Common is a sitio of perhaps two dozen families located a full day's walk north of the National Road, at the very fringe of the settled region of the upper Siaton River valley. Few farmers saw this alleged "demonstration area."

Fertilizer under the former ECA program began to reach Siaton in 1952. The provincial agricultural supervisor reported that by September, 1952, 152 bags of fertilizer were sold to residents of Siaton municipality; two farmers in Caticugan purchased some of this fertilizer. Of the 6,500 bags of fertilizer distributed in Negros Oriental, 80 per cent were sold on a three-month credit plan. The regulation set for the distribution of fertilizer is to limit individual users to nine bags. If a farmer were working 25 acres he could purchase fertilizer sufficient to fertilize about one-third of his field. While this regulation prevents the fertilizer from falling into the hands of the few, and educates some barrio farmers on the value of fertilizer, it also defeats one

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purpose of the fertilizer distribution--increase food production. In Siaton the fertilizer was used on corn fields; owners of paddies were watching to see results in the fertilized corn fields before they purchased fertilizer.

The municipal agent said a "seed selection demonstration area" had been established in another Siaton barrio. When I checked with the people living in this barrio they had never heard of such a project. Moreover, none of them knew the agent's name! There is less justification for inactivity in this aspect of extension work than efforts to induce the people to use fertilizers. Better seed selection methods would cost the barriofolk nothing and demonstration areas could easily be arranged even with the admittedly inadequate funds of the municipal agent.

Extension activities on the part of the provincial agriculture office were often ineffective due to inadequate funds and insufficient personnel. To the writer's knowledge neither the provincial agricultural supervisor nor his assistant visited Siaton during 1951. Articles regarding improved agricultural practices were printed in English in the weekly newspaper, Vanguard, published in Dumaguete, with an estimated circulation of one thousand.[86]

[86] Jose C. Balein, "Provincial Newspapers in the Philippines," This Week; Manila Chronicle Sunday Supplement, VII, No. 10 (March 9, 1952), p. 13.

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It would have been better to print the articles in Cebuano but no funds were available to pay a translator.

Agricultural extension publications issued by the Department of Agriculture and Natural Resources, located in Manila, are printed in English; this limits their effectiveness in most rural areas. The provincial agricultural supervisor of Negros Oriental told me: "The bulletins and circulars in English have to be translated by the extension workers into the native dialect before they can be of real use in the locality." Since there are no funds for translation and printing of the translated circulars, information that comes from the Department of Agriculture and Natural Resources rarely reached Caticugan barriofolk. The high rate of illiteracy and relatively inefficient distribution system limits the effectiveness of even translated circulars.[87]

Agricultural conditions and techniques in Siaton, in general, and Caticugan, in particular, underline the urgent need of improving extension activities in the Philippines. As the Bell Report bluntly states:

> The neglect of experimental work is serious enough, but the lack of an efficient agricultural extension service is even more lamentable for there is much useful information already available which could be put into practice.[88]

While getting information to the barriofolk does not mean they will immediately accept new techniques and

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[87] A recent survey states the rate of illiteracy in Negros Oriental has been reduced from 53.6 per cent (1948) to 28.6 per cent; however, this estimate must be accepted with reservations. Tomas de Castro "The Community Schools of Negros Oriental," Philippine Journal of Education, January 1954, pp. 432 et seq.; cited in Far East Digest, Nos. 82 and 83, (March, 1954), p. 24.

[88] The Bell Report, op. cit., p. 59.

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equipment, it is the giant step needed in Caticugan.[89]

Agricultural extension officials could use more imagination. Literature to be circulated among the barriofolk should be made attractive for other reasons than farming propaganda. In the United States jellies are often sold in attractive glasses that housewives buy for the glass rather than the jelly--and later learn to like the jelly. A similar approach might be used in spreading farming information among the barriofolk.

The young men and women in Caticugan are eager to learn the lyrics of new American and Philippine song hits. Though the barriofolk rarely buy magazines, some do purchase Song Hits which contains the words of new popular songs. The magazine passes from hand to hand and the readers often memorized pages of lyrics. Extension literature that included the lyrics of latest song hits on one side and farm information on the other would be in great demand by the younger people--the future farmers.

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[89] The agricultural extension service must do more than get information to the barriofolk; they must recognize the various problems of inducing innovation and use the accumulating knowledge of cultural dynamics. Eggan's comments on the recent Bell Report are particularly pertinent. He writes that many of the recommendations of this report in regard to agricultural improvements have been tried before and the necessary laws passed but "In most instances, the failures are due to social and cultural factors rather than to lack of technical knowledge and skill." Fred Eggan, "The Philippines and the Bell Report," Human Organization, X, No. 1, (Spring, 1951), pp. 16-21.

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If printed in the local dialect the pamphlets would be hoarded or passed among friends, and would reach many of the isolated barrios of Siaton municipality.

In agricultural extension services films can be very effective. The barriofolk are fond of motion pictures although they rarely see them. The establishing by the agriculture department of mobile film units for extension services for the entire Philippines might be very expensive. However, some mobile film units already exist in many of the islands that the department could utilize. Several times during my residence mobile film units came to Siaton poblacion advertising various Philippine products. The truck would drive around the poblacion and announce through loudspeakers that a free program of sound films would be shown that evening in the plaza; sometimes 200 to 300 people turned out. The program consisted of films praising the product of the sponsor, and outdated American shorts or cartoons.

If the agriculture department produced entertaining shorts on various aspects of agriculture, the films could be distributed to these agencies for inclusion in their programs in the provinces. Often the language of Philippine films shown by these traveling cinemas was Tagalog. Films prepared by the agriculture department should be in the principal dialect of each region. The Philippine film industry is quite capable of producing such films.

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While the majority of the barriofolk are conservative and uneducated, they are not dull-witted, and already have adopted new ways. The younger generation will be easier to work with. Yet they will have to be convinced before they make any drastic changes--barring the use of coercion. Since the printed word is usually a mystery or carries little conviction, they must be able to see with their own eyes. On the whole, from their point of view, the tried and tested ways of their ancestors have proven fairly satisfactory and are not as "primitive" as claimed. The new ways, for all their promises of more abundant harvests, may fail and leave empty corn baskets. In agriculture, the barriofolk have small margin of safety.

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the landlord and tenant receive 25 per cent each. The workers have to carry the heavy bundles of fiber on their backs to the poblacion. If the landlord strips and processes the abaca planted and cared for by his tenant, he receives 75 per cent of the profits from its sale in the poblacion and the tenant 25 per cent. If the tenant processes the abaca the division of profits is reversed. One informant said the owners of the caingin often urge their tenants to plant abaca in order to prevent soil erosion and the spread of cogon. The tenant receives all vegetables planted in the caingin.

## CREDIT FACILITIES AND ARRANGEMENTS

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Nearly every comprehensive study of Philippine economic structure has urged that credit facilities be improved. Both the Joint Philippine-American Finance Commission (1947) and the Bell Mission (1950) stressed the need for improving and expanding agricultural credit facilities. The latest study of agricultural credit is briefly summarized as background material for Cateugem.[21]

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There is no government control or support of agricultural products in the Philippines, with the exception of the activities of the National Rice and Corn Corporation. Though this corporation limits price rises of rice to the

[21] John L. Cooper, "Report and Recommendations Concerning Agricultural Credit in the Philippines." Manila, United States of America Special Technical and Economic Mission to the Philippines, January 8, 1952, 88 pages. Mimeographed.

consumer, it does not effectively stabilize the price the farmer receives for his rice. Farmer organizations or cooperatives are few in number and generally ineffective in helping the barriofolk. Those cooperatives that existed before the last war, for the most part, did not survive; at present there are only a few cooperatives connected with poultry and tobacco production. Cooper writes:

> Thus, most farmers have to depend upon private merchants. By having no control over marketing, the farmer cannot pledge his crop for credit until favorable market conditions prevail so he can obtain for himself the maximum amount for his crops. Instead this profit goes to middlemen.[22]

Aliens, particularly Chinese, control approximately 65 per cent of the marketing of Philippine agricultural products. Chinese control is not always due to business acumen and sharp practices, but often by Filipino default.

The majority of the seventeen registered financial organizations in the Philippines are located in Manila and confine their businesses to that general area. "Virtually all of their business is non-agricultural and is largely concentrated in import and export commerce."[23] Only two major institutions operate in the rural areas:

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[22] Ibid., p. 3.

[23] Ibid., p. 4.

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Only two major institutions operate in the rural areas; the Philippine National Bank and the Rehabilitation Finance Corporation (RFC). The Philippine National Bank has a branch office in Dumaguete City; the only bank in the city in 1951.

In Siaton, as is usual, the municipal treasurer is the sub-agent of the Dumaguete branch of the Philippine National Bank. To him the people come to arrange for loans. Although they could go to the city branch, they must have certain statements regarding their security from the municipal treasurer. The borrower pays 10 per cent interest; 4 per cent goes to the municipal treasurer as his personal profit and 6 per cent to the bank. If a Torrens title to the land is not available, then a tax receipt will be accepted if free from any adverse claim for ten years. In Siaton when land is offered as security, without a Torrens title, all adjoining landowners must sign an affidavit that the borrower is the undisputed owner. Since the Philippine National Bank operates on a commercial banking basis it is quite difficult to obtain agricultural loans. Only in rare cases can a tenant qualify for a loan since he normally lacks the required security. Movable property is not accepted as security by the government-controlled Philippine National Bank.

The Rehabilitation Finance Corporation was established by the government in 1947. One major purpose of the RFC was "to provide long term credit for the rehabilitation and development of agriculture and industry." For

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a RFC loan a Torrens title for land is required. If a Torrens title is not available, then either a Torrens title to urban land of equal value or a pre-1894 Spanish title to the land for which the loan is requested is required; the interest on the loan is 6 per cent per annum.

There are no branches of the RFC in Negros; for the people of Negros Oriental the nearest branches are in Cebu City or Iloilo City. Between January 2, 1947 and September 30, 1951, fifty-six RFC agricultural loans were made in Negros Oriental, totaling $335,285; none were made to residents of Siaton municipality. For the same period agricultural loans in Negros Occidental totaled $6,835,077. Both sets of loans were mainly for rehabilitation of Negros' sugar industry. Of the twelve Visayan provinces, Negros Occidental received the largest amount of money (1947-1951) from the RFC; Negros Oriental was sixth.[24]

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Due to the stringent requirements of the Philippine National Bank and the RFC for agricultural loans the average farmer is forced to obtain agricultural credit from landlord, from private money lenders, local merchants, rice millers and other buyers of farm products. These loans often are made and repaid in kind. A farmer may obtain credit from a local merchant and later sell his palay to this merchant, who deducts the amount owed.

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[24] Ibid., p. 49.

disparity between the prices he receives for the products produced and the goods he must purchase. There also are the lower level of agricultural production, and the war destruction of equipment and buildings. Most farmers were unable to liquidate their debts during the inflationary period which followed the war; many fell deeper into debt. 452 426

Siaton's municipal treasurer has been assigned the municipality for six years (1946-1951). During this period only twenty loans were arranged through the Philippine National Bank; the largest was $500 to one of the local government officials. The average loan was about $100 and 75 per cent were made to poblacion residents; other loans were made to residents of Malabuhan, Bonawon, and Giliga-on. All loans were for agricultural purposes. 452 655 426

During the "starvation months" some Caticugan barriofolk are forced to borrow money or supplies in order to live. As one woman said: "We live between one harvest and another on the supplies the Chinese advance us." Other occasions for borrowing are a death or wedding. For example, one man in Catiougan borrowed money from his elder brother's wife for the bride-price when his youngest son married. Fiestas also are occasions for borrowing. Not all "agricultural" loans are for agriculture. Sometimes parents borrow money to support a son or daughter in school in Dumaguete although the loan is said to be for 452 426

20: Hart E-5 (195.) 1954 OA1 Philippines
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In 1838 the Spaniards in Siaton told all the Filipinos to stay inside their homes on an appointed day. Poblacion officials visited each residence on this day with an alphabetical list of names. Each family was given a family name.[50] The administration of Siaton, the tax accounts and other official records, were complicated by the lack of the people having a family name. There were many men known simply as Francisco, nicknamed Esco or Escong, often making it necessary for double nicknames to distinguish all the Escongs--such as Escongyawa. There are still communities in the Philippines where the people have family names that appear to have come from the same page of an alphabetical list.[51]

## FROM 1845 TO THE PHILIPPINE REVOLUTION

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In 1849 Tomas Mezquita succeeded Omedillas as the parish priest of Siaton. At this time the Siaton parish covered about 60 miles, from Zamboanguita to the Sicopon

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[50] In this matter Cadiane is inconsistent for family names are given for capitans beginning in 1831. After Francisco Sugboanon came capitans Alejandro (1821-22); Felix (1823-24); Clemente (1825-26); Francisco Sugboanon (1827-28), re-elected; Etib (1829-30); Cayetano Cadingan (1831-32), first capitan with a family name; Celestino Makagig (1833-34); Etib (1835-36), re-elected; and Juan Jarnaes (1837-38).

[51] Most of the family names of the later leaders of Bonbonon cluster: Gajigan, Capoli, Garnaes, Janala, Jandug, Jangar, Japoli, Padunar, Pagulas, Paladar, Palagar, Palalomas, and Palalon. Since C and J are often interchangeable in Cebuano, such names as Capoli and Japoli were once probably identical.

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widespread damage and destroying the poblacion stone church. In 1877 Lucas Ege was re-elected capitan.[84] It is obvious that the Eges were a prominent family in the poblacion. Lucas or Francisco Ege were capitans for ten out of a seventeen-year period. In 1877 Lucas Ege began the reconstruction of the stone church. This church was damaged by an earthquake in 1897 and largely destroyed by an earthquake in 1925.

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In 1879 Telesforo Tayko was elected capitan; his political career culminated in his election as a congressman to the national government in Manila during the American period.[85] This is the first mention of the Tayko family which has been active until this day in community affairs, often dominating the political life of the locality.

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In 1887, when Telesforo Tayko was re-elected capitan, a Spanish commissioner, Manuel Bugarin, arrived in Siaton. This year is called pongkol (cut) by Cadiane because of the graft of Bugarin in collecting the taxes.

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[84] With the end of Lucas Ege's term as capitan, he was followed by Antonio Gabriel, nicknamed "Kibotkibot" (probably the same person as Gabriel Kibotkibot, 1861-62); Francisco Ege, who served two consecutive terms (1863-66); Angel Cajonera, nicknamed "Andres" (1867-68); Damasao Ragudo (1869-70); Mariano Calabay, nicknamed "Baho" (1871-72); Francisco Ege, his third term (1873-74); Rosindo Kinamot, nicknamed "Balangka," re-elected (1875-76); and Lucas Ege, second term (1877-78).

[85] After Tayko's election as capitan in 1879 he was followed in office by Andres Ege (1881-82); Damasao Ragudo (1883-84); Angel Cajonera (1885-86); and Telesforo Tayko was re-elected in 1887. In 1889-90 Lucas Ege became capitan for the third time.

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The main purpose of Bugarin's assignment to Siaton was to collect taxes that had not been paid since 1884, the year the cédula personal was established. Gadiane writes:

> When the cabezas turned over the taxes collected, if they could not give (each of them) more than five pesos a day the amount which they turned in under five pesos was not recorded as taxes but went to the pockets of Bugarin who said: "This amount will 'go to the sea'" which meant he would keep the money and it was lost. He also received money without issuing receipts.

If the cabezas of Siaton did not turn in taxes required by their padron, they were imprisoned and their property confiscated. Plehn states: "This drastic measure was often enforced with utmost severity."[86]

Gadiane gives a vivid picture of what happened to some cabezas whose taxes were short.

> There were many cabezas in those days who turned over 50 or 70 pesos and all this money "went to the sea" which was another way of saying it was pocketed by Bugarin. The cabezas, and those who were not cabezas, were very much worried in those days because at the time even their own money 'fell into the sea.' They waited for punishment if they were unable to collect the taxes required.

There seems to have been an esprit de corps among the cabezas, the more affluent Filipinos and the capitans at this time. A meeting was held during Bugarin's time to assist the imprisoned cabezas. Many men, including Lucas Ege, gave animals to raise funds to cover the unpaid taxes of these cabezas. Damaseo Magudo (re-elected capitan in 1890) and Angel Cajonera gave more carabaos than anyone

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[86] Plehn, op. cit., p. 688.

else because they had been capitans during the period taxes were not collected. 175* 651 661

The carabaos, cattle, and horses collected by this group were driven to Dumaguete to be sold. Bugarin said he would manage their sale.

> It is really very pitiful because the result was that not even one-half of one centavo was recorded in the book of tax collections. This is a very long story and it makes one very angry and sorrowful to remember the many hardships which occurred during the visit of Bugarin.

The cabezas who were unable to pay the required taxes were jailed in the tribunal, now called the municipio, where the local officials had their offices. "At eight in the morning the cabezas were dried under the heat of the sun like a line of fish for their elbows were tied together almost until noon."[87] They were required to pull the grass and weeds in the poblacion roads. Their carabaos, cattle, horses and fields were confiscated to pay delinquent taxes. Gadiane reminisces: "It is really a very pitiful remembrance of the race. It is really very painful to recall." 175* 681

Many of the Filipinos of Siaton remember the Spaniards who lived in their midst, including the priests, as cruel and arrogant persons. When a Filipino met a Spaniard he had to remove his hat, hold it behind his head, and bow or make a sign of respect. If this were not done, the 175* 563

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[87] "Prisoners in charge of the Guardia Civil were always tied elbow to elbow." Worcester, op. cit., p. 309.

votes and Gadiane 98 votes. In 1911 Felipe Tayko was elected the fourth governor of Negros Oriental. 175*

Political differences between the supporters of Gadiane and the Taykos were temporarily resolved in 1914. The Taykos joined the Nacionalista party in order to defeat the candidates of the opposition party in Siaton. In this election Santiago Tayko was elected presidente of the municipality; the office's salary was thirty-three dollars a month. 662 175*

In 1916 Felipe Tayko reached the peak of his political career when he was elected congressman from the first district of Negros. He bolted the Nacionalista party to join the Liberal party allegedly because he was promised by Liberal party leaders their nomination for representative. Gadiane writes about schism with bitterness:

> Because I was the head of the Nacionalista party I told our members that though our happiness that the two parties were united was short-lived, we will just forget Tayko's withdrawal because there are people today who do not care if their honor is marred as long as their stomachs are full. Oh, what a situation! But gone forever are the days of the Prophets who guided men so they would not make mistakes.

The same year that Tayko was elected representative Siaton was classified as a third class municipality, based on its income. Thirty-five years later Siaton was still a third class municipality. 175*

The first concrete school building in Siaton was built in 1918. Behind its erection lies the 175* 653 661.

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smouldering feud between the Tayko and Gadiane groups. Presidente Santiago Tayko was given permission to be absent from his position for four months in order to attend to personal business. During this period the municipal council, under the probing eye of Councilor Gadiane, discovered that $5,000 had been set aside in the municipal treasury for the construction of the school. The municipio had burned and Felipe's father's house had been rented for eighty-five dollars a month to furnish space for the presidente, justice of the peace, treasurer, chief of police, classrooms, and the jail. The funds set aside for the school building had been used to pay the rent; the original amount set aside for the school building had dwindled to less than $2,000.

The municipal council passed a resolution requesting Congressman Tayko to obtain funds from the national government to build a new school. Gadiane later received a letter from Tayko, stating he had received the resolution and requesting Gadiane to stop making trouble. Several months after this incident Tayko returned to Siaton for the municipal elections. His nephew, Fidel Tayko, was a candidate for presidente of the municipality. Just before the election lumber arrived in the poblacion for the new school. Fidel won the election.

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On the fifth day of the fifth month at five o'clock in the evening, 1925, a severe earthquake shook Siaton. The Flores de Mayo procession was just leaving the church when a series of violent shocks occurred. Thick smoke

of the protection afforded by an extension of land east of Malabuhan. Fish corrals can be built earlier here than in the other zones. The second class zone extends from Barrio Sumalaring to Salag Point; the third class zone continues from Salag Point to Siaton-Sta. Catalina municipality boundaries. 228 423

In 1951 public auctions were held for the first time for bonsod sites in these three zones. However, the auction was due less to raise funds than to political maneuvering among municipal officials. The auction was held in order to permit one person to obtain the most desirable sites, previously held by an individual then out of favor with local politicians. No auctions were held in 1952 or 1953. 228 423 437 661 427

When no auctions are held, an operator in a first class bonsod zone pays Siaton municipal government $50 annually; second class bonsod zone, $35; third class bonsod zone, $23. An additional license is necessary according to the depths in which the bonsod is constructed; Table XXXI[1] lists these fees. 228 427 423

1 [See p. 579, cat. 228 or 116 -- Analyst]

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attempts as the Maura Law (1893) came too late to be enforced effectively. There had been a gradual shift in the objectives of the "Propaganda Movement" from reform to home rule and finally to independence.[115] Under the leadership of Andres Bonifacio, the secret society, Katipunan, was founded in July, 1892, with the main objective of establishing Philippine independence from Spain by revolution. There was increasing concern over conditions in the Philippines by highly-placed officials in Manila. The number of Spanish soldiers in the Philippines was small, and the 1895 draft in Siaton probably was a reflection of this growing consternation. Although Gadiane was one of twenty-five trainees selected during the drawing, the influence of the parish priest removed him from the list. [662]

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By 1895 there were three Recollect priests in the Siaton area with permanent residences at Barrios Giliga-on and Bonbonon, besides the poblacion. Gadiane was paid three dollars a month to keep the records of the churches (birth, marriage, death, and baptismal) and to file the circulars which came from the bishop at Bacolod and other religious documents. The diocese of Jaro (Panay), which included Negros, had existed since 1865.

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In August, 1896, the discovery of the Katipunan by the Spaniards in Manila resulted in the wholesale arrest

[115] Eufronio M. Alip, Political and Cultural History of the Philippines: II, "Since the British Occupation." Manila, Alip and Brion Publications, 1952, p. 89.

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The first concrete school building in Siaton was built in 1918. Behind its erection lies the 175* 653 661

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municipal treasurer a monthly report (in triplicate) of the kind, quantity, and value, if so, if the fish caught during the month."[40] 228

Passing an ordinance does not mean it will be obeyed or enforced. In Siaton it is common knowledge that most of the bonsod owners keep two sets of books, one for personal use and the other for inspection by municipal officials. Bonsod owners or operators are 228 651 662

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[40]Section 14 of this ordinance lists types of nets or traps and fees to be paid to the municipality for their annual use.

| Type of Net or Trap (A) | Municipal License (Dollars) |
|---|---|
| Payagkay (Pamalo) | 5 |
| Pokot (Sagiwsiw) | 4 |
| Pokot (Licus) | 10 |
| Sabay (Licus) | 10 |
| Sabay (Sondong) | 2 |
| Sabay (Ta-en) | 4 |
| Sodsod | 2 |
| Basnig (Tumbem) | 10 |
| Basnig (Ligbao) | 4 |
| Sabay (Ligbao) | 4 |
| Pokot (Lamba) | 6 |
| Surumbao Filipino | 185 |
| Basnig, Japanese system | 375 |
| Tapasy | 2 |
| Chinchoro | 30 |
| Patulay (Malangsi) | 30 |
| Balahan | 75 |
| (Fishing) With high power light ranging from | |
| 100- 500 c. p. | 20 |
| 501-1000 c. p. | 60 |
| 1001-5000 c. p. | 80 |
| Bobo (each owner) | 3 |
| Nets (Length) | |
| 10 to 25 fathoms | 10 |
| 26 to 50 fathoms | 20 |
| 51 to 100 fathoms | 40 |
| More than 101 fathoms | 60 |

(A) Local names are given in parenthesis.

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required to pay a 5 per cent tax on their total sales to the municipality where they are located. Accounts shown to the inspectors indicate much smaller sales than are the case. Municipal inspectors sent to measure the depth of water where the bousod is built or the length of the fish nets for tax purposes often are clerks paid less than ten dollars a month. These clerks sometimes report falsified figures. For example, they may state that a bousod is built in shallower water than it is or that the nets are shorter than they are in order to reduce the required fees. In payment the clerks are given fish for their families by the owners thus favored.

Many requirements of the municipal ordinance, such as monthly reports, are not fulfilled by the fishermen, and no serious attempt is made at enforcement. Municipal revenue from marine fishing is much smaller than it should be. How much is lost is difficult to estimate but I feel it may be as much as 50 per cent of the potential income. The attitude toward taxes, and to government, in general, in Siaton is similar to that described by Robert Redfield in Tepoztlan. The people of Siaton, for the most part, resent taxes since they receive few benefits from the government. The frequent cases, both alleged and proven, of corruption and waste in national or provincial governments, intensify this attitude. Due to such conditions, the municipality often is deprived of revenues necessary

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to initiate improvements; the lack of these improvements is often given as a justification for defrauding the government.[41]

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An average bonsod requires considerable capital; consequently many of them are financed through partnerships. The bonsod can be very profitable but it is also a gamble against an errant typhoon, and a gamble that the capital invested will be recovered before the southwest monsoon's arrival. It is also a gamble that large catches will be made on holidays (such as fiestas) when fish bring higher prices.

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Table XXXII[1] shows the cost of three bonsods built by different persons in Siaton in 1951. The costs indicated vary; large bamboos of last year's bonsod, destroyed by the monsoon, may be washed ashore and reused. Some builders use iron anchors (sinipits); others make them locally from wood. If one uses a twine instead of an abaca net the initial investment is larger. For the two bonsods in Table XXXII[1] the cost of a twine and abaca net and a banca are included; these items do not have to be purchased each year. A banca was said to last three or four years, the iron anchors four to five years, and the abaca net seven or eight years. If one

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[41] Robert Redfield, Tepoztlan: A Mexican Village: A Study of Folk Life. Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 1930, p. 87.

1 [See p. 583, Cat. 228 or 435 -- Analyst]

was held in Siaton after the provincial An election government of Negros Oriental was created. Santiago Tayko was re-elected capitan. In this election eight municipal councilors were selected, one being Gadiane. The municipal council met twice a month to discuss the problems of Siaton. Felipe Tayko was the justice of the peace.[164] 175* 666

In 1903 the population of Siaton municipality was more than 10,000 yet less than 300 persons voted. Under such circumstances of political indifference and illiteracy, the control of the municipality's politics by a small, well-organized group was made relatively easy. In the 1951 national and municipal election, 2,414 Siaton residents voted. This increase indicates the growing interest in politics and decrease of illiteracy in Siaton municipality.

In 1905 Felipe Tayko was elected capitan and Gadiane became the justice of peace. Gadiane writes that he was appointed by General Smith, then the head of the American forces in Negros. In 1907 Capitan Felipe Tayko ran for re-election and Gadiane opposed him. The office of capitan was now called presidente. Tayko received 194

[164] Beginning with this period Gadiane's history and autobiography largely are accounts of his political struggles with the Taykos; a great deal of the information concerns individuals still living in Siaton. In many cases it was impossible to discuss various political events with those individuals involved to get their side of the dispute. Therefore, this sort of information has not been included; however, incidents are reported that seem to illustrate the type of political relationships that existed in Siaton during this period and that were checked with other informants.

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In 1927 Nacionalista Gadiane ran against the brother of Fidel Tayko, a member of the Liberal party. Gadiane gives a brief description of some aspects of his campaign.

> I ordered from Silliman University 4000 pieces of propaganda [printed pamphlets]. I sent to my leaders (in the barrios) 2000 pamphlets. I gave some of the people in the marketplace and at the komberas [feasts] and kaliwasans [funeral memorial services] I attended. We also distributed our propaganda in front of the church after mass.

The election was dishonest. When they arrived at the polls many voters were told that the election was over. So they went home without voting. The ballot boxes were also said to be stuffed. The Nacionalista group sent a telegram to the Governor-General in Manila and an American colonel soon appeared in Siaton to investigate the election irregularities.

On the advice of the colonel the election complaint was carried to Dumaguete. Similar complaints had been lodged with the provincial government by Nacionalista groups in Bais, Bacong, and Siquijor. The Nacionalista party spent ₱3,000 for the fees of their lawyers and Gadiane spent ₱800 personally. The Liberal party was said to have spent even more money to win the case. As a result several of the poll inspectors in Siaton were found guilty and imprisoned.

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In 1928 Bautista Tayko was elected presidente and four years later his brother, Fidel, was re-elected to the same office. It was during Fidel's office that semi-permanent school buildings were constructed at Barrios Inalad, Bonbonon, Giliga-on and Bonawon.

Inalad, Bonbonon, Giliga-on and Bonawon. A new concrete bridge was built over the Canaway River; this improved the transportation facilities during the rainy season. 175* 653 494

In 1935 the Philippine Commonwealth was established. No elections were held this year for municipal officers; their terms were merely extended for an additional two years.[165] During this period the water system of Siaton was installed. The national, provincial, and municipal governments each contributed $5,000 for the construction of the new water system. A concrete reservoir was built at Sitio Talio, west of Naga, and the water brought to the poblacion by gravity. The water was piped only to the residences of the more prominent people of the poblacion. Public faucets were also installed at the plaza and a few other places. The system is inadequate for during the dry season the pressure becomes so low that the water runs only for short periods during the day. 175* 653 365 565

In October 1937 clouds of locusts came to Siaton. The insects covered the plaza and climbed into the church, houses, and stores. Nearly all of the unharvested rice was destroyed. In the same year Fidel Tayko was re-elected as Siaton's mayor, the new name substituted for presidente. His defeated opponent protested the election as fraudulent and won his case in Dumaguete. The victor became mayor 175* 731 175* 666

165"The first elections under the Commonwealth were held December, 14, 1938, for local offices." Tolentino and Zaide, op. cit., p. 151.

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until 1940 when he was defeated for re-election by Telesforo Tayko, the brother of Fidel and Bautista and the great grandson of the first Telesforo Tayko. Bautista was elected mayor in 1951. In the 1953 presidential election there were 3,604 registered voters in Siaton municipality.

The Rivera-McMillan report states that 57 per cent of the population twenty-one years old and over in the thirteen barrios surveyed voted in the 1951 general election.[166] The presidential election of 1953 was more controversial and attracted a larger number of voters. Yet only 20 per cent of the people of Siaton registered and probably fewer voted in 1953. The people of Siaton are not as politically active as the barriofolk of the communities surveyed by Rivera and McMillan. One major factor for this condition is inadequate transportation and communication facilities. All voting booths, for example, are located in barrios along the National Road which makes it difficult for people to vote who live in the more isolated settlements of Siaton municipality.

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For the period 1879-1952, nearly three-fourths of a century, the capitans, presidentes, and mayors of Siaton municipality for fifty years of this period were members of the Tayko family. From 1897 to 1952 a Tayko was the top municipal official for forty-two of the fifty-five years. The dominance of the highest political

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[166] Rivera and McMillan, The Rural Philippines, p. 44.

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527 and going, the athletic games and contests are resumed. The older folks may take a siesta, visit or gossip with friends and relatives, or play mah-jong. If the *poblacion* is near a large river there may be aquatic sports. The gambling never stops, but continues night and day. Cockfights are held.

796 Between five and six, the religious procession occurs. The figure of the patron saint is carried outside the *poblacion* church, after a brief service, and slowly taken on a platform around the *poblacion*, under the four arches when they exit. In one *poblacion* the writer remarked about the absence of the arches and was informed this was *not* a *barrio* fiesta. The patron saint is followed by the priests who are visiting the local priest, and by the people, mostly women and children who often hold lighted candles and sing hymns. The procession returns to the church where another short service is held before the people disperse. Another fireworks display may be held at the end of the procession.

527 535 The Coronation Ball begins around seven or eight p.m. in the auditorium (the school building) or the outdoor dance hall (usually the *poblacion* plaza). The admission prizes varies from ₱2.00 to ₱3.00. Ladies are admitted free as is the custom. However, if a man brings more than two ladies, he is charged for his additional female companions.

At the Coronation Ball the "Queen" and her "Princesses" are installed. The new Queen may be crowned by the Queen of the previous year and some *poblacions* have torch parades to escort the Queen from her residence [537] to the dance. There is an introductory speech by a local official of the *poblacion* to introduce the guest speaker. The Coronation Ball speaker is quite frequently the congressmen of the district in which the *poblacion* is located, the governor, or a choice from other top provincial officials. Normally the congressman of Negros Oriental province speak at these fiestas in their own districts, although this is not always the case. After the crowning of the Queen of the fiesta, there may be a "Parade of the Royal Family," and the prizes and trophies are awarded to the winners. Contests are held for the best tango, mambo or waltz couple, and vocal solos or orations are given. When the program is over, the dance continues into the early hours of the following morning. The Coronation Ball is usually the fiesta climax for the young people who dance gracefully and tirelessly almost until dawn.

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527 666 The fiestas have a political function, particularly those held in the cities, *poblacions* or larger *barrios* located along the National Road. The small *barrio* fiesta, such as that at Caticugan, rarely has such a func-

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tion, for their poverty, political insignificance, and isolation make it difficult to attract congressmen or even provincial officials as guests or speakers. The political function of the fiesta increases when they are held during an election year. It is common knowledge in the Philippines that many national government officials use invitations to crown the Queen of the fiesta or give the Coronation Ball oration to build personal and party "political fences" in the area. During the last presidential election, a Manila newspaper noted that a wife of a prominent Representative, up for re-election, was accepting invitations "to even barrio fiestas." The comment was made that perhaps the wife was worried her husband would not be re-elected and was campaigning for him among the barrio folk. This use of the fiesta by some politicians is often felt to be undesirable by many Filipinos, although there is no reason why it should be. Campaigning is a legitimate activity of any elective public official. This relatively common attitude in regard to the political functions of many fiestas may reflect the better-educated Filipino's concern over the growing secularism of a supposedly religious event.

The printed fiesta programs, for example, often contain congratulatory messages from various officials, including the President of the Philippines. A study of the nature of these fiesta messages show they may be merely excessive flattery of the local inhabitants for their "progressiveness," "initiative," "industry," "hospitality," etc. For example:

> The people of ... (wrote one congressman) are industrious, loyal and energetic citizens of the country . . . . On the occasion of your town fiesta, I am sending my most cordial greetings to the noble and brave sons and daughters of this great town.

Some messages stress the importance of the fiesta, a distinctive Philippine custom. Former President Quirino wrote in one fiesta program:

> The celebration of the town (*poblacion*) fiesta is a unique Philippine custom. It affords the people a better opportunity to come together, work together, and enjoy together—thus fostering closer community spirit among themselves. This is precisely what the country needs today; oneness of purpose among our people as we tackle the great task of nation-building.

Some messages printed in the fiesta programs may urge the people to be more socially conscious. For example, the citizens of one district were praised by the mayor of Dumaguete City because they

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> ...do not neglect their duty in sending their children to school because they believe that in a democracy what is paramount is education, which is necessary for good citizenship.[10]

The messages may praise the *principalia* of the *poblacion*. One fiesta program states:

> Such great and prominent men as the late Governor Demetrio Larena, the late Senator Hermenegildo Villanueva, the late Representative Enrique C. Villanueva, the late Governor Guillermo Z. Villanueva, and the late Governor Praxedes Villanueva; all these dead national figures hailed and were reared in . . . (name of *poblacion*).

Such a sentence underlines the personalism typical of most Philippine politics.

Many of the messages, however, have a definite political slant, usually praising the national, provincial, or municipal politicians. In the printed fiesta program of one small *población*, the then Speaker of the House of Representatives wrote:

> You are indeed fortunate in having Congressman... (of the same party as the Speaker) as your representative in Congress. I am happy to tell you that Congressman ... is truly a representative of the people.... He is one of the most able members of the House .... With him, the fortune and future of your town is in safe hands. I urge you, therefore, to extend to him your unqualified support and cooperation.

(This fiesta occurred just before the election in which the congressman was running for a provincial office.)

Below are a few samples of the political aspects of many of the messages printed in the fiesta programs.

Important strides have been made towards the beautification

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[10] This statement is an illustration of how effectively the American Administration (1898-1946) in the Philippines transferred *the American attitude that* education is a panacea for all economic and social problems. As for the *actual influence* of American educational theories and practices in rural Philippines, one noted Filipino educator has written about the "little dent the much-vaunted American-sponsored educational system has made in Philippine rural life." Laya, J.C. *Little Democracies* (Revised edition; Manila: Inang Wika Publishing Co., 1951, p. 6

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666 of the 'poblacion', thanks to the deep and abiding interest of congressman.. in the welfare and well-being of the community.

A top government official of Negros Oriental province stated in his message printed in one fiesta program that he would be unable to attend the event because:

> I am leaving for Manila soon in the interest and welfare of our province.

The congressman of one of the districts of Negros Oriental praised a local official in his fiesta message, stating he

> (official's name) .., is the guiding star that points to me the things needed by this town and hence I can say safely that the improvements and beautification of (the town)... is due mostly to the endeavor and sacrifices of our beloved.... (official's name).

The former Vice-President of the Philippines in his message printed on one fiesta program urged that the people work together because:

> Communal solidarity is necessary for the success of this affair just as national unity is essential for the growth of a nation.... To promote this unity, it is imperative for us to cultivate a community spirit against the factors that cause dissension and disorder among the people—corrupt practices of officials and individuals alike, such as abuse of authority and profiteering practiced by opportunists on the helpless masses. These corruptions can be remedied by the combined efforts on the part of the government authorities and the people.

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554 The fiestas stimulate local commercial activities. All who can afford it, and many who cannot, buy a new dress or a pair of trousers, clothing for the children, get a permanent wave, or purchase large supplies of food for their expected guests. Some Filipinos will borrow money or mortgage their land in order to have the means to entertain properly their visitors during the annual fiesta. So much personal and family prestige is involved that few measures are too drastic for some to maintain the expected level of hospitality: this is particularly true in the *poblacions.* Frugalities of the year, the penny-pinching to make ends meet, the saving for the unknown exigencies of the future, are discarded by many Filipinos for several days of "fun and frolic," of living fully.

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443 To the *poblacions* and *barrios,* even such as Caticugan but less so, come many itinerant vendors selling a variety of wares, normally unavails-

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Tenth, in the larger barrio

527 and *poblacion* the fiesta has a definite political function, especially in furnishing politicians with opportunities for making speeches, mending political "fences," and encouraging the officialdom of the local and provincial governments. *Eleventh*, the fiesta is one means of introducing into small *barrios* some of the techniques of democracy, of working together with one's neighbors in committees, and making a profit which is used to improve social or cultural conditions in the community. The printed fiesta programs have an educational function with their short, if not too critical, histories of the local region, listing all the provincial and municipal officials etc.

527 525 After *kahalogan* there may be a few dances, a "Barn Dance," a "Fashion Show," but the fiesta spirit is gone. The gambling activities may continue for several days after the end of the fiesta, but with less fervor. In the *barrios*, for the most part, the normal routine takes over after *kahalogan*. Lechon pits are filled. The bamboo arches slowly succumb to the elements or to fence-building scavengers. The professional gamblers depart with their tables and games for another fiesta. The gay window curtains, doilies, and tablecloths are packed away in the family trunk until next year. The *barrio* chapel decorations wilt and gather dust. For a while the barriofolk speak of *liwas piyesta* ("after the fiesta") in dating events in time. Soon the fiesta becomes only a pleasant memory. Before this memory has faded completely, preparations are afoot for the next fiesta. [178] Nearly every *barrio* and *poblacion* has an innate consistent "strain" toward making the next fiesta "more modern," or "progressive." This may mean a better orchestra, maybe electric lights for the first time, a bigger beauty contest, a more important speaker, a printed instead of typed fiesta program, or a larger statue of their patron saint.

Few Americans who have attended a Philippine fiesta forget the gay event or the warm friendship and spontaneous hospitality of their hosts. It is the writer's hope that this tentative sketching of the rural Philippine fiesta complex may interest Filipinos in making a more detailed study of one of the unique aspects of their culture.[11]

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[11] The author would be most grateful for any critical comments on this article from Filipino readers of the *Silliman Journal*. All letters received will be carefully read and promptly answered.

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and drink his wine. One time we were practicing the rigodon for the fiesta in the convento. The priest was away. When he returned he did not scold us but he had a heavy face. He did not like it because we had profaned the sanctity of his abode.[90]

The Spaniards often both punished and rewarded the Filipinos; this led to an ambivalent attitude toward most of them that persists into the present.

The Messianic Outlaws of Southern Negros

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Conditions worsened for both Filipinos and Spaniards during the last part of the 19th century. Hostility to Spanish rule increased among educated Filipinos. Filipino leaders were deported to penal colonies and innocent intellectuals were persecuted. As various political and social abuses were not abolished, a reaction known as the "Propaganda Movement" developed among Filipino leaders. This movement began in 1872 and ended two decades later when the revolutionary society, Katipunan, was founded.

Beginning with the 1870's a series of disturbances or uprisings occurred in various parts of the island. Some of these disturbances were due to bandits who lived in the mountains and robbed the people of the lowlands. These outlaws had existed since the early days of the Spanish administration of Negros. With the development

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[90] The rigodon is a quadrille first introduced at Louis XIII's court and later diffused to Spain and eventually to the Philippines. Francisca R. Tolentino, Philippine National Dances. New York, Silver Burdett Company, 1946, p. 261.

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of the sugar industry during this period, these bandits found even richer spoils to loot in the haciendas and centrals. Some of these uprisings, however, were of a messianic or nativistic nature with supernatural sanctions and sometimes a racial aspect directed against the Chinese. In 1878 the Guardia Civil was first established in Negros; in the same year a detachment was sent to Siaton.[91] The arrival in Siaton of the Guardia Civil, which in those days was moved from one region to another as "shock troops," is an indication that military force was needed to suppress growing lawlessness. Conditions in Siaton so deteriorated within a ten-year period that in December, 1887, the Governor-General of the Philippines, Valeriano Weyler, anchored a battleship with 500 soldiers off Siaton.[92]

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In 1887 the southern part of Negros was disturbed by the activities of Ponciano Elofre, also known by his nicknames "King Kanoy" or "Buhawi" (Waterspout) who had thousands of followers.[93] Elofre was a cabeza of Barrio

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[91] Marco, op. cit., p. 110. It is the Cadiane manuscript that states that a Guardia Civil detachment came to Siaton.

[92] In 1888 Weyler fought the Moros of Lanao to end a conflict that had begun in 1867. David P. Barrows, History of the Philippines. Rev. ed. New York, World Book Company, 1926, p. 348.

[93] This account is a reconstruction of material obtained from the Cadiane manuscripts and interviews with the daughter-in-law of one of Elofre's adopted sons (actually his nephew), Santiago Tayko, a former capitan of Lamboanguita who knew Elofre, and several other informants. Elofre is not mentioned by name in either Echauz' Apuntes or Marco's Reseña.

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Mahandig (some say Kaladias) located in the interior part of the present municipality of Zamboanguita. He was married but never had any children except those he adopted. Klofre is remembered as a man of means since "one could not become a cabeza unless he owned some property then." He was said to be good-natured, generous, and a devout Catholic. His almost fanatic devotion to his religion led him to organize Saturday prayer meetings in his barrio; these began to attract many people. After the religious services there was dancing, singing and often a cockfight. Later the people, through cooperative labor, built a small chapel in Klofre's barrio.

As more people were attracted to these services, particularly from Zamboanguita poblacion, local Spanish officials grew suspicious of Klofre's motives. Klofre allegedly urged his followers not to pay their taxes, although others state he did not encourage the people to revolt against Spanish authority. His prayer meetings were attended by devout Catholics, many of whom believed he possessed unusual powers. It is also said that Klofre was unable to pay the taxes required of him as a cabeza and from this inability his troubles with the Spaniards began. The Spanish authorities, however, appeared to believe he was inciting the barriofolk to revolt against the government. Their suspicions of Klofre grew as the crowds at his barrio services increased. Throughout the Philippines at this time political conditions were such as to stimulate the Spanish authorities to suspect any large Filipino gathering.

Finally the Guardia Civil went to Klofre's barrio to arrest him and suppress the meetings. After several clashes in which some of his followers were killed, Klofre decided to surrender to the authorities to halt any further bloodshed. Another account, however, states that he and his father were secretly visiting a nephew in Zamboanguita población, and that Klofre intended to give himself up when he was surprised by the Guardia Civil. In the struggle to capture Klofre, his father was killed. Klofre and his brother-in-law, Valentin Tubigan, nicknamed "Cachila" (i.e., Spaniard because of his long black beard), were able to escape.[94]

Klofre's escape from the Guardia Civil allegedly was due to his supernatural powers and his anting-anting (amulet). At first the two men established their residence at Sitio Abolay (Aboli), west of Barrio Olambid in the northern part of Siaton municipality.[95] Later they

[94] Ruiz also states his full name was Valentin Tubigan or "Cachila." Ruiz, op. cit., p. 150. One informant said Klofre was visiting his father's residence in Zamboanguita with no intention of surrendering. While there his dagger began "to bleed." Klofre's father believed this to be a bad omen and urged his son to leave before the Guardia Civil learned he was in the población. Klofre refused and later the soldiers surrounded his father's residence, tied him to a chair and bayoneted his father to death before Klofre's eyes. Because of his supernatural powers, Klofre and Valentin were able to escape.

[95] The former capitan of Zamboanguita (whom I interviewed, when he was eleven years old, claims he actually saw an example of Klofre's magical powers. While at a house with Klofre, the latter requested a glass of water. The water did not arrive quickly and Klofre was quite thirsty, so he knocked a large bamboo, part of the house's structure, and fresh water gushed forth. One day when hungry and without money, Klofre told one of his friends to cut open a squash growing in the field. Inside the squash was found 80 centavos. When his followers were hungry, Klofre is said to have spread his handkerchief on the sea, sailed away, and returned later with plenty of fish.

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moved to Sitio Dagangdang north of Olambid. Gradually the legends of Klofre's supernatural powers spread throughout the southern part of Negros. Ruiz writes that he claimed to be a "Living God" while other informants say Klofre was invulnerable to bullets. His magical powers were believed to reside in a mole on the back of his neck. He was able to make it rain at will. One day, in the presence of nearly 1,000 followers, Klofre climbed a coconut tree and prayed for rain, which soon fell in torrents. The Guardia Civil, then searching for Klofre and his group, had to abandon their hunt because of the heavy rain. It was from this incident that Klofre received his nickname, Buhawi, "Waterspout."

Klofre predicted that the world would be destroyed by a great flood, although no specific date was set for the catastrophe. After the flood the world would be plunged into utter darkness and those who did not follow Klofre would perish in rivers of boiling water and fire. Klofre wore a uniform of black pants with vivid red stripes down the seams and a black coat with orange stripes on the breast. However, he wore only this gaudy uniform when the Guardia Civil were chasing him "because he did not wish to frighten his followers."

> With this prophecy [that he was a Living God] he succeeded in attracting people from various towns on the coast who blindly followed him...He had his own police who went to the nearby towns to collect candles and tribute from the people. Persons who could not pay these were taken before the Living God who punished them at will for failing to follow orders.[96]

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[96]Ruiz, op. cit., p. 149.

Gadiane writes that thousands of people from the coastal poblacions and barrios flocked to Elofre's mountain lair.

> There were very few people left in the poblacions of Negros Oriental. Young and old, father and son, going with him anyplace. It was said that the people were fearful of him if they failed to obey what he said. They were told to bring to Elofre a candle, five centavos, a chicken and egg which were signs of homage to him. There were about 15,000 people in the mountains who were followers of Buhawi, even some Loog.[97]

Various stories are told of Elofre's mountain residences that he constantly changed due to Guardia Civil patrols. He was said to always be surrounded by his soldiers while beautiful women and handsome young men alternately danced and sang the Estihado (a dance in which the participants compose their songs extemporaneously) to entertain him. Elofre's "palace" was so bright it seemed as if it were illuminated with electricity. When he lived in Barrio Nahandig he would wave his silk handkerchief at the side of a near-by cliff that miraculously opened, exposing inside a richly decorated room. When new followers came with offerings, Gadiane reports Elofre told them:

> You must believe and have faith in me. I am the owner of your salvation. For those who are with me, and those who died from the beginning to now, are witness of my calling to you. So you just clap your hands and nothing will happen to you.

The clapping of hands appears to have been both a ritual and a magical protection against harm for Elofre's followers.

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[97] Ruiz, op. cit., p. 148: "From each new convert he collected tribute for his personal expenses, plus a candle." Gadiane's estimate of 15,000 followers is probably an exaggeration, although there is no way the actual numbers can be determined.

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So many people from Siaton began to visit or became followers of Elofre that in 1888 the parish priest, Julian Adan, told Andres Ragay, the local judge, to go to his mountain camp to investigate.[98] Ragay visited Elofre's group and is said to found all reports about him correct. He discovered a former clerk of the Siaton cabeceal, Pio Kiti, recording names of Elofre's new followers who came from Tolong, Maloconan, Giliga-on, Siaton, Bonbonon, Zamboanguita, Dauin, Bacong, Valencia, Dumaguete, Sibulan, Tanjay and other coastal settlements of Negros Oriental. Elofre did not attract many followers from western Negros, probably due to the poor transportation facilities.

After Ragay's report to the priest and local officials, a plan was formed to capture Elofre. It was agreed that the Guardia Civil patrols of Tolong, Bais, Guihulngan, Dumaguete, Zamboanguita, and Siaton were to march from their respective poblacions and secretly meet near Elofre's camp. The patrols met as planned. When the attack began Elofre cried: "Make your belief in me strong for we are being attacked by the Devil." Elofre and most of his followers escaped, although one soldier and four of Elofre's followers were killed and sixty men, women, and children arrested. After this encounter Elofre and

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[98]Adan is said to be the first person to bring goats and sheep to Siaton poblacion. Goats were a pre-Hispanic animal in the Philippines while sheep were brought to the archipelago by the Spaniards.

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his followers seem to have been inactive for a short period. Some said that angels had taken Elofre to heaven but that he would return. Peace and order so improved that the soldiers stationed in Siaton under Lt. Col. Villabrille who had arrived with Weyler returned to Manila.[99]

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In the middle of the year (1888) Elofre's followers became active again, stealing cattle or carabaos from the lowlanders, "Sometimes cutting off only the two hind legs or just taking the tongue." The barriofolk began again to go to the mountains to join Elofre. "This was in July, 1888, because the corn was already in tassels," Gadiane writes. Conditions became so unsettled that it was dangerous to leave the centers of population. Guardia Civil patrols combed the mountains, and often shot any suspicious character on sight. There were a few days, during this period, Gadiane reports, that bodies did not arrive from the mountains in Siaton poblacion due to the Guardia Civil patrols. "Sometimes they would only bring back a string of ears, one ear for each man shot. These strings of ears were often nearly three feet long." Gadiane describes Siaton poblacion at this time.

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[99] Gadiane manuscript's conflicts with the account given by Ruiz who states Villabrille did not go to Manila when his group left Negros; he was sent to Antique province, Panay, where another "God" had made his appearance. Ruiz, op. cit., p. 150.

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The condition of the poblacion was like that of a cave because when the sun set nobody would walk the streets. When one talked it would be in a whisper because there might be soldiers or followers of Buhawi listening under the house. If you talked against the soldiers, they would take you to their headquarters. If you said anything against Buhawi, his men might hear you and take you to face him in the mountains. There was continual stealing in the near-by area and continual shooting in the mountains. You would hear the rattle of the guns and of the machitas (heavy cutting knives carried by the Guardia Civil). You would hear the sorrowful howling of the dogs.[100]

The disorder and violence in this locality continued until 1889. One day Manuel Ege, the son of Capitan Lucas Ege (who had been re-elected capitan for the fourth time in 1889), was captured by Elofre's followers. Ege, however, managed to escape and reported their presence in the mountains. Fortunately, forty Guardia Civil soldiers from Tolong were stationed in Siaton, under the command of Lt. Dominick (Ruiz, Domenech).[101] The following morning as the people attended mass news arrived that Elofre's

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[100] Valentin seems to have had his personal following, although subject to the command of Elofre. In the latter part of 1888, after the attack on Elofre's group, Valentin and some of his followers held a meeting in the house of Alegio Ragpa, Barrio Datag. The people danced, shouted, sang, and clapped their hands for Valentin said: "Clap your hands and we shall never be in danger." News of this meeting reached the poblacion. A messenger was sent to Valentin, telling him the people did not mind his gathering but the Guardia Civil said it was illegal and for them to disband immediately. Valentin refused. As a result several Guardia Civil soldiers and local policemen returned to Datag and attacked the group. Valentin was reported to have wiped off the bullets that hit him "like fireflies that were lighting on his chest." Finally Valentin said, "Because you cannot get us, we will be the ones to get you" and the soldiers and policemen fled in fear, leaving behind a companion thought to be dead but who was merely badly wounded. This man returned to the poblacion and another patrol was sent after Valentin but he had left Datag.

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[101] Ruiz gives a slightly different version. A rainy and dark night in August, 1887 Elofre decided to attack the poblacion. The Guardia Civil, stationed in Siaton, decided to hunt him out but just then Lt. Domenech arrived and advised that the attack should be postponed until the next morning. Ruiz, op. cit., p. 148.

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group was meeting in the house of Bernabe Cajonera in Barrio Sandolot (Ruiz states Sitio Nabais, Sandolot) in preparation for an attack on the poblacion.

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More than 100 soldiers and local policemen marched to Sandolot to surprise Elofre's followers. As the soldiers moved through the fields of ripe corn surrounding Elofre's meeting place they could hear the people singing and clapping their hands. The men were filled with "sadness and fear for they were going to meet Elofre who was even more powerful than Valentin who had just wiped off the bullets shot from their guns." This surprise attack resulted in the death of Elofre. Cadiane writes:

> As the Guardia Civil were firing their guns they saw someone who was quite big and stout, dressed in black clothing with red and white stripes, going up the hillside. In his right hand he was holding a pinoti [a bolo-like knife]. The Guardia Civil believed this man was Buhawi so they concentrated their fire on him. Buhawi did not run or even walk fast. He was just walking in a natural pace up the steep slope of the hill. After firing for awhile the soldiers no longer were able to see Buhawi. They went up the hill after him. When they reached the top of the hill they saw at the opposite bank of the river, in a small clearing, a man kneeling on one knee, holding a pinoti. They fired at him many times but he did not fall. They did not know Buhawi was already dead. So the Guardia Civil went near and one man pushed the body. They then saw blood was coming out of his mouth and that a bullet had passed through his rectum into his head.

Thus died the King called Kanoy.

His body was carried to Siaton poblacion where it was bathed in coconut oil, dressed, the hair neatly combed, and placed in a chair in front of the casareal. Criers were sent throughout the poblacion and near-by barrios telling the people to come to see the former

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superman. The corpse was later sent to Zamboanguita under heavy guard because the rumor was that Elofre's followers were going to try to highjack their dead leader. In Zamboanguita Elofre's relatives were called to identify the body.

The legends concerning Buhawi continued to multiply after his death. It was said that it took five days to carry the body from Siaton to Zamboanguita yet it did not decompose. A friend donated a blanket, mat, and pillow for Elofre's burial. Several evenings after the funeral this friend heard a voice in the darkness say: "Pari, here are your things." Going outside his house he found his blanket, mat, and pillow used to bury Elofre. Elofre had been resurrected. There are some old people who today believe that Elofre was never shot, that he is still alive and may return. For the most part, however, the life and legends of Buhawi are being forgotten rapidly; he is not part of the folklore of the younger people, many of whom have never heard of the former King Kanoy.

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The death of Elofre did not end all the disturbances in southern Negros. In 1890 Elofre's brother-in-law, Valentin, and the latter's brother, Higino (Ruiz: Higinio known as "God Talisic"), held a meeting near Magdalamas, a mountain in the vicinity of Sitio Kaladyas, Barrio Bonawon. A large number of armed men and women attended the meeting. New threats to Siaton's peace were feared, so a Guardia Civil patrol was sent to capture the group. They fought Valentin's followers, who were trapped in

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their meeting house, for twenty-four hours. Early in the morning a woman cried: "Stop shooting! All the men are dead."[102]

When the soldiers entered the house they found Valentin, his wife, Higinio, and several others dead. More than twenty female followers of Valentin and Higinio were captured. The bodies of the dead were carried to Siaton and placed in front of the casareal for the populace to inspect. When the Guardia Civil group returned to the poblacion with the bodies some people heard mysterious drums.[103]

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[102] Ruiz states that in 1888 a Guardia Civil patrol, guided by spies, attacked the hiding place of Valentin and Higinio. They resisted arrest and were killed. Their bodies were brought to Siaton poblacion. On Klofre's death, his wife "took upon her shoulders his mantle of divinity, calling herself the Dowager Queen and was taken around in a chair." She and her brother-in-law of her husband joined forces. It was the news of these two individuals that brought Weyler and Villabrille to Negros in December, 1887. First, two companies of infantry were sent by Weyler, who did not arrive himself until 1887. Ruiz reports that the soldiers searched for Valentin and Camartin, another local outlaw, but were unsuccessful. Villabrille finally took his troops to Antique province, Panay. This account conflicts in the matter of dates with Gadiane's manuscript that states Klofre was not killed until 1889 and Valentin and Higinio shot in 1890. Ruiz, op. cit., p. 150.

[103] A month after Valentin's death, Juana Gaitera, "The Princess of the Mountains," surrendered to Lt. Radok of the Siaton Guardia Civil. She and her group had come to the poblacion in the past, beating drums but were "chased away" by the soldiers. Gaitera and her few followers seem to have been harmless and the officials were not concerned over their activities. Gaitera was taken by Radok to the local judge who ordered her sent to Bacolod for judgment. Later her brother who lived in Siaton received a letter from Juana who wrote she was living in San Ramon, Zamboanga, with a Spanish surgeon whom she planned to marry.

beard and wore an uniform like a spider's web with red and black stripes." Finally he steeled himself and went to Torres for aid in making the census. 175* 681

The deaths of Klofre and Valentin did not end the disturbances in southern Negros. During the 1890's another ladrone (bandit), Camalting, roamed the interior regions of Negros Oriental, robbing and terrorizing the people of the lowlands and the mountains. While he never attacked Siaton poblacion he came as far south as Barrio Casala-an.[114] Camalting's band dispersed when he was murdered by his three wives who wearied of the constant flight from the Guardia Civil patrols. They are said to have gotten their husband intoxicated and stabbed him while he slept. The wives surrendered to Lucas Bueno, the Guardia Civil surgeon, who turned them over to his superior, Torres. General peace appears to have returned to this part of the island until the raids of the Babaylanes during the revolution. 175* 579 668

In 1895 orders from Dumaguete arrived in the poblacion to prepare a list of trainees from eighteen to twenty-two years old for the infantry and Guardia Civil forces. The rebellious activities of many Filipinos were increasing. The "Propaganda Movement" had failed to achieve real political and social reform in the Philippines while such 175* 668 702

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[114] Ruiz mentions a noted outlaw of this region named Camartin who probably is the same person as Camalting. Ruiz, op. cit., p. 148.

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attempts as the Maura Law (1893) came too late to be enforced effectively. There had been a gradual shift in the objectives of the "Propaganda Movement" from reform to home rule and finally to independence.[115] Under the leadership of Andres Bonifacio, the secret society, Katipunan, was founded in July, 1892, with the main objective of establishing Philippine independence from Spain by revolution. There was increasing concern over conditions in the Philippines by highly-placed officials in Manila. The number of Spanish soldiers in the Philippines was small, and the 1895 draft in Siaton probably was a reflection of this growing consternation. Although Gadiane was one of twenty-five trainees selected during the drawing, the influence of the parish priest removed him from the list.

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By 1895 there were three Recollect priests in the Siaton area with permanent residences at Barrios Giliga-on and Bonbonon, besides the poblacion. Gadiane was paid three dollars a month to keep the records of the churches (birth, marriage, death, and baptismal) and to file the circulars which came from the bishop at Bacolod and other religious documents. The diocese of Jaro (Panay), which included Negros, had existed since 1865.

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In August, 1896, the discovery of the Katipunan by the Spaniards in Manila resulted in the wholesale arrest

[115] Eufronio M. Alip, Political and Cultural History of the Philippines: II, "Since the British Occupation." Manila, Alip and Brion Publications, 1952, p. 89.

advisory council of eight members and a military governor appointed by the American army. The military governor selected the judiciary, commanded the troops, and had the power to veto any act of the civil government. As LeRoy writes: "It was a system whereby the military governor could, if tyrannically inclined, nullify the much advertised 'home rule' of Negros, or could, if wisely willing to direct things from the background, foster real self-government into being, provided, that is, he had the right sort of cooperation from the native officials..."[132]

In October, 1899, the people voted Melecio Severino the first Filipino governor of the Republic of Negros.[133] The new government was inaugurated in November, 1899, one year after the fall of Bacolod to Araneta's forces. After the inauguration of the Republic the provisional government of Negros Oriental was dissolved and its property and funds transferred to Bacolod. A "subdelegation" was established in Dumaguete, due to inadequate communication facilities and the distance from Bacolod; it carried out the decrees of the Republic.[134]

The Babaylanes of Siaton

One reason for the failure of the Republic of Negros was disturbances caused by outlaws who ravaged the

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[132] LeRoy, op. cit., II, p. 109.

[133] Zaide and Tolentino, op. cit., pp. 88-9 and LeRoy, op. cit., II, p. 111.

[134] War Department Report, I, 1900, pp. 253 and 276.

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land. The Spaniards had never been successful in suppressing the marauding bands of bandits who roamed the forested mountains of Negros and the isolated southern region. These groups would suddenly strike at the haciendas, mountain or lowland barrios, burn and loot the buildings, attack the inhabitants, and then retreat to their almost inaccessible lairs. Similar outlaw gangs existed in the Philippines during the Spanish period; they were not unique in Negros. The members of these outlaw groups were usually called ladrones or tulisanes (robbers or thieves) while the friars often referred to them as remontados (figuratively, to take to the hills).[135]

The Filipinos who composed these motley bands were the criminals, the adventurous, the discontented and the fanatics. Some were unwilling members impressed by threats of the loosely-organized outlaw bands. Political and social abuses under the Spaniards drove many otherwise peaceful Filipinos into these rabbles.

> ...in the more settled communities of Luzon and the chief islands of the Bisayas, the tendency to 'remount' and escape the compelling restraints of a civilization in some respects irksome, to avoid the penalty of crime, or, in many cases it doubtless has been, to flee from the abuses of authority or a maladministration of government, has been displayed not so much in a return to the primitive life of the forests as in the formation of bands of outlaws. The close connexion of the inveterate ladronism of the Philippine Islands with the activities of an over-paternal, sometimes tyrannical, friar or military commander in the town, is a thing thoroughly well established.[136]

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[135] LeRoy, The Americans in the Philippines, II, p. 107.

[136] LeRoy, Philippine Life in Town and Country, pp. 29-30.

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Some of the outlaw bands had a messianic or nativistic character that probably stemmed from the threats made to their way of life by the Spanish administration, or from a growing realization of the disintegration of their traditional values.[136] Detailed accounts of these groups of Negros, particularly the Babailanes in southern Negros are scarce; Gadiane's account of Babailanes activities in this part of Negros is of increased value for this reason.

There were three general types of outlaw bands in Negros, although their activities often were similar. The largest group was the Babailanes (that Gadiane translates as "People who are against the rule of the government"). This name is most likely derived from babaylan, the title given to the native priests in pre-Hispanic Philippines.[137] The Babailanes have been compared with pulajans of Samar, the Colorum movement of Batangas and Tayabas, the Santa Iglesia of Nueva Ecija and Bulacan, and the Guardia de Honor of Pangasinan and the Ilocos provinces. All of these movements had a tone of religious ritual with crusading "Popes," self-appointed "Messiahs," distinctive costumes, bottles of holy oil, prayer books, and various amulets to protect them from harm.[138] The Babailanes

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[136] Ralph Linton, "Nativistic Movements," American Anthropologist, XLV, No. 2, (April-June, 1943), pp. 230-40.

[137] Zaide, The Philippines Since Pre-Spanish Times, p. 67.

[138] Vic Hurley, Jungle Patrol: The Story of the Philippine Constabulary. New York, E. P. Dutton and Company, 1938, pp. 130-2.

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numbered in the thousands; an estimated 1,500 outlaws existed in Negros Oriental at the beginning of the Negros Republic.[139] There were even more Babaylanes in Negros Occidental.

The Babaylane movement is said to have come from Antique Province, Panay, before the revolution.[140] Their leader in Negros was a former hacienda laborer, Dionisio Magbuela, but usually called "Papa Isio."[141] Isio posed as an instrument of divine vengeance and his followers believed they were ordained by Jesus to liberate the people of Negros from Spaniards and Americans alike.[142] Isio's group believed if the Republic of Negros were overthrown (or later the American provincial governments) that the hacenderos' land would be reapportioned. No machinery would be permitted to enter Negros for the sugar plantations and only rice would be cultivated.[143] Governor

[139] Senate Document, No. 4242, p. 225.

[140] Philippine Commission Report, II, 1900, p. 415.

[141] Senate Document, No. 4242, p. 225.

[142] Hurley, op. cit., pp. 137-8. Another outlaw, said to be the son of a Negrito mother, was Dalmacio whose headquarters was on the slopes of Canlaon volcano. He was finally captured by Captain John H. White in 1902.

[143] "Report of the Major-General Commanding the Army." Annual Reports of the War Department, Fiscal Year Ending 30 June 1899. House of Representatives Documents, No. 2, 56th Congress, 1st Session, No. 3903, Washington, D.C., Government Printing Office, 1899, In three parts, Part 3, p. 348. Hereafter cited as House Document No. 3903, III, 1899.

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Leandro Locsin (when American provincial governments in Negros had been established) characterized the beliefs of the Babaylanes as a "mixture of socialistic principles, anarchistic instincts, and a strange aberration of religious and fanatical notions...[144]

The second type of criminal group in Negros was Filipinos who posed as patriots, fighting for the new Philippine Republic, but were actually bandits who clothed unlawful activities in the new flag of independence. This group developed during the revolution. They were a break-off from the third type of outlaw bands--robbers who made no pretensions at being patriots or having special religious beliefs. These two groups were never as well-organized as the Babaylanes and the latter were often blamed for their plundering.

Negros was a congenial environment for development of outlaw bands. The island's mountainous backbone was an excellent hiding place from pursuing authorities, Spanish, Filipino, or American. "There have always been Babaylanes in the southern part of the island of Negros under the Spanish rule..."[145] The relatively isolated and unsettled Tablas plateau of southern Negros was a favorite haunt of the Babaylanes, which may have influenced its settlement pattern. Prior to the revolution

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[144] Senate Document No. 4242, p. 439.

[145] "Hearings before the Committee of the Philippines of the U. S. Senate." Senate Document No. 331, Part 2. 57th Congress, 1st Session, 1901-02. No. 4243. Government Printing Office, 1902, p. 1790. Hereafter cited as Senate Document No. 4243.

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the Babaylanes were an intermittent evil, being inactive for periods and then coming "...out of the woods when the times were hard and terrorizing the people."[146] The meager transportation and communication facilities of the island hindered the efforts of the police and troops to stamp out their raids.

Eshaus devotes a chapter to the Babaylanes in his Anuntos. He writes that it is not his purpose to report on the fighting spirit of these people but to discuss babaylanismo as a "peaceful group practicing their rites in places beyond the reach of authority."

> A decided partisan of a sect which has been unceasingly hunted, the babaylan comes to town only when called to account by legal authority or to cure a sick person...enjoying the profitable life of a quack doctor...He carries no rosaries or escapularies around his neck but in a pocket tied on his back he carries his amulet or anting-anting... He does not pray to God but makes sacrifices and reads from his book printed in different colored inks...This group gets together every new moon in the month of March of every year and in a bigger and more solemn meeting at the same period every seven years...The major assembly or the sanhedrin coincides with our Holy Week...In the great assembly of 1874 celebrated in the mountains of Tubungan officiated the great leaders, Ingo of Cabatuan, Ingo of Barok, Julian, Tatwan, Pali and Pacio of Leon, all of Iloilo. More than a thousand people attended...the meeting...these people...perform their rites in small doses throughout six years and on the seventh year do it on a gigantic scale... The number seven comes into all his undertakings and ceremonies; seven are the hogs sacrificed; he celebrates his reunions every seven years; he burns seven tunics and seven blankets and leaps over the pig seven times before plunging the sacrificial dagger.[147]

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[146] Senate Document No. 4243, p. 1790.

[147] Eshaus, op. cit., pp. 139-44.

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Echauz concludes his short account with a description of a religious sacrifice by this group.

The wealth of Negros' growing sugar industry made plundering forages to the lowland quite profitable. The large estates of the hacenderos were rich prizes. William Taft reported:

> In the Spanish times forces of a thousand to fifteen hundred men [Babailanes] was not at all unusual. They...made forays down into the rich sugar haciendas that are in West Negros and sometimes to the rich planters of eastern Negros [probably at San Carlos and the Bais-Tanjay area] ..."[148]

The contrast between the rich and the poor was especially vivid in western Negros. The wealth of the hacenderos grew with the expansion of sugar agriculture. One American observer, writing in 1901, commented:

> The situation in the Island is somewhat similar to that in Europe during the Middle Ages,--the great families rule the land. The Lazuriaggas [Luzuriagas], the Mapas, the Lacsons, are the Capulets and Montagues of the Island of Negros.[149]

Many of the sugar-planters exploited their workers, as was the custom throughout the islands, and most of the abuses that existed during the Spanish period continued under the Negros Republic. The rapidly growing population of Negros increased the number of landless farmers who probably looked enviously on the great holdings of the hacenderos.

The Babailanes raided and stole from Spaniards and Filipinos alike. They had a set tariff of blackmail which

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[148] Senate Document No. 4242, p. 14.

[149] W. F. Norris, "Legal Conditions in the Island of Negros," The Green Bag, XIV, No. 1, (January, 1902), p. 20.

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they demanded from the wealthier class and local officials. The municipal officials who failed to raise the money demanded by Isio were "hung without any hesitation whatsoever."[150] In 1900 Isio announced that Filipinos who associated or cooperated with Americans would be decapitated, just as the towns that did not revolt against the Negros Republic, allegedly dominated by the sugar planters, would be burned. The anti-American attitude of the Babaylanes was encouraged by agents of Aguinaldo's government who secretly came to Negros, joined the outlaw bands in the mountains, and incited them to attack the local government.[151]

The Babaylan disorders, and the other outlaws in Negros, spurred the leaders of Bacolod to request American aid for their provisional government. The wealthy sugar planters feared the spread of lawlessness in the island would increase and destruction of their property would become more serious. Luzuriaga explained to General Otis when the Negros delegation visited him in Manila in 1899:

> This is a sect [Babaylanes] partly religious and also anarchistic which existed during the times of the Spaniards, and as commissioners from Panay [Tagalog agents of Aguinaldo] promised these people a division of the property of the people in power they succeeded in getting them to revolt in arms against the [Negros] government. In consequence of this houses were burned, cattle were taken possession

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150 Worcester, op. cit., p. 232.

151 Senate Document, No. 4242, p. 731.

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of, and all the plantations in some districts were burned. I have heard that there were about 100 [sugar] plantations burned.[152]

When Colonel Smith arrived in Bacolod his troops fought the Babaylanes. Some of the engagements between the Americans and the Babaylanes were more than mere skirmishes. For example, Smith's troops attacked a Babaylane camp near Bobong, western Negros, with the result that they lost 60 of their men while 300 Babaylanes and two of the "generals" were killed. The continued lack of law and order in western Negros was one reason why many Bacolod leaders requested a provincial status for the island when William Taft visited them in 1901.

Colonel Smith wrote that after the Tanjay revolt, Negros Oriental was peaceful "if an unsuccessful raid of Tulisanes [Babaylanes] on the pueblo of Siaton be excepted."[153] This raid Gadiane vividly describes, furnishing one of the most detailed accounts available of the southern Babaylane movement. According to Gadiane these raids occurred during 1898 and 1899 and the Babaylanes came from Tolong. They probably originated in western Negros and crossed to Tolong by way of Kabankalan.

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In 1898 the Babaylanes marched along the coast of southern Negros with the alleged objective of capturing Dumaguete. Their dress varied. Some wore striped clothing

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[152] Philippine Commission Report, II, 1900, p. 414.

[153] War Department Report, I, 1900, p. 252.

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and ashes filled the air. Large waves were formed at sea but when they reached the shore they were small and did no damage.

Fearing a tidal wave, the people streamed to the hills where they sang hymns and prayed for deliverance. In one locality twenty-five persons were buried alive by a landslide and the Siaton church and convento were badly damaged. One of the tributaries of the Siaton River near Balanan was blocked by earth slides and Lake Linao was created. The Mantuyop River was temporarily dammed by a slide and its bed near Naga remained dry for several hours. This earthquake also closed some of the hillside springs in Barrio Caticugan.

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A new messianic prophet appeared in Panay during this period. Florencio Intrencherado claimed to be in communication with a spiritual guide and threatened the people with flood, earthquake and fire unless they overthrew the American government and made him their emperor. The eruption of Canlaon volcano, the 1925 Negros earthquake and the earthquake disaster in Japan gave Intrencherado tremendous prestige in both Panay and Negros. In 1926 his followers were said to number more than twenty-six thousand. In May, of the same year, some three hundred adherents of Intrencherado attacked the municipio at Victorias. They were defeated by the local police. Intrencherado was arrested in Jaro (Iloilo province), declared insane, and later confined in a Manila hospital.

boat-builders and a nearby sawmill. Large areas, cainginș of the past, are covered with cogon grass; corn is the principal crop. The region is full of stumps and charred or decaying tree trunks. Many house walls are made of bark peeled from trees in the nearby forest. Mangoto is a community of Christian farmers many of whom have specialized in boat construction. 101

Arranging for the Purchase of a Boat

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It is customary for a Siaton fisherman who wishes to buy a boat to contact a Tanjay contractor. One boat contractor, who had been in the business for nearly 30 years, reported there were three "old-timers in Tanjay besides the newcomers." Usually the buyer tells the contractor the type of boat desired and what he will pay. The buyer depends on the contractor to see that the boat is properly built and delivered within the agreed period.

Some buyers, however, go to the barrio with the contractor to discuss the boat with the workers and even to select the tree. Often the buyer pays down one-half of the price; the remainder of the fee is paid upon delivery. However, one Siaton informant stated:

> This is not often done. Many workers cannot be trusted. This is why you need a contractor who will see that the work is done properly and the workers do not loaf.

When the contractor is paid one-half of the boat's full price he may share part of this money with his workers. Other buyers refuse to give either the contractor or the

workers an advance on an order. One Siaton fisherman paid some workers in this community one-half of the contracted price for a boat that never was delivered. 437 396 472 675

The contractor usually discusses the order with the workers he plans to employ. As one contractor said; "I talk with them to see if they feel the arrangements I made are reasonable." The contractor receives no fixed percentage for his middleman activities; "what he gets depends upon the generosity of the buyer and the workers." Actually the contractor's bargaining position is excellent; he can contract with another group to build the boat if he does not anticipate a fair share of the profit. The boat-makers in Mangoto are farmers who earn money by building boats during slack periods.

The contractor's percentage appears to vary from 10 to 20 per cent of the total contracted price of a baroto, and from 10 to 15 per cent for a banca. In 1950 one contractor arranged for the construction of more than twenty boats; he received from $1.75 to $2.50 on a baroto and from $10 to $20 on a banca. Boat prices vary with their size. Before the last war a baroto sold for as little as three dollars whereas a banca brought between $25 to $30. Today's prices are inflated. A baroto costs $10 to $15 and a banca $75 to $200.

Some good-sized boats are built in Mangoto; I saw a large parao being pulled to the Tanjay River. This parao had been built for a Cebu fisherman who stayed in the barrio during its construction. Thirty carabao were 396 501 483

largest stores in Siaton poblacion are operated by the Chinese as are the only two bakeries.[63] On the whole, the Chinese do not mix socially with the poblacion principalia (prominent persons).

The Spaniards called the Chinese Sangley from the Amoy word Sengli, i.e., trade.[64] In Siaton and Negros, the Chinese are called Inchek.[65] During the Spanish period in Siaton the Chinese wore their national dress. "They had long black pants which blew in the wind and coiled their hair on top of their heads." At first their stores sold only cloth, such as blankets (coverings would be a better word) with dragon designs. They also sold large tadyaos (clay jars) with a dragon design, used to make wine. Similar Chinese jars are fairly common among many of the primitive groups in the Philippines and are exceedingly costly. No such jars exist in Siaton today.

Sometimes the Chinese merchants fought among themselves. Then the Guardia Civil would tie the offenders' pig-tails together and drag them to jail. One incident was reported of a Chinese father who tried

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[63] In Manjuyod poblacion I visited a Chinese bakery and talked with the owner who said the Chinese from Macao and Canton are usually the bakers in Negros Oriental.

[64] Victor Purcell, The Chinese in Southeast Asia. Oxford University Press, 1951, p. 585.

[65] Cheng suggests two possible derivations of Inchek. First, when the Chinese were asked what was their race they jestingly replied to the questioner: "Their (in) uncle's (chek)." Second, that the Chinese referred to themselves as people of "foreign" (in) "nationality" (chek). Cheng, op. cit., p. 5.

One incident was reported of a Chinese father who tried to drown his first child, a girl. The Siaton Chinese believed if their first child were a female their business would be unsuccessful. This Chinese was jailed and every Sunday, for one month, tied, whipped and driven around the poblacion by the Guardia Civil to be taunted by the populace. He later left the poblacion having "lost face."

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Every February (Chinese New Year) the Chinese merchants in Siaton poblacion would hold a gala celebration. They closed their stores and met to feast and frolic. Prominent poblacion officials were sent baskets of food and fruit and some were invited to Chinese homes for an elaborate dinner.

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Lucas Ege Founds Barrio Caticugan

The first reference to Lucas Ege, founder of Barrio Caticugan, is his election as capitan in 1859.[66] His grandson, still living, said Lucas was born in the locality of Siaton but he did not know the birthplace of Ege's father. The land where Barrio Caticugan is now situated (not including Naga, Dangola, and Talo-ot) was owned by Father Celestino Romero, priest of Siaton parish. Romero succeeded Mezquita; the exact date is not known but it was before 1856.[67]

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[66] Capitan Kinkito was followed by Celestino Makagig (1841-42); Rosindo Kinamot (1843-44); Gabriel Kibotkibot, nicknamed "Antoy" (1845-46); Pedro Macolbacol, nicknamed "Paduco" (1847-48); Francisco Ege, nicknamed "Iton" (1853-54); Felipe Nacapanas, nicknamed "Anyag" (1855-56); Rosindo Kinamot, nicknamed "Balangka" (1857-58) and Lucas Ege (1859-60). These family names are still common in Siaton.

[67] Ruiz, op. cit., p. 151.

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In Siaton the cabezas were also responsible for the forced labor called polo or prestacion personal, required by the Spaniards. Until 1884 the Spaniards required all male Filipinos from sixteen to sixty years of age to work forty days each year in building or repairing public bridges and roads, cutting timber, working in artillery foundries, shipyards, etc. One could escape the polo by paying a sum of money, called falla, in lieu of actual labor.[78] In 1884 the polo was reduced in the Philippines from forty to fifteen days.

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In Siaton, however, the polo was said to be only thirty days each year and the men were paid thirty centavos (fifteen cents) a week for their labor.

Cadiane, who once supervised these workers, said the men often paid a falla of two pesos (one dollar), the equivalent of ten hours of work. "Many just paid because the mud was sticky and knee-deep in the roads when it rained." The cabezas had to attend church every Sunday in the poblacion. If they failed to attend they were punished, sometimes whipped, by the Spaniards' in the poblacion. Zaide writes: "Every Sunday, after Mass, the gobernadorcillo, the cabezas de barangay, and other town officials...would repair to the convent, and, on bended knees, kiss the hand of the padre."[79]

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[78] Zaide, op. cit., pp. 172-3 and James L. Le Roy, The Americans in the Philippines: A History of the Conquest and First Years of Occupation with an Introductory Account of the Spanish Rule. New York, Houghton Mifflin Company, 1941, I, p. 45.

[79] Zaide, The Philippines Since the British Invasion, p. 164.

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ize because they had been capitans during the period taxes were not collected.

The carabaos, cattle, and horses collected by this group were driven to Dumaguete to be sold. Bugarin said he would manage their sale.

> It is really very pitiful because the result was that not even one-half of one centavo was recorded in the book of tax collections. This is a very long story and it makes one very angry and sorrowful to remember the many hardships which occurred during the visit of Bugarin.

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The cabezas who were unable to pay the required taxes were jailed in the tribunal, now called the municipio, where the local officials had their offices. "At eight in the morning the cabezas were dried under the heat of the sun like a line of fish for their elbows were tied together almost until noon."[87] They were required to pull the grass and weeds in the poblacion roads. Their carabaos, cattle, horses and fields were confiscated to pay delinquent taxes. Cadiane reminisces: "It is really a very pitiful remembrance of the race. It is really very painful to recall."

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Many of the Filipinos of Siaton remember the Spaniards who lived in their midst, including the priests, as cruel and arrogant persons. When a Filipino met a Spaniard he had to remove his hat, hold it behind his head, and bow or make a sign of respect. If this were not done, the

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87. "Prisoners in charge of the Guardia Civil were always tied elbow to elbow." Worcester, op. cit., p. 309.

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Spaniard might slap or kick him. An old informant who carried mail during the last part of the 19th century said he always avoided the Spaniards. If he saw one coming he would ride his horse in the opposite direction to avoid giving a sign of respect.

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It was the custom of Spaniards not to permit Filipinos to wear their shirt-tails inside their pants. The Barong Tagalog, the national male costume of Filipinos, a finely-woven and embroidered shirt, is, Guerrero writes, "nothing but a shirt worn with its tails out." He continues by stating: "This seems to have been decried by the Spaniards to make it possible to tell at first glance who was a Spaniard, with the right to wear his shirt-tails properly tucked in, and who was an inferior 'indio.'"[88]

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One informant said when he was an altar boy for the priest he broke wind during mass. After the service the priest gave him a lashing for this unintentional act. Another informant told how the priest during mass would cry to the people who failed to kneel: "Oy, mga, carabao, lohod kamo!" (Oh, my carabaos, kneel!). If one was discovered possessing a Bible the book was confiscated and burned. Many of the people still believe today, as more did in the past, that to own a Bible may cause insanity.

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On the whole, the Spaniards regarded the Filipinos as children, to be civilized, according to Spanish concepts, and Christianized.

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[88] Leon Ma. Guerrero, "What Are Filipinos Like?", The Philippine Quarterly, I, No. 3 (December, 1951), pp. 5-6.

[capitana] of the municipalities were to act as justices of peace."[112] The first justice appointed in Siaton was Felipe Tayko who had no law degree but "whose position and circumstances warranted it." 175* 624

Often the first justices resigned and, according to Gadiane, "sometimes there was no justice of peace in Siaton and the capitan acted as the justice." Gadiane himself was justice of the peace in Siaton from 1906-1914.

Until the appointment of the justices, land disputes in Siaton had been settled either by the capitan or the teniente mayor (chief lieutenant,, a position similar to the present vice-mayor of a municipality). During the Spanish period there were few court cases over land claims "because wide areas were still uncultivated, although there were disputes over boundaries which were settled very easily." There were normal disturbances of peace and order due to theft, fights caused by gambling debts or drunkenness, etc. Persons caught stealing were given 150 lashes at the church entrance after the Sunday mass. The offenders were jailed until their wounds had healed. "Mostly, those who were caught and punished left 175* 685 624 622 [689] 175* 681

[112] Cayetano S. Arellano and Florentino Torres, "The Judiciary," Census of the Philippine Islands: 1903. Washington, D.C., United States Bureau of Census, 1905, IV, p. 403. Some sources state the justices of the peace were authorized in 1885. The confusion is because the reform, a royal order of May 29, 1885, was not confirmed until January 24, 1887. There was a lag of six years between the confirmation of this decree and the appointment of the first justice of the peace in Siaton.

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the poblacion never to be seen again. They lived a solitary life in the mountains and died there." Habitual drunkards were jailed and released after having been forced to drink fresh horse dung mixed with water.

The new provincial government at Dumaguete began to organize its duties. In 1891 the governor requested from all poblacion officials a list of taxes owed by persons between 18-60 years of age; this was compiled under the supervision of the priest since church records were used. In the same year the provincial government demanded the ages and occupations of the people of Siaton for a general census of the province. The compilation of this census in Siaton illustrates the relationships which existed between the parish priest, Capitan Damasao Ragudo and Guardia Civil commandant Baldomero Torres.[115] When the figures from Siaton did not appear the provincial governor wrote that unless the census data were sent to Dumaguete by a certain date the capitan would be fined twenty-five pesos ($12.50).

> When the capitan learned this he went right away to the priest, telling him the census had not been sent to Dumaguete because they had not finished totalling it. The priest just answered: "You had better do it quickly so you won't be fined." The priest would not help the capitan.

Ragudo was reluctant to request assistance from Torres because he was afraid to face the Spaniard who had a long

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[115] With the election of Damasao Ragudo as capitan in 1890, the term of office was increased to three years. After Ragudo came Rufino Ebrole (1892-94); Telesforo Tayko (1895-97); Santiago Tayko (1898-1900).

beard and wore an uniform like a spider's web with red and black stripes." Finally he steeled himself and went to Torres for aid in making the census. 175* 681

The deaths of Klofre and Valentin did not end the disturbances in southern Negros. During the 1890's another ladrone (bandit), Camalting, roamed the interior regions of Negros Oriental, robbing and terrorizing the people of the lowlands and the mountains. While he never attacked Siaton poblacion he came as far south as Barrio Casala-an.[114] Camalting's band dispersed when he was murdered by his three wives who wearied of the constant flight from the Guardia Civil patrols. They are said to have gotten their husband intoxicated and stabbed him while he slept. The wives surrendered to Lucas Bueno, the Guardia Civil surgeon, who turned them over to his superior, Torres. General peace appears to have returned to this part of the island until the raids of the Babaylanes during the revolution. 175* 579 668

In 1895 orders from Dumaguete arrived in the poblacion to prepare a list of trainees from eighteen to twenty-two years old for the infantry and Guardia Civil forces. The rebellious activities of many Filipinos were increasing. The "Propaganda Movement" had failed to achieve real political and social reform in the Philippines while such 175* 668 702

[114] Ruiz mentions a noted outlaw of this region named Camartin who probably is the same person as Camalting. Ruiz, op. cit., p. 148.

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Most barriofolk go to Omanod to work as harvesters while some women and young girls go to barter bread, matches, used American clothing and other wares for corn. These vendors rarely sell their wares for money. They barter for corn, and get more corn than they could if they sold their articles. Sometimes, when the harvest is over, the vendors will sell their remaining merchandise rather than carry it home. Others go to Omanod solely to buy corn for the price is lower than in Siaton poblacion. The people usually stay with relatives or friends in Omanod during the harvest period.

Unhusked corn is usually stored in the house, the ears piled in a corner of the room or in a bin. Corn is not husked until it is ready to be shelled and ground. Lagit stones or sea shells may be put with the corn to protect it from the weevils that often do considerable damage. Perhaps only one out of every twenty families in Caticugan has a separate storehouse for corn. The average family's corn supply is small and consumed steadily so individual storehouses are unnecessary. Storehouses that exist are usually built near the residences, although in a few cases they may be at the field's edge. Theft is rare because many would be afraid to steal corn for fear of barang.[50]

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[50]Barang is the belief in the supernatural ability of certain persons to cause illness or death to their enemies. These specialists are said to own magical bees that are trained to penetrate the victim's body at their owner's command. Several cases of deaths allegedly due to barang motivated by thievery were reported by the barriofolk of Caticugan.

palm's sap started to flow April 14 and stopped June 22. The gross income of the owner was $54 of which $12 was spent for tan-bark, leaving a net profit of $42. The money from guhang sales, deposited in a "bamboo bank" (a pole of the house wall), was not counted until the buri died so the figures are probably accurate.

The price of a mature buri in Siaton ranges from $10 to $25. In the municipal tax records buri owners are assessed one dollar for each palm. If the manánguete is not the tree's owner, profits are divided in several ways. Sometimes the profits are split 50-50 after the owner has deducted what he considers the buri's value. In another case the manánguete received one-fourth of the profits plus all the free guhang his family could consume. The money from the sale of guhang from this buri was deposited in a bamboo bank kept in the palm. The owner said he did not want to keep the cash in his near-by dwelling "because I might be tempted to gamble with it."

The buri's value is also reflected in the number of disputes that often result concerning its ownership and use. Three court cases occurred during my residence concerning the illegal use of another person's buri. In one case the defendant was accused by the plaintiff of illegally using two of his buris to make guheng and asked $100 damage. There are many quarrels over buri palms that do not reach the local court. An example of such a quarrel that happened in Naga is given on the next page.

rare. In fact, the only example that could be cited was when Lucas Ege died, his large dwelling in the poblacion was torn down and the timber and posts were distributed among his heirs. The average house in Caticugan would hardly be worth the trouble of disassembling it. 428

The customs of Caticugan illustrate the central concept of Philippine inheritance law--equal distribution among the heirs. Also illustrated are the complexities of the system as practiced in Caticugan. Some siblings attempt to inherit more than a rightful share; there occur devious arrangements to disinherit legal heirs, secret agreements, delayed division of property, inaccurate land records, and other methods of transferring property on death without legal safeguards. Under such conditions it is not surprising to find that much tension and conflict in the barrio center around land, usually involving both consanguine and affinal relatives.

TYPES OF LAND DISPUTES

Nearly 20 per cent (sixteen cases) of eighty-four civil and criminal suits analysed from the available court records of Siaton municipio resulted from illegal cultivation of another's land, boundary disputes, or attempts to obtain more than one's rightful inheritance.[14] The chief 423 578 685

[14] A court of the First Instance is located in Siaton poblacion; each month, on certain days, a judge comes to the municipio to reside over the court. There is a judge in residence in Tolong poblacion who hears cases for this municipality and Sta. Catalina.

of police and the mayor are often consulted informally and disputes are settled outside the court without formal record of the disagreement. The chief of police said that most informal settlements involved disputed land boundaries, unequal division of land among heirs or the value of shares. Equal division of the land by area often is not "equal" since some parcels are rockier or more fertile than others. Often the fields that border one's land belong to relatives and were once owned by common grandparents, parents or siblings.

Gadiane writes of land disputes he dealt with when serving as justice of the peace in Siaton from 1906-1914. For example, one case filed in his court in 1912 concerned the ownership of about 6[illegible] acres in Sitio Habay (Barrio Sandolot).

> Nearly 60 people claimed to own part of this land. I set a day for all the claimants to be at the land they claimed. I went to the land in question, on the last Saturday of August, 1912, at about 9 o'clock in the morning. When I reached Habay nearly 200 people had gathered there. I asked the people if their land in the barrio had been registered. All the people said no because they had to clear their land of big trees. They needed axes to cut the big casay trees that were abundant in this place. I asked the people how they happened to own the land they claimed. Most of the people said that they inherited the land from their parents and grandparents. I told them to divide the land equally among themselves and not to fight over their claims because if they did, I told them further, the government would confiscate their lands and distribute it to other people. I told them that the barrio lieutenants of Sandolot, Datag and Habay would be the ones to divide their land in question so each one would register their land. I advised them not to go against my decision because if they did, no land would be given to them. The land was divided and registered by each owner and the dispute was settled. There have been no disputes over this land in Habay until the present time.

Gadiane states that during the Spanish and early American 423
periods many local disputes centered about the ownership 578
of coconut or buri trees planted between the field 685
boundaries--a type of dispute that is common today in
Siaton.

The following excerpt from the life history of a 423
middle-aged male resident of Naga illustrates vividly the 578
troubles over land. This informant's problems, while not
typical of every family, indicate the types of arguments
in many families. Questions in () were asked by the
writer during the interview.

> (Did you ever have any quarrels with your relatives?) Sometimes we would quarrel. (About what?) Boundaries of our land. One of my relatives removed the correct boundaries between our land. (What boundaries?) Like when one fixes a fence, one may move the new fence a little farther over on someone else's land.
>
> Some of my relatives moved his fence onto my land about a handspan every year. If I do not watch them hard a handspan of land is stolen from me every year. Like Domingo [his mother's brother's son] planted buri palms in the center of our field boundary. When the buris grew big he fenced the field. He put the fence on the outside of the buris instead of in the middle. [The point is as the palm trunks expand the fence would slowly move onto the informant's land]. So I told Domingo that his fence would have to pass through the middle of the buris but he said the buris are growing. But I said: 'Suppose the buris grow one fathom onto my land? You will take this land too?' (What did you do about it?) One time we brought the quarrel to the teniente de barrio and Domingo was advised to put the fence in the middle of the buris. He agreed to do this but when he repaired the fence he did not put the fence in the middle.
>
> One of my nephews, Antero (Your real nephew?)--no, he is my pagomangkon sa pagagaowan because his mother is my first cousin. Well, Antero was plowing his field which is next to mine. He made a fence on part of my land. I told him not to plant anything near the fence because I was going to pull it up.

[sanitama] of the municipalities were to act as justices of peace."[112] The first justice appointed in Siaton was Felipe Tayko who had no law degree but "whose position and circumstances warranted it." 175* 624

Often the first justices resigned and, according to Gadiane, "sometimes there was no justice of peace in Siaton and the capitan acted as the justice." Gadiane himself was justice of the peace in Siaton from 1906-1914.

Until the appointment of the justices, land disputes in Siaton had been settled either by the capitan or the teniente mayor (chief lieutenant,, a position similar to the present vice-mayor of a municipality). During the Spanish period there were few court cases over land claims "because wide areas were still uncultivated, although there were disputes over boundaries which were settled very easily." There were normal disturbances of peace and order due to theft, fights caused by gambling debts or drunkenness, etc. Persons caught stealing were given 150 lashes at the church entrance after the Sunday mass. The offenders were jailed until their wounds had healed. "Mostly, those who were caught and punished left 175* 685 624 622 [689] 175* 681

[112] Cayetano S. Arellano and Florentino Torres, "The Judiciary," Census of the Philippine Islands: 1903. Washington, D.C., United States Bureau of Census, 1905, IV, p. 403. Some sources state the justices of the peace were authorized in 1865. The confusion is because the reform, a royal order of May 29, 1865, was not confirmed until January 24, 1887. There was a lag of six years between the confirmation of this decree and the appointment of the first justice of the peace in Siaton.

beard and wore an uniform like a spider's web with red and black stripes." Finally he steeled himself and went to Torres for aid in making the census. 175* 681

The deaths of Klofre and Valentin did not end the disturbances in southern Negros. During the 1890's another ladrone (bandit), Camalting, roamed the interior regions of Negros Oriental, robbing and terrorizing the people of the lowlands and the mountains. While he never attacked Siaton poblacion he came as far south as Barrio Casala-an.[114] Camalting's band dispersed when he was murdered by his three wives who wearied of the constant flight from the Guardia Civil patrols. They are said to have gotten their husband intoxicated and stabbed him while he slept. The wives surrendered to Lucas Bueno, the Guardia Civil surgeon, who turned them over to his superior, Torres. General peace appears to have returned to this part of the island until the raids of the Babaylanes during the revolution. 175* 579 668

In 1895 orders from Dumaguete arrived in the poblacion to prepare a list of trainees from eighteen to twenty-two years old for the infantry and Guardia Civil forces. The rebellious activities of many Filipinos were increasing. The "Propaganda Movement" had failed to achieve real political and social reform in the Philippines while such 175* 668 702

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[114] Ruiz mentions a noted outlaw of this region named Camartin who probably is the same person as Camalting. Ruiz, op. cit., p. 148.

attempts as the Maura Law (1893) came too late to be enforced effectively. There had been a gradual shift in the objectives of the "Propaganda Movement" from reform to home rule and finally to independence.[115] Under the leadership of Andres Bonifacio, the secret society, Katipunan, was founded in July, 1892, with the main objective of establishing Philippine independence from Spain by revolution. There was increasing concern over conditions in the Philippines by highly-placed officials in Manila. The number of Spanish soldiers in the Philippines was small, and the 1895 draft in Siaton probably was a reflection of this growing consternation. Although Gadiane was one of twenty-five trainees selected during the drawing, the influence of the parish priest removed him from the list.

By 1895 there were three Recollect priests in the Siaton area with permanent residences at Barrios Giliga-on and Bonbonon, besides the poblacion. Gadiane was paid three dollars a month to keep the records of the churches (birth, marriage, death, and baptismal) and to file the circulars which came from the bishop at Bacolod and other religious documents. The diocese of Jaro (Panay), which included Negros, had existed since 1865.

In August, 1896, the discovery of the Katipunan by the Spaniards in Manila resulted in the wholesale arrest

[115] Eufronio M. Alip, Political and Cultural History of the Philippines: II, "Since the British Occupation." Manila, Alip and Brion Publications, 1952, p. 89.

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of, and all the plantations in some districts were burned. I have heard that there were about 100 [sugar] plantations burned.[152]

When Colonel Smith arrived in Bacolod his troops fought the Babailanes. Some of the engagements between the Americans and the Babailanes were more than mere skirmishes. For example, Smith's troops attacked a Babailane camp near Bobong, western Negros, with the result that they lost 60 of their men while 300 Babailanes and two of the "generals" were killed. The continued lack of law and order in western Negros was one reason why many Bacolod leaders requested a provincial status for the island when William Taft visited them in 1901.

Colonel Smith wrote that after the Tanjay revolt, Negros Oriental was peaceful "if an unsuccessful raid of Tulisanes [Babailanes] on the pueblo of Siaton be excepted."[153] This raid Gadiane vividly describes, furnishing one of the most detailed accounts available of the southern Babailane movement. According to Gadiane these raids occurred during 1898 and 1899 and the Babailanes came from Tolong. They probably originated in western Negros and crossed to Tolong by way of Kabankalan.

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In 1898 the Babailanes marched along the coast of southern Negros with the alleged objective of capturing Dumaguete. Their dress varied. Some wore striped clothing

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[152] Philippine Commission Report, II, 1900, p. 414.

[153] War Department Report, I, 1900, p. 252.

called Biadillo while others dressed in priest-like robes with belts or ropes of a red cloth called Condiman. Every man wore a red and white ribbon across his breast; they carried flags of the same colors. If the Babailanes met Filipinos with their shirts outside their pants they were punished. This habit was considered by the Babailanes a symbol of subservience to the Spaniards. They were armed with spears, bolos, daggers and bows and arrows.

When the Babailanes reached Barrio Mantuyop they encamped and sent two messengers to Siaton to tell the people that they wished to be met at the municipio. Food was ordered to be prepared for them. The people of Siaton, frightened and confused, did as they were told. When the Babailanes approached the poblacion plaza they knelt on the ground, lapping their hands. The people in the poblacion also knelt on the ground until the Babailanes reached the church.

The Babailanes had many amulets. Cadiane writes that they pasted a piece of paper to their forehead as an anting-anting (amulet) to make them invulnerable to bullets. Morris said some had an amulet (design unknown) which did not work if the individual cried out when shot! For the amulet to be effective the person had to remain silent when shot.[154] Anting-antings were common among such bands in the Philippines. Amulets were common before the Spaniards' arrival, with the spread of Catholicism in the Philippines.

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[154]Morris, op. cit., p. 25.

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> means to defend themselves, as they used to do when there were no Spaniards in the country. Therefore many towns of peaceful and subjected Indians revolted and withdrew to the tinguas (mountains), and refused to descend to their houses, magistrates, and encomenderos...[30]

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Christianity seems to have made many Visayans more passive, for prior to the arrival of the Spaniards they were known as brave warriors. Mirandola states that the people of Cebu, for example, were "very warlike and vicious." Christianity also made the Visayans the bitter enemies of the Moros, who in turn regarded them as the children of the Spaniards who sacked towns in Mindanao and Sulu and sold Moro slaves in Manila. The history of Siaton reflects the fear and terror these Moro raids held for the early settlers of southern Negros.

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Negros remained a relatively unknown and undeveloped island until the middle of the 19th century. Varona states that in the middle of the 16th century many Spanish writers were so badly informed that they thought Negros was inhabited solely by Negritos. A study of the sources in Blair and Robertson yields a meager number of references to Negros and even fewer detailed accounts. Negros during these centuries was overshadowed by Cebu and Panay. It was not until the development of the sugar industry, destined to make the island the "Sugar Bowl of the Philippines," that Negros' development and population began a rapid increase.

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[30] Najeeb M. Saleeby, The History of Sulu. Bureau of Science, Division of Ethnology, IV, Part 2. Manila, Bureau of Printing, 1908, p. 281.

office in Siaton by this family is quite apparent; this does not include other political and civil offices held by the Taykos such as the justice of the peace or chief of police. The control of local political affairs by one prominent family is typical of the Philippines; Siaton merely reflects what is a fairly common pattern. 175* 557

The Japanese Invasion and Occupation of Negros

On December 8, 1941, the Japanese began their invasion of the Philippines, bombing various airfields and military installations throughout the archipelago. Two days later Japanese troops landed at Vigan and Aparri in Luzon. Davao, Mindanao, was invaded December 20 by the Miura Detachment, a reinforced Japanese infantry regiment. They had no difficulty in establishing a firm perimeter defense around Davao, which served as an advance base for the invasion of Indonesia. 175*

News of the Japanese invasion reached Siaton and the mayor instructed the people to place palm leaves on the tin roofs of the church, municipio, and school buildings, for on moonlight nights the roofs shone like polished silver. A volunteer group of men over sixteen years of age was formed to patrol the beaches. Sharp bamboo sticks were placed along the shore and in the water by the people as their forefathers had done once to protect their homes from the Moros. 175* 722

As the tensions due to the imminence of a Japanese invasion increased, some of the more prominent residents

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of Siaton were suspected of being fifth columnists. The suspected included Cadiane, the parish priest, Fermin Samanis, Felipe Tayko and a few others. The people's suspicions had been aroused because these individuals frequently went to the convento to obtain war news from the priest who received Manila newspapers. These meetings, prior to the invasion of the Philippines by the Japanese, were suspected of being planning conferences to give aid to the potential enemy. A complaint was drawn up by the suspected but it was never presented in court for conditions had become disorganized in Siaton. Once the Japanese invasion of Davao occurred the pending cases of the justice of the peace were dropped and the municipal records taken to hiding places in the hills.

The evacuation of residents living in the poblacion and barrios along the National Road began before the actual invasion of Negros. The people's confidence was badly shaken when President Quezon's illness forced him to leave Corregidor in February, 1942. Enroute to Mindanao whence he escaped to Australia, Quezon crossed from Panay to Bacolod. While in the latter city he wrote:

> This [Negros Occidental] is the principal sugar growing territory of the Philippines, and here are found the largest sugar factories. Here, also, the extreme tension between factory owners, planters and workmen, brought about by the war, naturally had become greater than in any other part of the

country. These difficulties were so severe that the only course open to me was to direct the suspension of grinding and to authorize certain loans by the Government bank to enable wage payments to be made.[167] 175* 722●

Quezon later came to Negros Oriental enroute to Mindanao.

A rendezvous for his escape at Zamboanguita did not succeed since the P-T boats did not appear. Quezon gives a description of his fruitless trip to Zamboanguita which indicates the conditions in Negros Oriental at this time

> The road [to Zamboanguita] ran along the coast... The exodus was painful and was made more so by the people who, alarmed by the news, clogged up the road with vehicles and baggage, prepared to flee into the mountains from the Japanese invasion, which they felt was imminent.[168]

Quezon later left Dumaguete and landed at Oroquieta on the northern coast of Mindanao. From this southern island he flew to Australia and to the United States where he died in 1944. 175*

The occupation of Negros by the Japanese was among the last of their military activities in the Visayas in 1942. Invasion of this island had been planned early in May. Due to the fall of Corregidor and the subsequent negotiations by the Japanese for the surrender of Fil-American forces in the Visayas, the occupation of Negros was delayed. May 26, 1942, the Japanese finally invaded

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[167] Manuel L. Quezon, The Good Fight. New York, D. Appleton-Century, 1946, pp. 288-9. Perhaps the best present summary of Japanese occupation in Negros Oriental is Uldarico S. Baclagon, Philippine Campaigns. Manila, Graphic House, 1952. However, there is no mention of activities in Siaton.

[168] Quezon, op. cit., p. 305.

40: Hart E-5 (.95.) 1954 OA1 Philippines
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is sufficiently dried to be threshed. Rice harvesting is everyone's job. Wernstedt reports that in Negros men, women and children harvest the rice. One person can harvest about one cavan of palay per day; an acre producing twelve cavans, the average yield for Negros, requires twelve man-days to harvest.[32]

Caticugan's rice harvest attracts harvesters from as far as Zamboanguita and Dauin, although most of them live in neighboring barrios or sitios. Harvesters are paid according to the speed with which they work. Some cultivators may give their laborers one-seventh of the palay harvested, especially if they are in a hurry to have their paddies harvested and wish to attract help. Harvesters from other barrios who stay several days at one field furnish their own food. The common division of palay in Caticugan, however, is one ganta to the laborer for every eight harvested and threshed. The division is usually made at the end of each day's work.

This harvest practice in Caticugan seems to have developed during the last war when the people harvested their palay rapidly to avoid expropriation by Japanese patrols or guerrillas. For this reason division was made at the end of each day. The usual pre-war practice was to dry palay, put it in one large pile, and thresh all the grain at a later date. The common payment to harvest help was two gantas of rice for every day a man worked at

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[32] Wernstedt, op. cit., p. 199.

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barriofolk utilized these palms for flour; but during my residence no one was observed making palm flour. In Caticugan the buri is used for suhang production and there are only a few sdiok and saksak palms. The time needed to make the flour discourages most barriofolk.

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The process of making flour is almost identical for the three palms. The trunk of the palm is cut into sections about 3 feet long. For the buri, leaves that have a whitish tinge along the outer edges of the stem are regarded as a sign that the tree has abundant inner pulp. Some state that the cutting and pounding of the pulp to make flour must be done in silence, "even if you have companions"; otherwise the powder will not separate when put into the container of water.

The outer bark of the palm is peeled and the inner pulp cut into sections and dried for several days. However, some state that a bamboo pick (sagongsong) or a pestle may be used to reduce the inner pith to a pulp. It is possible to store the dried sections of the palm for future use.

When one wishes to make flour the pounded pith or cut sections are soaked in water for several hours until the powder sinks to the bottom of the container. A crude container may be made from the bark of the palm, called solo. Some squeeze the moist pith over an abaca strainer while others pour water on the pith. The mixed water and pulp is called onao. After the powder has settled, the water is poured off. The flour is used to make pancakes,

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catch fish in the sea and the money necessary to construct a fish corral.

PELAGIC FISHING: INTRODUCTION

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The South Mindanao Sea is considered one of the richest fishing grounds in the Philippines, according to Dr. Villadolid, Director, Bureau of Fisheries. This section describes the methods of catching fish, types caught, and commercial aspects of pelagic fishing. In the past, cattle was the "big business" of Siaton municipality. Today, with the depletion of the herds during the last war, the fish corral has become the municipality's "big business."[31]

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Four major methods of catching sea fish are used in Siaton municipality. First, the bonsod or bongsod (fish corral); second, various types of twine or abaca nets; third, the bobo fish trap; and fourth, hook and line fishing from small boats. As has been noted previously, piscicides cannot be considered a major method of catching pelagic fish in Siaton.

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[31]I did not live in a fishing barrio. However, I spent a great deal of time in Baybay and Malabuhan, often staying in the villages for several days at the time, observing and talking with the residents. Most commercial fishermen lived in the poblacion. Mr. Francisco Baldebrin, vice mayor of the municipality, was one of my most intelligent and willing informants; he managed several fish corrals off Baybay. Other fishermen such as Mr. Pedro Solde and Carding Alonzo, Malabuhan, spent a great deal of time with me, showing me their equipment and explaining their work. For comparative data on Philippine fish traps, types of nets, etc., vide Agustin F. Umali, Guide to the Classification of Fishing Gear in the Philippines. Research Report 17. Washington, D. C., Fish and Wildlife Service, United States Department of the Interior, Government Printing Office, 1950.

gradual increase of money circulating in the barrios over the years, funds were available for the purchase of pots Another reason that may have had some influence on the decline of pottery in this locality was the Japanese occupation of Negros. A number of women who before the war made pots to barter during the harvest, stopped because of their fear of meeting Japanese patrols; they never resumed this activity after liberation.

Four popular sizes of clay cooking pots are sold in Siaton poblacion; Table XLI indicates their capacity and cost.

TABLE XLI

CLAY COOKING POTS SOLD IN SIATON POBLACION

| Capacity (pounds of clean rice) | Cost (U. S.) |
|---|---|
| 1.5 | 5¢ |
| 2.25 | 8¢ |
| 4.5 | 10¢ |
| 10.0 | 15¢ |

Pots holding as much as 25 pounds of clean rice are made in Daro but they are rarely sold in Siaton. The local merchants will not risk bringing these large, expensive, and rather fragile pots from Dumaguete since breakage would mean a considerable loss. Larger pots are used when one cooks for a fiesta or wedding feast. Today, however, the 5-gallon kerosene can is replacing this large size pot. The smallest clay pots are called anlet in Siaton and anglet in Masbate Island.

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When the Moros learned of Uanti's death, they returned to burn the church and take captives. However, the people were informed before the Moros arrived. They piled many big stones at the top of the bluff, overlooking the path which the Moros had to take to reach the barrio. When the Moros started up the path, the stones were rolled down, frightening them away. In three months the Moros were back at Bonbonon. Again the people had been forewarned of their raid. Gorio, Uanti's son, was prepared. The people now had a small cannon, purchased from Boholano peddlers, loaded with powder, rice husks and a pearl wrapped in a cloth. The cannon was aimed at the Moro praos in the bay below and fired. "When the cannon exploded everybody was surprised because the ten praos of the Moros were all wrapped in fire. Most of the Moros jumped into the sea." It was said that this incident led the Moros to believe that Uanti was still alive and that they never returned to Bonbonon.[42]

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It was these constant Moro attacks that led to the selection of the present patron saint of Siaton poblacion. Borja (Borca), the third parish priest of Siaton, and the first to visit Bonbonon, suggested that the people should choose San Nicolas de Barri as their patron saint. "For according to the priest the saint

[42]The Gadiane manuscript lists thirty-one men who became capitans, or later tenientes under the Americans at Bonbonon. Three or four families furnished most of the leaders such as Paladar, Jandug, Janala, or Pagules.

held and Francisco Sugboanon, nicknamed Escongyawa ("Escong the Devil") was elected capitan. Francisco's last name, Sugboanon, means he was a Cebuano, which is the first indication in Gadiane's history of emigrants from Cebu in Siaton. About four hundred people are said to have moved from Mangudkod to Kalumpang. However, not all of the settlers left Mangudkod.[48]

When the people settled at Kalumpang the office of cabeza de barangay was installed for the first time and the tribute was increased to seventy centavos (thirty-five cents) according to the Gadiane manuscript. A road was built from Kalumpang to the beach to replace the old footpath that followed the Canaway River bank. The present site of Siaton poblacion was then "covered with trees, tall grass, and swamps. Wild pigs, carabaos, and deer lived there."

The fear of Moro raids continued among the people. A stone watch tower (called Bantayan or Baloarte) was built at the beach near the Canaway River mouth. The men from Kalumpang took turns watching for Moros from this tower. How disturbing a force the Moros must have been on the daily life of the people in this area is illustrated by the following paragraph from the Gadiane manuscript.

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[48] After Capitan Pinando came Intoy (1803-04); Monty (1805-06); Alfonso (1807-08); Semforoso (1809-10); Cruz (1811-12); Jantoy (1813-14); Abang (1815-16); Etib (1817-18); Francisco Sugboanon, nicknamed "Escongyawa" (1819-1820).

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In case Moros were sighted the watcher would sound the alarm by using a big sea shell called Budyong. The sound of this shell could be heard in all parts of Kalumpang. The people in those days were always ready to flee when the Budyong was heard. They always had their carabaos saddled and their belongings packed so, at any moment, when the Moros came, they could quickly escape to the mountains with their belongings and carabaos.

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During this period another Moro captive from the locality escaped his wardens. Once home he told how the Moros made him fight "like a cock in bulangan (cockpit) with other Moros." He was finally freed by his captors because he won so many of his fights.

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Another stone watch tower was built at Baybay, at the mouth of the Siaton River. One old informant of Naga remembered stories from his childhood about the Moros.

The watcher would blow his Budyong when he saw Moro boats. The people, on hearing the sound, would get their spears and bows and arrows and go to the beach to meet the Moros...I once heard a story about the Moros when I was a small boy. This was before the tower was built at Baybay and watchers posted at the beach. Then the Moros could land freely there. There was a woman who lived near the tower. One day she was weaving abaca unaware that Moros were landing at the beach. In those days whenever a toko [large house lizard] made a noise, we would ask them: 'Will it rain today: Will it not rain today, etc.' Whatever we said when the toko made its last noise was supposed to come true. This day the woman asked a noisy toko: 'Will the Moros come today: Will the Moros not come today, etc.' The toko stopped making noise on the question: 'Will the Moros come today.' The woman then looked into the silong [the space under the raised house] and saw the Moros.

The Moros were surprised that this woman knew they were coming and asked her how she knew. She told them about the toko. The Moros took the toko with them in a piece of bamboo from the loom they destroyed. But they let the woman go free.

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of, and all the plantations in some districts were burned. I have heard that there were about 100 [sugar] plantations burned.[152]

When Colonel Smith arrived in Bacolod his troops fought the Babailanes. Some of the engagements between the Americans and the Babailanes were more than mere skirmishes. For example, Smith's troops attacked a Babailane camp near Bobong, western Negros, with the result that they lost 60 of their men while 300 Babailanes and two of the "generals" were killed. The continued lack of law and order in western Negros was one reason why many Bacolod leaders requested a provincial status for the island when William Taft visited them in 1901.

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[152] Philippine Commission Report, II, 1900, p. 414.

[153] War Department Report, I, 1900, p. 252.

called Riadillo while others dressed in priest-like robes with belts or ropes of a red cloth called Condiman. Every man wore a red and white ribbon across his breast; they carried flags of the same colors. If the Babailanes met Filipinos with their shirts outside their pants they were punished. This habit was considered by the Babailanes a symbol of subservience to the Spaniards. They were armed with spears, bolos, daggers and bows and arrows.

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[154]Morris, op. cit., p. 25.

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The wearing of scapularies, amulets, etc., blessed at Roman Catholic shrines, would seem to have given the idea added sanction during the Spanish regime, and the anting-anting of today has words of sacred significance and figures of the Virgin or crucifix (frequently drawn in rude style in ink on a ragged breastplate of cheap cotton cloth), besides meaningless words and figures of beasts which date back to pre-Catholic days..."[155]

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A carabao had been killed the day the Babailanes arrived in Siaton because it had gored a man. When this meat was offered to them they refused, explaining they did not eat meat on Wednesday, probably a reinterpretation of the Catholic custom. The next morning, without disturbing the residents, the Babailanes left for Dumaguete. News of their movement toward the city threw the people in Zamboanguita, Dauin, and Bacong into confusion. Messengers were sent from Zamboanguita to Dumaguete notifying the officials of the Babailanes pending attack and requesting troops for the protection of the community.

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Fifty armed tiradoras (sharpshooters) were sent from Dumaguete. They met the Babailanes at Barrio Bulak (Bacong) and "herded them like sheep until they arrived at the school building in poblacion Bacong." The Babailanes were kept in the building all night. Gadiane does not report what fate befell this group, although he mentions negotiations were carried out with the new governor of Negros Oriental "for this was already the time of the revolution."

[155] LeRoy, The Americans in the Philippines, II, pp. 214-5, footnote No. 1.

20: Hart E-5 (1954) 1954 OA1 Philippines
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revolution." He states that a number of important people of Tolong (Sta. Catalina) and Bawayan (Tolong) had joined this group of Babailanes. 175*

In July, 1899, when Santiago Tayko was capitan of Siaton, another wave of Babailanes swept along the southern coast of Negros. The group again came from Tolong, robbing and burning as they moved eastward. These Babailane were under the leadership of Rufo Oyos, the right-hand man of Isio. Felipe Tayko, then the chief of police, had requested help and thirty-two tiradores had come to Siaton under the leadership of Meliton Larena, chief of the first district of southern Negros.[156]

Cadiane describes the Babailanes attack on the poblacion. 175* 726

> When the tiradores arrived, two policemen were sent to Barrio Giliga-on as spies where the Babailanes were encamped. After three days they sent another civilian (Anastacio Mariano) for they had not heard from the two policemen. He had told the authorities that the Babailanes would not harm him because his wife was from Bayawan. When Anastacio reached Barrio Maloh he heard that the two policemen had been captured while sleeping in the municipio of Giliga-on. At Barrio Cabangahan he met ten persons fully armed and

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[156] After the establishment of the Republic of Negros, the island was divided into districts. Siaton was included in the first district, not the second as stated in Cadiane's manuscript. Negros Oriental was divided into three and Negros Occidental into four districts. Wilcox, op. cit., p. 232.

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> with their shirts inside their trousers [a sign they were Babailanes]. These men were friends of the spy. They told Anastacio their chief was Rufo [Oyos] from Negros Occidental and that they were fixing their things in Giliga-on and planned to reach Siaton the following morning at eight o'clock.

Just before midnight Anastacio returned to Siaton and gave the alarm. The bells of the church were rung so the people would know the Babailanes were nearing the town. The people were confident the soldiers would protect them and made no plans to escape to the hills.

The following morning the Babailanes and soldiers faced each other at the foot of Pangligiran hill. There were about 2,000 Babailanes armed with rifles and carrying red and black-colored flags. Two flanking movements were made by the Babailanes, one over Pangligiran hill, through Caticugan and another toward the beach in order to enter the poblacion from the south. Fearful of being surrounded the soldiers retreated to the convento. That afternoon the Siaton forces ventured from the convento, attacking the Babailanes who were burning the poblacion marketplace, particularly the Chinese stalls. The soldiers were forced back by the looters and spent the night in the priest's residence.

By now the confidence of the local people in their soldiers was gone.

> When the people heard the firing of the guns they left their houses, carrying nothing except the clothes on their backs. They ran without any destination. Those from the south ran toward the north. Those who lived in the north ran toward the south.

> Those who lived in the hills came down to the valley and from the valleys the people ran to the hills. There was chaos everywhere. Many of the people were not properly dressed and everyone was frightened.

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After twenty-four hours of fighting, an American troop ship anchored off Siaton's coast. Before the American's could disembark the news of their arrival reached the Babailanes who retreated westward. "They looked like peddlers of clothes for they were carrying big bundles of clothing they had stolen from the Chinese stores." This raid ended the activities of the Babailanes in southern Negros.

They continued, however, to plunder settlements in Negros Occidental; in 1901 Isio's group attacked La Castellana and Sagay.[157] Isio's followers suffered a serious set-back by a Philippine constabulary attack on their headquarters in 1902. For a few years Isio was inactive but he began new raids in the vicinity of Isabela in 1904. Not until August, 1907, was Isio captured, imprisoned in Manila where he later died.[158] Evidently the officials feared new outbreaks in Siaton after the last Babailane raid for the American soldiers stayed in the poblacion for seven months and the people enjoyed a brief period of prosperity.

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[157] Senate Document No. 4243, p. 1789.

[158] John R. White, Bullets and Bolos: Fifteen Years in the Philippine Islands. New York, The Century Company, 1928. This book gives a detailed account of the military operations, directed by White while a Constabulary officer in Negros, against the Babailanes in Negros Occidental.

Negros, landing at both Bacolod and Dumaguete.[169] There was some resistance to the enemy at Bacolod but the Japanese occupation of Dumaguete was affected without any opposition. 175*

In a short time Japanese forces were stationed in a number of poblacions in Negros Oriental, including Siaton.[170] There were never more than forty Japanese soldiers billeted at Siaton. In fact, southern Negros was never completely under the control of the Japanese; Filipinos freely roamed the interior part of the island. Single soldiers or small Japanese patrols did not venture far from the poblacions or larger barrios along the National Road. In southern Negros Japanese forces were stationed only at Tolong and Siaton; from these operational bases patrols were sent out to the surrounding territory.

Little fraternization occurred between the Japanese and Filipinos in Siaton; no children were born of Japanese soldiers and Filipinas. Contacts between the Filipinos 175* 726

[169] James and Ethel Chapman, Escape to the Hills. Lancaster, Pennsylvania, Jaques Cattel Press, 1947, p. 48 and Baclagon, U.S., op. cit., pp. 218-20; 258-65.

[170] A detailed history of Negros during the last war is beyond the scope of this chapter. The following books, including the Chapman's account, give vivid accounts of life on the island: Alice F. Bryant, The Sun Was Darkened. Boston, Chapman and Grimes, Inc., 1947; Dominador Y. Zaragoza, Defiance: The Human Side of the Negros Guerrillas, Free Negros Printing Press, Bacolod, 1946; and Elizabeth H. Vaughan, Community Under Stress: An Internment Camp Culture, Princeton University Press, 1949. The Chapmans were members of Silliman University faculty while Mrs. Bryant was the wife of the manager of the Pamplona coconut plantation. Zaragoza was one of the leaders of the Negros guerrilla movement while Vaughan's study is a sociological analysis of the culture of a Bacolod internment camp when she was imprisoned during part of the occupation.

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and their conquerors were very few and these usually only of an official nature. A former mayor of Siaton did collaborate with the Japanese and he was nearly killed by Filipinos after Liberation. However, his association with the Japanese was soon forgotten by most of the people. He ran for mayor in 1951 and lost by only a few votes.

In August, guerrilla units were organized in southern Negros. The guns which had not been surrendered to the Japanese, who had ordered all evacuees to return to their homes, were distributed among the guerrillas. The first unit in Siaton was composed of seventeen men. The unit, at the start, was kept small because of the lack of firearms. Volunteer guards were appointed as messengers to relay news to other units. Committees were organized to maintain law and order in the areas outside Japanese control. A Free Government of Negros Oriental was organized and efforts were made to maintain some of the usual functions of the provincial government. In 1943 the schools were re-opened in southern Negros.[171]

A Naga resident tells of the Japanese occupation of Siaton.

> I was at a tabo [gambling group] in Barrio Caticugan when I knew the Japanese were in the town because they were machine-gunning the poblacion. I went up Bangigiran hill and looked over the town. When the Japanese were about to leave, they machine-gunned the hill because there were others there. They thought we were guerrillas. The next morning many people from the poblacion came to Naga to live.

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[171] Aquilino L. Layague, "The History and Evaluation of the Schools of Free Negros Oriental During the Japanese Rule." Unpublished masters thesis. Dumaguete, Silliman University, 1948, pp. 23 and 27. Typescript.

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When the Japanese were living in the poblacion there were always guerrillas passing through Naga. They told us to leave Naga and I said: 'I shall leave soon' but I never did. Whenever I heard shooting in the poblacion I hide in the forest.

One time I was paid by a man from Dumaguete to carry a sick man to Sitio Sacsac. I passed through Caticugan, Datag, and Canaway. On my way home I met a Japanese patrol in Balsa with a Filipino guide who was my friend. When i was near them I stopped, folded my hands, and bowed. The Japanese soldier asked me if I were a guerrilla. I said: 'No, Senor, I am just a worker, plowing my fields.' The Filipino guide of the Japanese finally motioned me to continue on my way.

In many parts of the Philippines during the occupation conflicts developed between the various guerrilla groups. Each wished to increase their own power with little regard for what was best for the country. This was true of the guerrilla groups in southern Negros. One young guerrilla leader of Siaton stated in his autobiography (written at my request):

> Some more powerful guerrilla units tried to assimilate and disarm our organization in Siaton. There was a time when another guerrilla unit came to our territory to disarm us. When they arrived we could not be found for we had dispersed. They were not able to locate us. Later Major Placido A. Ausejo came out of hiding and assumed the task of unifying the different guerrilla units. He was the only ranking Philippine Constabulary officer in southern Negros so it was logical that he assume command. As we were being assimilated the civil volunteers were given a chance to join, formally, the unit. All of them did not consent to joining the new unit organized by Ausejo.

The guerrilla units were often quite demanding and dictatorial with the people. In fact, some of the inhabitants of Siaton poblacion felt the guerillas were worse than the Japanese. The guerrillas were usually divided into "bad" and "good" categories. One barrio resident reported:

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During the harvest the guerrillas went as far back as the mountains to get their share of the crops. I was one who carried their share to the barrio lieutenant's house where the food was stored. Whenever the guerrillas went to the fields to divide the crops we could not say no even though we had other work to do. We had to obey them. At night we thought we would not live until the next morning--with danger from the guerrillas and the Japanese. During this time, if we had no corn, the guerrillas told us to give them anything we had--like igao [an edible wild root] or bananas. Sometimes I was told to go to their camp to help them pound igac roots. Sometimes I did not want to go but I had to go. We continued to plow and our crops were divided by the guerrillas.

The Japanese in Siaton moved to Tolong during the last part of the war. They stayed here for about a month and then returned to Siaton. One night, after burning the municipio and the dispensary, they left on a ship which had anchored offshore.

American forces invaded Negros March 29, 1945, having landed on Cebu two days earlier. Troops stationed in Siaton camped on a small knoll about a mile from the poblacion. They did not stay very long and evidently did not make much of an impact on the Filipinos. The American soldiers were rarely discussed by the people, although several dances were given in their honor in poblacion plaza.

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With the liberation of Negros, Fidel Tayko was appointed mayor by the national government and re-elected in 1948. In 1946 the elementary school in the poblacion was rebuilt with a grant from the United States-Philippine War Damage Commission.[172] A bamboo and nipa municipio was

[172] The United States-Philippine War Damage Commission was created by the Philippine Rehabilitation Act of 1946 with $120,000,000 for repairing or rebuilding roads, bridges, schools and other public installations.

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The wearing of scapularies, amulets, etc., blessed at Roman Catholic shrines, would seem to have given the idea added sanction during the Spanish regime, and the anting-anting of today has words of sacred significance and figures of the Virgin or crucifix (frequently drawn in rude style in ink on a ragged breastplate of cheap cotton cloth), besides meaningless words and figures of beasts which date back to pre-Catholic days..."[155]

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A carabao had been killed the day the Babailanes arrived in Siaton because it had gored a man. When this meat was offered to them they refused, explaining they did not eat beat on Wednesday, probably a reinterpretation of the Catholic custom. The next morning, without disturbing the residents, the Babailanes left for Dumaguete. News of their movement toward the city threw the people in Zamboanguita, Dauin, and Bacong into confusion. Messengers were sent from Zamboanguita to Dumaguete notifying the officials of the Babailanes pending attack and requesting troops for the protection of the community.

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Fifty armed tiradoras (sharpshooters) were sent from Dumaguete. They met the Babailanes at Barrio Bulak (Bacong) and "herded them like sheep until they arrived at the school building in poblacion Bacong." The Babailanes were kept in the building all night. Gadiane does not report what fate befell this group, although he mentions negotiations were carried out with the new governor of Negros Oriental "for this was already the time of the revolution."

[155] LeRoy, The Americans in the Philippines, II, pp. 214-5, footnote No. 1.

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[171] Aquilino L. Layague, "The History and Evaluation of the Schools of Free Negros Oriental During the Japanese Rule." Unpublished masters thesis, Dumaguete, Silliman University, 1948, pp. 23 and 27. Typescript.

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constructed on the plaza to replace the building burnt by the Japanese. In 1948 a new concrete bridge was built (the pride of all the residents of the poblacion) over the Siaton River and a similar bridge over the Canaway River was finished in 1952. The Catholic church also was rebuilt in the same year. The former structure had been a temporary one since the 1925 earthquake. The fine two-story houses with ornate cement stairways that had been residences of the more affluent principalia and were burnt during the war have not been rebuilt. In parts of the poblacion one can see lonely cement stairways in weed-covered lots, leading upward to a house which no longer exists.

[362]

Summary

This historical survey of Caticugan and its larger milieu supports Kroeber's comments on stratificational aspects of Philippine culture.

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> Layer after layer of culture is recognizable [in the Philippines], giving a complete transition from the most primitive condition to full participation in Western civilization...In the Philippines it is true that direct historical records...go back only four hundred years. But a constellation of circumstances has brought it about that the various ancient and modern influences that have reached the islands are often traceable to their sources...the contours

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## Climate

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Though climates detrimental to human occupance may be modified by man's technology, the economic use of any area is greatly influenced by prevailing climatic conditions. In Negros the average farmer's freedom in agricultural activities dependent on the climate is restricted because of meager technology and equipment. His selection from the alternatives that his land offers is limited severely by inability to emancipate himself from minor caprices of the climate. One crop failure due to inadequate or maldistributed rainfall may mean hunger or borrowing against the next harvest and possibly a debt for life. [731]

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In Caticugan the tempo of many activities is closely adjusted with climatic variations. The transition, for example, from the dry to the wet season starts a series of changes in the lives of the barriofolk, and affects such activities as agriculture, fishing, house repair, food gathering, diet, transportation, and health. The day before the first heavy rains, Caticugan had the silent appearance of a deserted village with plows abandoned on their sides in the fields. The next day the rains came. In the drizzle which followed the downpour the fields suddenly came alive with men plowing the wet earth and women and children planting corn. Irregularity in climatic phenomena often results in disruption of the work cycle and economic patterns of the community.

period Asia cools more rapidly than the surrounding seas, creating high pressure centers over the continent. Due to these high pressure centers there is a general outflowing air movement that is deflected clockwise direction, arriving in the Philippines as the northeast monsoon. 132

During the period of the northeast monsoon abundant precipitation falls on Negros' north and northeastern coasts while the south and southwestern coastal areas are relatively dry. Cebu "milks" much of the moisture of the northeast monsoon before it reaches Negros making it less productive of precipitation than the southwest monsoon. It is during the northeast monsoon's period that the fish corrals of Siaton are built. [221]

The total rainfall map (Plate VII)[1] illustrates the annual distribution of precipitation in Negros. The island's eastern coast is the driest because of the less humid northeast monsoon, the proximity of Cebu Island and the Central Mountain range. The heaviest rainfall occurs on the slopes of this range and in parts of southern and west-central Negros. Though Siaton municipality receives nearly 95 inches of precipitation annually, the uneven distribution of this seemingly adequate moisture during the critical agricultural period sometimes results in partial crop failures or necessitates extensive replanting of many cornfields. [731]

1 [See p. 50, cat. 132 -- Analyst]

Another source of precipitation for Negros is the typhoon or baguio. Casimiro del Rosario, Director of the Weather Bureau, in Manila, reports that:

> On the average, about nine tropical cyclones of varying intensity (from depression to typhoon strength) pass over the Philippines per year. For the post-war years, thirteen such tropical cyclones occurred in 1948, eleven in 1949, five in 1950, and nine in 1951.[26]

Whereas the trajectories of these tropical cyclones are usually north of the island, some pass near or over parts of Negros, bringing several days of heavy winds and rain, often causing serious destruction. In December, 1951, Typhoon "Amy" (typhoons are given feminine names by the Weather Bureau) struck parts of eastern Negros Occidental, killing 49 persons and destroying about 20 per cent of the sugar cane. Little damage was done in southern Negros Oriental. In 1952 another typhoon passed near southern Negros but the planted fields were not damaged.

Convectional rains frequently occur during the period of the southwest monsoon in the upper reaches of the Siaton River valley. A number of times during my residence the sky above this locality would darken malignantly. Soon a misty grey curtain of rain would slowly move down the valley toward the sea. Often, however, by the time the rain reached Caticugan it was only "big-drop"

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[26] Casimiro del Rosario. A letter in "Question and Answer" column, Philippines Free Press, XLII, No. 30 (September 27, 1952), p.44. In 1934 there were 17 typhoons which struck the Philippines, the greatest number of typhoons recorded for one year in the Philippines.

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During the office of Capitan Tondoy (1797-1798) a fierce baguio (typhoon) raged over southern Negros for three days. 175+ 731.

> If the bananas were not broken, they were uprooted. The Siaton river overflowed its banks. After the third day, when the waters subsided, the branch of the Siaton river dried up and its waters mingled with the main river at Pangligiran hill. (See Plate XIX.)[1]

A swampy area was created along the coast where the branch of the river once flowed, a region which exists today, planted with nipa palms. Now it was impossible for boats to ascend the Siaton River to dock near the present site of the Catholic church as they had done in the past.

In 1797 or 1798 the people moved from Olambid southward near the present Sitio Nawakat. (See Plate XX.)[2] The only reason given for this move in the Cadiane manuscript was that the new location was more advantageous because it was elevated and the people could see if the Moros landed at the beach. Another Moro raid was made during the office of Capitan Pinando (nicknamed "Kilikot"), 1801-02.[38] The Moros landed near the base of Pangligiran hill which is located on the west bank of the Siaton River where it is now bridged by the National Road. In 1817 the people agreed to move from their present location to Mangudkod, now Sitio Ilongsoran. 175+ 166

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[38] Many of the names listed by Cadiane during this period are nicknames. The custom of giving a person a nickname is widespread in the Philippines today. For an interesting discussion of this practice see G. T. Ortiz, "Amusing Nicknames," Philippines Free Press, XLIV, No. 15 (April 11, 1953), p. 43.

1 [See p. 156, cat. 116 Analyst]

2 [See p. 157, cat. 116 -- Analyst]

While Siaton was an independent parish, including Dauin, the priest still lived in Dauin due to the danger of Moro raids in Siaton. 175*

The first tributes were collected in 1817 from the people of Mangudkod. Individuals over eighteen years had to pay twenty centavos (ten cents) to the government. The tribute (or tributo) was established during Legaspi's day and was a kind of head tax paid to Spain. The tribute was payable in money or kind to the encomenderos.[40] 175* 657

In 1817 or 1818 an earthquake occurred in southern Negros "which lasted for nearly three months", i.e., the after-shocks. 175* 731 252

> The earth was always moving, so the people had difficulties in cooking their food. They had to build a big fire and hang their pots over it. Or they cut one bamboo node, put rice inside, added water, and corked the end. They threw this node into the fire and when the bamboo was charred, the rice was cooked.

This was one of the many earthquakes which shook this region; some caused serious destruction.

During the office of Capitan Etib (1817-1818) the group decided to send a small colony from Mangudkod to begin a settlement which is today Barrio Bonbonon. Bonbonon is situated near the bluff of the southern 175* 166

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[40] The payment made in Siaton, according to Cadiane, was not that common in the Philippines. At first the tributo was eight reales (about fifteen centavos), raised to ten in 1602 and twelve reales in 1851. Zaide, The Philippine Since Pre-Spanish Times, p. 171.

20: Hart E-5 (1951) 1954 OA1 Philippines
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During the office of Capitan Juan Jarnaes, nicknamed Bakwog ("Crooked"), 1837-38, three men, Adin, Ontod, and Indo, became famous in the region for protecting Siaton poblacion from Moro raids. The folklore reported by Gadiane said each man had unique supernatural abilities but each had a chicken-like spur growing from the heel of one foot. When this spur became bloody it was an omen of a pending Moro raid. Indo was so eager to fight the Moros that he used his willing wife as a decoy.

> One time Indo let his wife go to the beach to gather shells while he hid in the nearby bushes. Soon a Moro boat passed by and the Moros saw Indo's wife gathering sea shells. The Moros landed and grabbed the woman, dragging her toward their boats. Indo rushed from his hiding place, carrying his bolo and shield. Running toward the Moros, and using his shield as a spade, he threw sand into the Moros' eyes, temporarily blinding them. Then he struck them with his bolo, right and left, killing many of them. He left only two to escape. When Indo and his wife left the beach, the two Moros returned, gathered their dead companions, and took them away in their boats.

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During Capitan Dalokdok Kinkito's office (1839-40) a rain of ashes descended on Siaton. No reference could be found to the eruption of Canlaon volcano during these years, although eruptions occurred in 1733, 1736, 1883, and 1902.[49] However, the ashes could have come from volcanoes erupting in Mindanao or Camiguin Island.

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[49] Marco, op. cit., pp. 46-8.

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is the more accurate; the writer is inclined to accept the more detailed estimate of Buzeta and Bravo. Even the larger population estimate would have meant that in 1850 Negros had a population density of only twelve persons per square mile. By 1850 six Recollect fathers and eleven curas insulares (Filipino lay assistants) lived in Negros.

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In 1851 Basilio Kirit, nicknamed Bararo, was elected capitan and some roads were built in the poblacion. In 1861 a severe cholera epidemic hit Siaton and killed many of the inhabitants. Marco gives a vivid account of this epidemic that swept Negros.[54] It appears to have been introduced to Negros from Panay and later spread throughout the archipelago.[55]

The Non-Christians of Siaton

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During the Spanish period there were an estimated 300 Negritos (or Atas) living in the mountains near Siaton. The last Negrito group to visit the poblacion was in the 1930's who told the people originally they had come from Panay (Antique province). Informants in Siaton are still living who remember the Negritos and reported that "they were not very black but we could tell they were Atas by their hair." The Negritos came to the lowlands to barter medicinal roots, honey, rattan, and similar items, for rice corn and clothing

[54]Marco, op. cit., pp. 99-100.

[55]Frederic H. Sawyer, The Inhabitants of the Philippines. London, Marston S. Low, 1900, p. 398.

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The Siaton cabezas often had trouble collecting their taxes; some people would flee to the hills when they came to collect. The cabeza had to find them or pay their taxes from his own pocket. Zaide writes:

> If the collection fell short of the amount due to the government owing to the inability of some barriofolk to pay, or because of their death, he had to reimburse the shortage out of his own pocket. Evidently, he paid a high price for the honor of being a cabeza de barangay. Notwithstanding the financial sacrifice many Filipinos aspired to the office of cabezaship because a cabeza enjoyed a high political and social position in the pueblos, next only to the gobernadorcillo.[83]

In Siaton, however, there were individuals who did not wish to be a cabeza. Such uncooperative persons were whipped or jailed by the Spaniards. While the promise of a higher social position, a certain financial reward, and perhaps later a capitanship were important reasons why many desired to be a cabeza, coercion or actual force often made some men accept the office. It was from barriofolk who fled to the hills to avoid paying taxes and from discontented cabezas that a considerable number of the followers of the outlaw bands in southern Negros were recruited.

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In 1872 Father Cabriada returned to Siaton as its parish priest and three or four years later (1875-1876) another typhoon swept over southern Negros, causing

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[83] Zaide, The Philippines Since the British Invasion, p. 162; Le Roy, The Americans in the Philippines, I, pp. 42-3.

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widespread damage and destroying the poblacion stone church. In 1877 Lucas Ege was re-elected capitan.[84] It is obvious that the Eges were a prominent family in the poblacion. Lucas or Francisco Ege were capitans for ten out of a seventeen-year period. In 1877 Lucas Ege began the reconstruction of the stone church. This church was damaged by an earthquake in 1897 and largely destroyed by an earthquake in 1925.

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In 1879 Telesforo Tayko was elected capitan; his political career culminated in his election as a congressman to the national government in Manila during the American period.[85] This is the first mention of the Tayko family which has been active until this day in community affairs, often dominating the political life of the locality.

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In 1887, when Telesforo Tayko was re-elected capitan, a Spanish commissioner, Manuel Bugarin, arrived in Siaton. This year is called pongkol (cut) by Cadiane because of the graft of Bugarin in collecting the taxes.

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[84] With the end of Lucas Ege's term as capitan, he was followed by Antonio Gabriel, nicknamed "Kibotkibot" (probably the same person as Gabriel Kibotkibot, 1861-62); Francisco Ege, who served two consecutive terms (1863-66); Angel Gajonera, nicknamed "Andres" (1867-68); Damasao Ragudo (1869-70); Mariano Galabay, nicknamed "Baho" (1871-72); Francisco Ege, his third term (1873-74); Rosindo Kinamot, nicknamed "Balangka," re-elected (1875-76); and Lucas Ege, second term (1877-78).

[85] After Tayko's election as capitan in 1879 he was followed in office by Andres Ege (1881-82); Damasao Ragudo (1883-84); Angel Gajonera (1885-86); and Telesforo Tayko was re-elected in 1887. In 1889-90 Lucas Ege became capitan for the third time.

of many prominent Filipino leaders. This incident led to the famous "Cry of Balinatawak" when Bonifacio tore up his cédula receipt as a symbol of defiance to the Spanish government. The first real battle between Filipino and Spanish troops occurred at San Juan del Monte (Luzon) August 30, 1896. In September the revolt broke out in Panay and in November in Negros. The commandant of the Siaton Guardia Civil, Torres, was promoted to lieutenant colonel and ordered to go to Lanao, Mindanao. The Spanish lieutenant who replaced Torres was a heavy drinker and two months later was replaced by Lt. Tomas Arnaez, a Spanish officer who had married the daughter of the capitan of Bais. The treatment of the inhabitants in the poblacion by the Guardia Civil improved; Gadiane speculates: "Maybe it was because the wife of Arnaez was a Filipina."

In 1897 a severe earthquake followed by large waves rocked the Siaton area. The poblacion church was destroyed and from giant rents in the earth there issued sand and mud with the odor of gumpowder. It is almost certain that this earthquake mentioned by Gadiane was the great earthquake of September 21, 1897, in the Sea of Jolo. The shores of Zamboanga and Basilan Island were pounded by giant waves that inundated many villages.

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"Extraordinary sea movements were noticed all along the southwestern coast of Negros..."[116]

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This year Lt. Arnaez was transferred to Manila and another Spanish officer, with a family of thirteen children, arrived in Siaton. The children's attitude toward the Filipinos is described by Gadiane.

> The sons [of the lieutenant] could do anything they wished. Many of the people had swollen faces from blows received from these sons. Many would have their bodies badly bruised because one of the sons beat them for refusing to give them what they wanted. The sons were proud and cruel. They got anything from the people without payment...During these times we suffered boxings, beatings with a gun, and had our elbows tied together because we refused to give them things we possessed.

Their father, however, did punish the sons, by confining them in the barracks where the soldiers lived. The new lieutenant also became involved in a feud with the parish priest, the "local tyrant" as Gadiane describes him.

## The Philippine Revolution Against the United States

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Various attempts, all unsuccessful, were made by the Spanish to halt the mounting tide of revolution in the Philippines. The United States became involved in both the Cuban and Philippine rebellions; this resulted in the Spanish-American war. Dewey destroyed the Spanish fleet in Manila Bay May 1, 1898. The same day, probably

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[116] Saderro Maso, S.J., "Volcanoes and Seismic Centers," Census of the Philippines, 1903, I, pp. 217-8. During the same year the volcano Catarman on Camiguin Island became active. Maso writes: "Probably some of the feeble shocks felt at Cebu, Negros and Iloilo were connected...with this volcanic center."

smouldering feud between the Tayko and Gadiane groups. 175*
*Presidente* Santiago Tayko was given permission to be ab- 653
sent from his position for four months in order to attend 661
to personal business. During this period the municipal council, under the probing eye of Councilor Gadiane, discovered that $5,000 had been set aside in the municipal treasury for the construction of the school. The *municipio* had burned and Felipe's father's house had been rented for eighty-five dollars a month to furnish space for the *presidente*, justice of the peace, treasurer, chief of police, classrooms, and the jail. The funds set aside for the school building had been used to pay the rent; the original amount set aside for the school building had dwindled to less than $2,000.

The municipal council passed a resolution requesting Congressman Tayko to obtain funds from the national government to build a new school. Gadiane later received a letter from Tayko, stating he had received the resolution and requesting Gadiane to stop making trouble. Several months after this incident Tayko returned to Siaton for the municipal elections. His nephew, Fidel Tayko, was a candidate for *presidente* of the municipality. Just before the election lumber arrived in the *poblacion* for the new school. Fidel won the election.

On the fifth day of the fifth month at five o'clock 175*
in the evening, 1925, a severe earthquake shook Siaton. 731
The *Flores de Mayo* procession was just leaving the church when a series of violent shocks occurred. Thick smoke

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and ashes filled the air. Large waves were formed at sea but when they reached the shore they were small and did no damage.

Fearing a tidal wave, the people streamed to the hills where they sang hymns and prayed for deliverance. In one locality twenty-five persons were buried alive by a landslide and the Siaton church and convento were badly damaged. One of the tributaries of the Siaton River near Balanan was blocked by earth slides and Lake Linao was created. The Mantuyop River was temporarily dammed by a slide and its bed near Naga remained dry for several hours. This earthquake also closed some of the hillside springs in Barrio Caticugan.

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A new messianic prophet appeared in Panay during this period. Florencio Intrencherado claimed to be in communication with a spiritual guide and threatened the people with flood, earthquake and fire unless they overthrew the American government and made him their emperor. The eruption of Canlaon volcano, the 1925 Negros earthquake and the earthquake disaster in Japan gave Intrencherado tremendous prestige in both Panay and Negros. In 1926 his followers were said to number more than twenty-six thousand. In May, of the same year, some three hundred adherents of Intrencherado attacked the municipio at Victorias. They were defeated by the local police. Intrencherado was arrested in Jaro (Iloilo province), declared insane, and later confined in a Manila hospital.

Inalad, Bonbonon, Giliga-on and Bonawon. A new concrete bridge was built over the Canaway River; this improved the transportation facilities during the rainy season. 175* 653 494

In 1935 the Philippine Commonwealth was established. No elections were held this year for municipal officers; their terms were merely extended for an additional two years.[165] During this period the water system of Siaton was installed. The national, provincial, and municipal governments each contributed $5,000 for the construction of the new water system. A concrete reservoir was built at Sitio Talio, west of Naga, and the water brought to the poblacion by gravity. The water was piped only to the residences of the more prominent people of the poblacion. Public faucets were also installed at the plaza and a few other places. The system is inadequate for during the dry season the pressure becomes so low that the water runs only for short periods during the day. 175* 653 365 565

In October 1937 clouds of locusts came to Siaton. The insects covered the plaza and climbed into the church, houses, and stores. Nearly all of the unharvested rice was destroyed. In the same year Fidel Tayko was re-elected as Siaton's mayor, the new name substituted for presidente. His defeated opponent protested the election as fraudulent and won his case in Dumaguete. The victor became mayor 175* 731 ● 175* 666

165"The first elections under the Commonwealth were held December, 14, 1938, for local offices." Tolentino and Zaide, op. cit., p. 151.

20: Hart E-5 (1951) 1954 OA1 Philippines OA1 576
Central Bisayas OA14

P-CB 226

These two types of fish corrals, Leyte and Binatural, are found in Tanjay. (See Plate XLII.)[1] The Leyte fish corral is quite similar to the Siaton bonsod; the former is said to have been introduced to Tanjay by Leyte fishermen. The Leyte fish corral is built in depths thirty to sixty-five feet deep; whereas the Binatural is constructed in shallow waters; as a result the Binatural catches smaller fish. Two similar types of fish corrals are built in Siaton, the large bonsod, similar to the Quinavite and Leyte, and the smaller, shallow-water pahubas that resembles the Binatural and Natural. Siaton pahubas have a small trap, like the bobo, at the exit of the last section of the corral. (See Plate XLIII.)[2]

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Fish corral and bobo activities in Siaton are keyed to the monsoons. The southwest monsoon brings winds and rough seas that destroy the bonsods and make it difficult to lay or retrieve the bobo. Each year the bonsods are rebuilt and each year the southwest monsoon wrecks them, usually in July or August. Sometimes a typhoon sweeps across southern Negros, as in 1951 and 1952, destroying the bonsods earlier than usual. In 1951 all Siaton bonsods except one were destroyed by an early May typhoon; in 1952 the fish corrals were ruined by an early June typhoon. For this reason pelagic fish are less plentiful in Siaton during most of the rainy season.

1 [See p.575, cat. 226 -- Analyst]

2 [See p.575A, cat. 226 -- Analyst]

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In Tanjay fish corrals are built in March and April and last until the northeast monsoon in November. In October, 1950, the fish corrals in this area were destroyed by early northeast winds. Sometimes, the people said, fish corrals are damaged even earlier by an east wind that they call timog.

The northeast monsoon destroys most of the fish corrals along Negros' eastern coast and fish supplies move from southern Negros to Dumaguete; during the southwest monsoon this situation is reversed. Little fresh fish, however, is brought to Siaton from Dumaguete for sale during the rainy season.

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Older informants in Siaton said that once the most common type of fish corral was the Binatural; today's bonsod did not exist. A Binatural was built off Barrio Mantuyop in 1950 but, for the most part, this type is no longer used in Siaton. The fish catch, in the Binatural, was driven into the "last pocket" or section where it was scooped out with small hand nets (salok). One informant explained this type of fish corral "was very expensive to build and hard to catch the fish inside." This may partially explain why the Binatural is rarely built.

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Siaton municipality's coastline is divided into three zones according to the abundance of fish normally caught in bonsods. The first class bonsod zone is from the Zamboanguita-Siaton municipality boundaries to Barrio Sumalaring "in front of the residence of Mr. ——— and the pandan tree." This zone is a most desirable location because

When fish corrals are partially destroyed, early in the season, some owners make temporary repairs. Damaged or destroyed banatas, for example, are replaced with coconut fronds. Early destruction or an unprofitable season is harder on the bonsod workers who depend largely on the fish corral for their meat and cash income; many have no land to cultivate. The price of fish is higher when the fish corrals are destroyed or suffer a poor season. Most fresh fish sold in Negros Oriental is obtained from fish corrals.

228 472 [131] [435]

Types of Fish Caught in Fish Corrals

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Pelagic fish caught most commonly in fish corrals are the "floating" or "surface" species. Umali writes that herring, mackerel, bageye, round scad and bonito are the migratory species frequently caught in fish corrals and other marine fish traps in the Philippines.[60] In Siaton mackerel is said to be most abundant in April and May, herring in January and February, runner (Elagatis bipinnulatus) from February to May, anchovy from February to March and sardine from December to February. Considerable tuna are caught in the bonsods, particularly the yellowfin and striped varieties.[61] Table XXIV[1] gives additional data on the frequency of catches in Siaton fish corrals.

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[60] Umali, op. cit., p. 180.

[61] Herbert E. Warfel, Outlook for Development of a Tuna Industry in the Philippines, Research Report 28. Washington, D.C., United States Department of Interior, Government Printing Office, 1950. This publication contains a map showing the distribution of the yellowfin and striped tunas in the Philippines.

1 [See p. 644, cat. 228 -- Analyst]

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[733]

the poblacion never to be seen again. They lived a solitary life in the mountains and died there." Habitual drunkards were jailed and released after having been forced to drink fresh horse dung mixed with water.

The new provincial government at Dumaguete began to organize its duties. In 1891 the governor requested from all poblacion officials a list of taxes owed by persons between 18-60 years of age; this was compiled under the supervision of the priest since church records were used. In the same year the provincial government demanded the ages and occupations of the people of Siaton for a general census of the province. The compilation of this census in Siaton illustrates the relationships which existed between the parish priest, Capitan Damasao Ragudo and Guardia Civil commandant Baldomero Torres.[115] When the figures from Siaton did not appear the provincial governor wrote that unless the census data were sent to Dumaguete by a certain date the capitan would be fined twenty-five pesos ($12.50).

> When the capitan learned this he went right away to the priest, telling him the census had not been sent to Dumaguete because they had not finished totalling it. The priest just answered: "You had better do it quickly so you won't be fined." The priest would not help the capitan.

Ragudo was reluctant to request assistance from Torres "because he was afraid to face the Spaniard who had a long

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[115] With the election of Damasao Ragudo as capitan in 1890, the term of office was increased to three years. After Ragudo came Rufino Ebrole (1892-94); Telesforo Tayko (1895-97); Santiago Tayko (1898-1905).

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20; Hart E-5 (1951) 1954 OAI Philippines
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(Tiger)

(Jackal)

BOLO
HANDLES

(Zebra)

P. 736

Finally the Guardia Civil went to Elofre's barrio to arrest him and suppress the meetings. After several clashes in which some of his followers were killed, Elofre decided to surrender to the authorities to halt any further bloodshed. Another account, however, states that he and his father were secretly visiting a nephew in Zamboanguita poblacion, and that Elofre intended to give himself up when he was surprised by the Guardia Civil. In the struggle to capture Elofre, his father was killed. Elofre and his brother-in-law, Valentin Tubigan, nicknamed "Cachila" (i.e., Spaniard because of his long black beard), were able to escape.[94]

Elofre's escape from the Guardia Civil allegedly was due to his supernatural powers and his anting-anting (amulet). At first the two men established their residence at Sitio Abolay (Aboli), west of Barrio Olambid in the northern part of Siaton municipality.[95] Later they

[94] Ruiz also states his full name was Valentin Tubigan or "Cachila." Ruiz, op. cit., p. 150. One informant said Elofre was visiting his father's residence in Zamboanguita with no intention of surrendering. While there his dagger began "to bleed." Elofre's father believed this to be a bad omen and urged his son to leave before the Guardia Civil learned he was in the poblacion. Elofre refused and later the soldiers surrounded his father's residence, tied him to a chair and bayoneted his father to death before Elofre's eyes. Because of his supernatural powers, Elofre and Valentin were able to escape.

[95] The former capitan of Zamboanguita (whom I interviewed, when he was eleven years old, claims he actually saw an example of Elofre's magical powers. While at a house with Elofre, the latter requested a glass of water. The water did not arrive quickly and Elofre was quite thirsty, so he knocked a large bamboo, part of the house's structure, and fresh water gushed forth. One day when hungry and without money, Elofre told one of his friends to cut open a squash growing in the field. Inside the squash was found 20 centavos. When his followers were hungry, Elofre is said to have spread his handkerchief on the sea, sailed away, and returned later with plenty of fish.

called Riadillo while others dressed in priest-like robes with belts or ropes of a red cloth called Condiman. Every man wore a red and white ribbon across his breast; they carried flags of the same colors. If the Babaylanes met Filipinos with their shirts outside their pants they were punished. This habit was considered by the Babaylanes a symbol of subservience to the Spaniards. They were armed with spears, bolos, daggers and bows and arrows. [411]

When the Babaylanes reached Barrio Mantuyop they encamped and sent two messengers to Siaton to tell the people that they wished to be met at the municipio. Food was ordered to be prepared for them. The people of Siaton, frightened and confused, did as they were told. When the Babaylanes approached the poblacion plaza they knelt on the ground, lapping their hands. The people in the poblacion also knelt on the ground until the Babaylanes reached the church.

The Babaylanes had many amulets. Cadiane writes that they pasted a piece of paper to their forehead as an anting-anting (amulet) to make them invulnerable to bullets. Morris said some had an amulet (design unknown) which did not work if the individual cried out when shot! For the amulet to be effective the person had to remain silent when shot.[154] Anting-antings were common among such bands in the Philippines. Amulets were common before the Spaniards' arrival, with the spread of Catholicism in the Philippines.

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[154]Morris, op. cit., p. 25.

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The wearing of scapularies, amulets, etc., blessed at Roman Catholic shrines, would seem to have given the idea added sanction during the Spanish regime, and the anting-anting of today has words of sacred significance and figures of the Virgin or crucifix (frequently drawn in rude style in ink on a ragged breastplate of cheap cotton cloth), besides meaningless words and figures of beasts which date back to pre-Catholic days..."[155]

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A carabao had been killed the day the Babailanes arrived in Siaton because it had gored a man. When this meat was offered to them they refused, explaining they did not eat meat on Wednesday, probably a reinterpretation of the Catholic custom. The next morning, without disturbing the residents, the Babailanes left for Dumaguete. News of their movement toward the city threw the people in Zamboanguita, Dauin, and Bacong into confusion. Messengers were sent from Zamboanguita to Dumaguete notifying the officials of the Babailanes pending attack and requesting troops for the protection of the community.

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Fifty armed tiradoras (sharpshooters) were sent from Dumaguete. They met the Babailanes at Barrio Bulak (Bacong) and "herded them like sheep until they arrived at the school building in poblacion Bacong." The Babailanes were kept in the building all night. Gadiane does not report what fate befell this group, although he mentions negotiations were carried out with the new governor of Negros Oriental "for this was already the time of the revolution."

[155] LeRoy, The Americans in the Philippines, II, pp. 214-5, footnote No. 1.

Many items are used in the buri lihi in Caticugan. Each mananguete, however, seems to improvise. Certain items are basic to all the lihis such as pag-i, sharpened bits of thorny bamboo, pauli roots (Cleidion spieiflorum Merr.), and guhang vinegar. Other items depend upon the individual making the lihi and perhaps their availability. I always asked for the specific purpose for each lihi item but the explanation given in some cases was only "it protects the buri," how or why was unknown. Table XX summarizes the information gathered concerning the buri lihi.

TABLE XX

Guhang Lihi Chart for Caticugan and Environs

| Items Used in Lihi | Purposes |
|---|---|
| 1. Guhang vinegar | 1. To give the guhang a strong taste |
| 2. Roots of pangasan vine that have a bitter taste | 2. To give the guhang a strong taste |
| 3. Bark and roots of badbad tree | 3. Protection against "envious persons" |
| 4. Tagilaway (an insect that is said always to be secreting saliva; tagilaway means "saliva"). | 4. To keep the buri sap flowing |
| 5. Bahagbahag (a seaworm) | 5. Protection against "envious persons" |
| 6. Roots of uli-an vine (uli-an means "bring back"). | 6. Ensure constant flow of sap. If sap stops this may be added to "bring back" sap. |
| 7. Roots of the pauli tree (Pauli means "to come back" or "to go home"). | 7. Same reason as uli-an. Also protection against "envious persons." |

TABLE XX (Continued)

| | |
|---|---|
| 8. Barb of ray fish (pag-i) | 8. Protection against "envious persons" |
| 9. Pieces of sharpened thorny bamboo | 9. Protection against "envious persons" |
| 10. Discarded flashlight bulb or battery | 10. Protection against "envious persons." The idea seems to be that "neither will work without the other," i.e., the flashlight will not work without a bulb or a battery. |
| 11. Red peppers | 11. To improve the taste of the guhang |
| 12. Gunpowder | 12. Protection against "envious persons" who might shoot buri. Used in Bonbonon but not in Caticugan. |
| 13. Mallorca (a commerically produced alcoholic drink made from sugar cane alcohol) | 13. To improve the taste of the guhang |
| 14. Scrapings from a wild pig's tusk | 14. Protection against "envious persons" |
| 15. Salt | 15. So "eye" will not leak, be soft and give plenty of sap |
| 16. Scrapings from the spur of a wild chicken | 16. Protection against "envious persons" |
| 17. Chicken feathers of any color | 17. Reason or purpose unknown |
| 18. Bark of the kalingay tree | 18. So when a person drinks guhang he will not get diarrhea. |
| 19. Kolino roots | 19. Protection against "envious persons" |
| 20. Tango sa lite ("teeth of the thunder.") The barrio-folk report when lightning strikes a tree little stones are sometimes found sticking to the bark. | 20. Protection against "envious persons" |

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245 273 824 751

[82]

TABLE XX (Contigued)

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| 21. Kalapongay stems ("Kalapongay sometimes looks like a dead stick but it keeps sending out new growth all the time") | 21. To keep the sap flowing | 245 273 824 751 |
| 22. Lead from a bullet | 22. Protection against "envious persons" | |
| 23. Paniawan vine | 23. Protection against "envious persons" | |

The purposes of the various items used in the guhang lihi can be classified into three categories: (1) to protect the buri from "envious persons"; (2) to improve the guhang's flavor; (3) to ensure an abundant and constant flow of sap. The flow and the taste of sap are two uncertainties in making guhang; this may account for their more complete coverage by magic.

There is good reason for this obvious concern over "envious persons" who may desire to harm the buri producing guhang. It is difficult to refuse friends, and especially relatives, a free glass or two of guhang. Yet if one does not refuse there would be little to sell. Both sexes are fond of guhang and gather regularly around the buris when the owners are collecting guhang. If a palm is noted for a particularly fine-flavored guhang, it attracts more barriofolk. While many will not ask for a free drink the purpose of their presence is painfully clear to the tree's owner. Their thirst normally is limited only by the donor's generosity.

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Philippines. The concept of gratitude to God for an abundant harvest is a Catholic addition, even though this gratitude is also tendered to the spirits. 243 178

Cases of illness and a few deaths allegedly caused by these spirits or souls because a dulot was not held were reported. One incident affords an example. A resident of Barrio Caticugan became so ill he was unable to eat or sleep for three nights. This sickness occurred the day after a drinking bout in another barrio. Friends first brought him a wine called "Siok Pong," sold in the poblacion Chinese stores, and said to have medicinal qualities. Sick man could not drink the wine and his illness became worse. 243 753 [757]

He tried to think what could be causing his sickness; his heavy drinking was not considered as a possible factor. Finally, a mananabal (local herbalist, often called "quack doctor" in the poblacion) was called to question the patient. It was finally decided that his illness was due to failure to hold a dulot before harvesting his corn. An ancillary cause was thought the joke he had told near a swampy place, unintentionally antagonizing the spirits that inhabited this locality.

The sick man contended it was unnecessary for him to hold a dulot for he was only a tenant; the dulot was the responsibility of the field's owner. The mananabal said this was not correct, the dulot was the responsibility of the person working the field, even if he were only the tenant. The patient promised to hold a dulot and it is reported his condition improved immediately. 243 755

Caticugan. This section will first describe the dulot and then explain the distribution and variations of the ceremony in the different barrios in comparison with Caticugan.

The dulot is held before the corn is harvested in either caingins or lowland fields. There appear to be three major purposes for holding the dulot. First, it is an act of recognition of unseen spirits who, if not properly honored, can make the cultivators ill. Second, the dulot is an act of respect and honor to the kalags (souls) of previous owners of the field. Since land is seldom sold in the lowlands these souls normally are the parents of the cultivators.[44] The dulot is "like rent for the land" or a "payment" to the souls of former owners. A widespread belief is that these souls, if angered, can make the field workers sick; fever and stomach troubles are the most frequent afflictions caused by the angry spirits or unhonored souls. Third, the dulot is a premicias sa baul ("Thanksgiving for the field," i.e., for the harvest) to God.

The dulot is an obvious blend of paganism and Catholicism. Animism and reverence for the souls of the dead are pre-Spanish beliefs. Catholicism certainly reinforced the honoring of the dead; this may have been one reason why Catholicism was disseminated so easily in the

[44] In the caingins the offering is made to the souls of one's departed parents.

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it is said if a field abandoned because of overflow of the Siaton River were later reclaimed, it was not necessary to resume the dulot even though "the field was once accustomed to it." This is the attitude of most barriofolk living in the Siaton River valley. Some of the fields in upper Naga are especially vulnerable to floods from the Mantuyop River since the bed is only five to ten feet below the level of the fields. Large boulders and other debris are deposited on the fields when the river floods, so reclaiming the land is difficult. Presumably when the fields were reclaimed the dulot was not resumed.[47]

It is somewhat easier to explain the present spatial distribution of the dulot in Barrio Caticugan. When Lucas Ege first purchased this land, he gave the fields southwest of the present main canal to the farmers who built and maintained a fence at the base of the bluff. This fence was necessary for there were many wild pigs, monkeys, and deer in the hills above. The fence protected he fields of the people living near the hills and those f Ege on the other side of the main canal.

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[47]Part of upper Naga was once planted with rice. However, the cultivation of the land was stopped in the early 930's because it was believed "haunted" by spirits. One armer's three sons and his mother-in-law died of "fever nd headaches" while cultivating the land. Their deaths ere believed to be signs that the spirits who lived there id not wish the land to be farmed. The owner told me hat he was planning to "pray to God" and resume tilling he land, however, he did not farm the land during my resisnce. While the soil of upper Naga is not the best it is p worse than the paddies of Dangola. There is very little ultivation of Pangligiran hill for the same reason.

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Lucas Ege apparently was a very religious and domineering individual. Since he did not practice the dulot he would not permit his relatives or tenants to hold the ceremony for their fields. Ege's grandson, still living in Barrio Caticugan, said Lucas substituted a novena (nine consecutive evenings of prayer) for the dulot. At the novena's conclusion he invited relatives and friends to a feast. This harvest novena was held in honor of St. Isidro who was selected as the patron saint of the barrio in 1951. Since the land southwest of the main canal had been given to the people who built the fence, Ege did not or could not prevent them from holding dulots in their fields. This is probably one reason why dulots are the most common in the southwest part of Barrio Caticugan.

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However, a more careful study of the dulots' distribution in southwest Barrio Caticugan shows a significant correlation with the location of hillside springs. Many of the barriofolk believe that in or near these springs (particularly places of lush vegetation) live creatures called kolisaos and kataos. The kolisao is a lizard-like creature with a human head and long hair while a katao is a dwarf with blonde hair who delights to play in the canals--and this is the place where canals are most numerous.

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If these creatures are disturbed or hurt, they can cause an individual to fall ill or even die; skin diseases, however, seem to be their speciality. Farmers with fields

Most barriofolk go to Omanod to work as harvesters while some women and young girls go to barter bread, matches, used American clothing and other wares for corn. These vendors rarely sell their wares for money. They barter for corn, and get more corn than they could if they sold their articles. Sometimes, when the harvest is over, the vendors will sell their remaining merchandise rather than carry it home. Others go to Omanod solely to buy corn for the price is lower than in Siaton poblacion. The people usually stay with relatives or friends in Omanod during the harvest period.

Unhusked corn is usually stored in the house, the ears piled in a corner of the room or in a bin. Corn is not husked until it is ready to be shelled and ground. Lagit stones or sea shells may be put with the corn to protect it from the weevils that often do considerable damage. Perhaps only one out of every twenty families in Caticugan has a separate storehouse for corn. The average family's corn supply is small and consumed steadily so individual storehouses are unnecessary. Storehouses that exist are usually built near the residences, although in a few cases they may be at the field's edge. Theft is rare because many would be afraid to steal corn for fear of barang.[50]

[50] Barang is the belief in the supernatural ability of certain persons to cause illness or death to their enemies. These specialists are said to own magical bees that are trained to penetrate the victim's body at their owner's command. Several cases of deaths allegedly due to barang motivated by thievery were reported by the barriofolk of Caticugan.

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After the prescribed period has lapsed, the manangueta or the owner of the buri holds the lihi. One important reason for the lihi is to protect the palm from "envious persons" (tawo moguat) who, according to the people, are able to damage the buri if they wish. "Envious people" are those who hold a grudge against the owner of the tree, often because they are refused free drinks, or feel the owner is greedy with his guhang. They become angry at the owner because they arrived too late to buy guhang or their ire stems from past misunderstandings. Such individuals may "whip" the buri with paniawan (Tinospora rumphii Boerl.), a warty vine with a very acrid sap, that is said to make the guhang bitter or even stop the sap's flow.[57] One story was told of a man who "whipped" his own buri with a piece of paniawan "just for fun"; he did not believe folklore about the vine. The sap of his buri soon stopped flowing. Later he "treated" the tree with honey and the sap resumed its flow.

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"Envious persons" may also spoil the sap's flavor or kill the buri by driving a fish bone into the trunk, striking the trunk with the barbed tail of the pag-i (ray fish), or smashing a seaworm (bahagbahag) against the palm. Others say a guhang-producing buri can be damaged by flashing a light across the tree and a rotten egg thrown against the palm makes the sap malodorous.

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[57] Brown, op. cit., I, pp. 533-5. Paniawan is also known as makabuhai (Tagalog).

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| 5. Bahagbahag (a seaworm) | 5. Protection against "envious persons" |
| 6. Roots of uli-an vine (uli-an means "bring back"). | 6. Ensure constant flow of sap. If sap stops this may be added to "bring back" sap. |
| 7. Roots of the pauli tree (Pauli means "to come back" or "to go home"). | 7. Same reason as uli-an. Also protection against "envious persons." |

TABLE XX (Continued)

| | |
|---|---|
| 21. Kalamongay stems ("Kalamongay sometimes looks like a dead stick but it keeps sending out new growth all the time") | 21. To keep the sap flowing |
| 22. Lead from a bullet | 22. Protection against "envious persons" |
| 23. Paniawan vine | 23. Protection against "envious persons" |

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The purposes of the various items used in the guhang lihi can be classified into three categories: (1) to protect the buri from "envious persons"; (2) to improve the guhang's flavor; (3) to ensure an abundant and constant flow of sap. The flow and the taste of sap are two uncertainties in making guhang; this may account for their more complete coverage by magic.

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There is good reason for this obvious concern over "envious persons" who may desire to harm the buri producing guhang. It is difficult to refuse friends, and especially relatives, a free glass or two of guhang. Yet if one does not refuse there would be little to sell. Both sexes are fond of guhang and gather regularly around the buris when the owners are collecting guhang. If a palm is noted for a particularly fine-flavored guhang, it attracts more barriofolk. While many will not ask for a free drink the purpose of their presence is painfully clear to the tree's owner. Their thirst normally is limited only by the donor's generosity.

I often frequented guhang trees because they were excellent places to gather information; "mellowed" by the drink the people often enjoyed discussing and arguing over answers to questions. I never saw a group refused free drinks. If an owner were "greedy" with his guhang nothing would have been said at the time which the guhang owners know. This disgruntled individual might later return to the tree as "envious person"; generosity in Caticugan was usually sired of a warm heart and a practical mind.

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One of my most pleasant memories is sitting with the men at the top of the buri, under the little thatch covering, drinking, smoking and talking. Thirty feet above the ground the air was cooler and fresher and a breeze usually rustled the dead fronds. Below the community stretched out under its quilt-like fields. At the palm's base might be a small group of men and married women drinking guhang as it was lowered from the top in a bamboo container tied to a rope. If a few young dalagas passed, salacious wisecracks would usually be made by the young men with malicious cheerfulness and the girls might be so bold as to stop for a drink. In the distance one could hear the dull echo of a mananguete's "bamboo gong" (tambol), signaling the vendors who wished to purchase guhang that he was in his tree.

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When the groups gather at the guhang trees it is a time of relaxation, of gossiping, joking and discussing plans for tomorrow. A game of dama (similar to checkers) might be started.

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Philippines. The concept of gratitude to God for an abundant harvest is a Catholic addition, even though this gratitude is also tendered to the spirits. 243 178

Cases of illness and a few deaths allegedly caused by these spirits or souls because a dulot was not held were reported. One incident affords an example. A resident of Barrio Caticugan became so ill he was unable to eat or sleep for three nights. This sickness occurred the day after a drinking bout in another barrio. Friends first brought him a wine called "Sick Pong," sold in the poblacion Chinese stores, and said to have medicinal qualities. Sick man could not drink the wine and his illness became worse. 243 753 [757]

He tried to think what could be causing his sickness; his heavy drinking was not considered as a possible factor. Finally, a manangbal (local herbalist, often called "quack doctor" in the poblacion) was called to question the patient. It was finally decided that his illness was due to failure to hold a dulot before harvesting his corn. An ancillary cause was thought the jokes he had told near a swampy place, unintentionally antagonizing the spirits that inhabited this locality.

The sick man contended it was unnecessary for him to hold a dulot for he was only a tenant; the dulot was the responsibility of the field's owner. The manangbal said this was not correct, the dulot was the responsibility of the person working the field, even if he were only the tenant. The patient promised to hold a dulot and it is reported his condition improved immediately. 243 755

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The task of taking the animals to the river to drink and bathe, or of moving them to another area to graze (if pegged) is often the duty of young boys.

Rinderpest was introduced to the Philippines in 1888 and ten years later the disease appeared in Siaton, killing many carabaos. In 1920 and again in 1940 rinderpest struck in Siaton decimating the carabao herd. There is no specific native medicine for rinderpest, although many owners treated their animals with the same medicines used for diarrhea or dysentery in humans. A white film sometimes grows over their eyes and, if not cured, results in blindness. One medicine applied by the barriofolk to eyes so afflicted is a mixture of salt, powdered clay pot, and crushed red peppers! Native veterinarian specialists are called mangalapon; there was none in Caticugan but one lived in Sandolot. To my knowledge he never came to Caticugan to treat a sick animal; this was done by the owner.

Carabaos are sometimes bitten by a poisonous spider (lawalawa). As a result of the bite, both humans and carabaos are reported to suffer a swollen abdomen and to be unable to urinate; death sometimes results. Treatment is the same for carabaos as for humans. The following ingredients are used: roots of the bono (Abrus precatorius Linn.), tubli (Derris), ongali (Uvaria rufa Blume) and pakobol vines; roots of the homokan, salowasowa (Citrus hystrix, family Rutaceae) and pauli trees, and roots from the tachoy bush, (Canthium gynochthodes Baill.)

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The roots are powdered and mixed with juice squeezed from young pineapple leaves. Some water is added and the mixture is boiled in a pot; banana leaves are stretched over the top to retain the steam. The person or carabao bitten is completely covered with a blanket. Then the boiling pot is placed under the blanket after a few holes have been punched in the top so the steam can escape. When the liquid cools the blanket is removed and the person or carabao rubbed down with the mixture.

Cattle

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Before the war (1939) there were 61,880 cattle in Negros Oriental in comparison with the 39,950 in Negros Occidental.[76] Siaton had a thriving cattle industry before the war. A Spaniard who lived in Bais had a herd of more than 3,000 cattle that he grazed on Bondo. He owned such varieties as Indian (called Injun by the barriofolk), Sindi, Swiss, Nellori, a common Indian breed that may have come to the Philippines from Australia. Most families living in Bondo owned from four to six head of cattle; they usually owned more cattle than the barriofolk in other parts of Siaton municipality. The cattle were taken by truck to Dumaguete and then shipped to Manila.

Most of the cattle of the island were killed during the war; in 1948, there were only 17,870 head in Negros

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[76] Yearbook of Philippine Statistics: 1946, p. 169.

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of their land as insurance against old age and sickness. They state that this property will be given to those who care for them during their last days--usually their children.

Permanent Division of Property

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The permanent division of property is usually made after the deceased parent's hobkas. A hobkas is a memorial service on the first anniversary of an adult's death that normally consists of a novena (prayers at the family altar for nine consecutive evenings) and maybe a memorial mass in the poblacion church. The tenth day of the novena a feast is held in honor of the deceased person. The hobkas costs money; a pig or goat must be slaughtered, food and drink purchased, and if a memorial mass is held a payment is made to the church. These expenses are deducted from the deceased's property before the permanent division is made. If the property were permanently divided before the hobkas, disputes might arise over sharing the cost of the memorial service.

Sometimes the permanent division of one's property is made after the kaliwasan, the tenth day after the deceased's funeral. (A kaliwasan is a novena that begins the day of one's death with a feast on the tenth day.) The kaliwasan is another expense connected with death in the barrio and the cost is deducted from the deceased's property. In one case in Caticugan a woman's property was permanently divided after her kaliwasan but her heirs

set aside a cow for the hobkas to be held on the first anniversary of her death. 428 765 428

The temporary partition of one's fields in Caticugan is often the same as the permanent division. For example, one informant said that just before his father's death he told his children to transfer his land titles to their names. It was agreed among the children that the fields they were then farming were their fair shares, and the records were changed a few days before the father's death. This was an obvious and a successful attempt on the father's part to prevent disputes after his death.

Permanent division of properties is normally accomplished at a meeting of the heirs. They hold a conference and agree upon the division. This is where the eldest sibling, as "head of the family," may attempt to obtain more than an equal share. For example, in 1951 one case in the Siaton municipio court concerned the efforts of an elder brother to retain his mother's property. When the father died, the elder son managed the family fish corrals. "During the Japanese occupation their bonsods [fish corrals] sold ₱15,000 [$7,500] of fish in emergency notes. The eldest son was the right hand of his mother and took charge of this money." According to local informants, on his mother's death the elder son refused to share the bonsod profits with his younger siblings because "his mother was indebted to him." He also claimed that all of his mother's land belonged to him for he had

I [556 cont.]
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The souls and spirits, of course, are conceived as entirely incorporeal, although, according to animism, they can temporarily enter into one body or another and present themselves as such to
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thornless bamboo (Kawayan) for the corn dulot. To these crosses are attached bits of Bendita palm blessed during Palm Sunday in the poblacion church and a few rice stalks and heads from the paddy to be harvested. One cross is partly pushed into the earth while the Lord's Prayer is recited by the woman holding the lihi. This woman is often the wife of the owner of the paddy or of a tenant farmer. When this prayer is finished the cross is pushed farther into the ground and a prayer is said to the Virgin Mary. Responses to this prayer are given by the women who accompany the leader. After the two prayers are finished the groups cross themselves. Each time upon completing a prayer, the cross is pushed deeper into the earth. These two prayers are repeated three times (ideally) for each cross. Then the group proceeds counter-clockwise around the paddy; the ceremonies are repeated at the remaining three crosses. Some women recite the Apostle's Creed instead of the Lord's Prayer.

This lihi is nearly always done by women. One man said he often performed his own pre-harvest rice lihi but "my daughter loves to make it." One reason why the men do not perform this lihi is that most of them have not memorized the necessary prayers. Another factor which explains the predominant role of women in these agricultural ceremonies was given by one woman who bluntly stated: "When the rice is ready for harvest the men do not care anymore." The general male indifference and lack of participation in these agricultural practices in Caticugan reflects indifference to the religious affairs in general.

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The ritualist shortly returned, and one of Pas' sons also went to the table and drank a sip of tuba. If there had been more tuba the son would have emptied the cup and then refilled it. Since only a small amount of tuba was available, he took but a swallow. The ritualist refilled the cup and again walked into the corn rows to mutter his incantations.

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During the dulot Pas' sons and their male companions snickered and quietly laughed among themselves. Pas and her female companions were quiet but appeared slightly bored. Although the writer's presence may have been a disturbing element, he knew the family well. The participants acted as they would at a social gathering; certainly they showed neither religious awe nor fear. The man performing the dulot was quite serious in mien, but gave no indication of annoyance at the attitude of the young people.

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When the offering was finished the table and food were carried inside the house. A rosary then was held by the women for the souls of previous owners of the cornfield. When the rosary was finished a large pot of boiled corn ears and kinalopis were placed on the floor under the center joint of the roof. The pot was surrounded by four plates of boiled fresh-water shrimp. Two girls and one of sons lifted the pot three times; a little food was thrown upward and some was pushed through the floor slats, as a symbolic offering to the souls of Pas' departed parents.

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The group performed this ceremony with much amusement. Then all the guests were served a meal, including food prepared for the dulot offering.

More visitors came later, although not as many as were expected. Pas said this was because six other dulots were being held in Lamtoc the same night! The visitors were given kinalopis to take home; the man who conducted the dulot received an additional gift of food.

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The spatial distribution of the dulot in Caticugan is quite interesting. The dulot is practiced in Talo-ot, by most of the people who cultivate fields west of the main canal in Barrio Caticugan, and in lower Naga. People living east of the main canal in Barrio Caticugan and in upper Naga generally do not hold a dulot before harvesting corn. While the distribution of the dulot in the upper Siaton River valley is not known in detail, it is far more widely practiced in these barrios than in Caticugan. Lamtoc is a small sitio yet in one night six different families were holding a dulot. This attempt to delimit the dulot areas in Caticugan is only approximate. One woman living in Talo-ot cultivated as a tenant, a field between the main path and Caticugan creek; she held a dulot.

It is difficult to determine why the dulot is not held in upper Naga. Many factors are involved. First, there are only a few fields in this area. Second, more people are giving up the dulot in Caticugan than in the more remote barrios fact to be discussed later. Third,

These attitudes and customs associated with securing aquatic products in Siaton illustrate how Catholicism overlaid the ancient religious concepts. Animism and Catholicism operate in different conceptual frames of reference and barriofolk shift from one to the other without any severe conflict. This situation may explain the relative ease with which the Spanish padres "converted" Filipinos to Catholicism in the past.

The technology of aquatic products, like that of agriculture, also illustrates the sexual division of labor. Some activities are strictly male or female; for a male to participate in women's activities would render him suspect. For example, the only men in Caticugan who were vendors of vegetables, guhang or rice cakes, were individuals known to the barriofolk as bayutes, highly feminine-acting men. There are some activities that either a male or a female may perform as far as the participants' physical strength is concerned, or take into consideration the restricted mobility of most women. The concept of menstrual pollution is another factor; e.g., women should not climb guhang trees (spoil flavor of drink), approach men making boats (the wood might crack), or approach the fish corral (the bonsod's luck might be lost). Age may modify one's role in certain activities. For example, old men may and do help women gather clams and snails at the seashore, an activity in which most young men would not think of participating.

The religious concepts of Caticugan barriofolk are integrated into most aspects of their culture. Religion

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is not concentrated in Sunday church services or certain holy days. Religion is practiced every day by the barriofolk, be they planting crops, hunting a wild pig, or building equipment for "harvesting" the products of river and sea. There is hardly an agricultural or aquatic activity that is not enmeshed, directly or indirectly, in the basic religious habits of the people.

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This fact makes it difficult to convince rural people of the wisdom of modifying food-producing activities. Acceptance of a new agricultural method may involve more than substitution of new for old techniques. New methods may involve changes in religious concepts. This situation, I think, partially explains the fully documented resistance to modification of their food-producing activities manifested by most barriofolk--a resistance that confuses and annoys many American experts. These persons fail to realize that it is one thing to change a planting or harvesting method and quite another thing to change a religious concept intertwined with the former. A more careful and comprehensive study of the interrelations of religious beliefs with technological activities in the barrios could facilitate to a more realistic program for improving the food-producing activities.

51:Hart E-3 (1950-1952)1954 OA1 Philippines
Central Bisayan OA14



796 131 123 presents preliminary notes on the rural fiesta complex as observed in Negros Oriental province during 1950-52. The information on the fiesta was obtained through participant observation, interviewing of informants, a careful analysis of scores of printed fiesta programs, and other published materials.

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796 177 The fiesta complex was brought to the Philippines by the Spanish conquerors of the archipelago in the 16th century. All fiestas originally corresponded to church feasts listed on the Catholic calendar " . . . and were, whatever they have now turned out to be, originally intended solely to do honor to the patron saints of the towns of King Philip's Catholic colony."[3] During the following centuries the fiesta was reinterpreted by the Filipinos. The event came to fill a sociocultural void created by the priests' suppression of ancient pagan ceremonies, to increase the religious education of the *tao* and the church's position among the people, and whether it was an original purpose or not, soon became a profitable financial venture for the Church.

● 771 Most rural Filipinos regard their patron saint as the "guardian" of their *barrio* or *poblacion*, watching over their health, households and general welfare. The patron saint is normally in the background of community affairs in the *barrios*, if less so in the *poblacions*, except during the fiesta period, when the *poblacions* also render special homage to their [789] saint. In periods of crises, crop failures, lack of rain, epidemics, etc., the patron saint may be turned to for aid, particularly by the barrio folk. During the writer's residence in Siaton, the people of Caticugan carried their patron saint (San Isidro) around the barrio, singing and praying, in hope of producing a badly needed rain for their parched crops. Ordinarily, however, the patron saint does not have such an important place in the daily routine of the people as during the annual fiesta. Yet, for many of the Filipinos, the mere fact that a patron saint exists must give them a diffused feeling of security.

796 This article cannot fully explore the modifications made by Filipinos on the original fiesta complex of the Spaniards. However, certain obvious and important reinterpretations will be pointed out.

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[3] *Ibid.*, p. 30.

In a survey of the fiestas of Negros Island the four frequently selected patron saints were: (1) San Isidro de Labrador; (2) Santo Niño; (3) San Jose; and (4) Sta. Cruz. San Isidro is the patron saint of farmers, a fact which probably explains, in part, his popularity. Male saints are, by far, the most popular, probably because there are more male than female saints in the Catholic faith.

20: Hart OA14 Central Bisayan OA14

● 774, 776, 769

/For a discussion of the role of spirits and ghosts in agriculture, see category 243, pp. 342-359. --Analyst/

Indian and Arabic concepts were reinterpreted by their bearers, in most cases, before the customs reached the Filipinos. The last two alien cultures to leave their imprint on the Filipinos were Spanish and American, often termed the western Christian strata. 177

Pre-Hispanic traditions and customs are still visible in Caticugan. Contacts with Negros' Negritos appear to have stopped in Siaton during the first part of the 20th century. Few people in Caticugan had ever seen a Negrito. Evidence of a slight Negrito imprint on the barriofolk's way of life exists, however, in the latter's agricultural rites, use of certain plants, and folklore. Yet the barriofolk of Caticugan took very little from the Negritos that remains today; the cultural interchange probably was in the opposite direction, from Filipinos to Negritos, as was typical in most of the Philippines. 174

Drastic reinterpretations of the pre-Hispanic Malaysian cultural base have occurred in Caticugan. However, animism is still a vital force in the community, perpetuating a major Filipino religious concept prior to the Spaniard's arrival. The resistance of the Malaysian stratum to Mohammedanism, Catholicism and Protestanism is remarkable. Few aspects of <u>barrio</u> life escape the influence of animism--hunting and gathering activities, fishing, agricultural practices, attitudes toward disease, and the concept of nature itself. Imitative magic, another Malaysian trait that spread as far west as Madagascar, also exists in Caticugan. 174 774 178 789

of why the dulot is more widely practiced in the northern barrios or why more people in some parts of Caticugan continue the custom than their neighbors. The study also shows the value of the historical approach for Lucas Ege's personality is still influential in the dulot's distribution in Barrio Caticugan. Yet such an approach does not explain the total situation for pre-Hispanic beliefs in kolisaos and kataos and culture integration encourage many barriofolk to cling to the dulot.

Other Ceremonies Associated with Corn

Other practices associated with corn in Caticugan are similar to practices among many primitive people for the magical increase of their food. For example, some of the first fresh corn picked or meal ground from the new harvest is placed in a pot with a sprig of busikad (Kyllinga nonocephala Roltb). A pinch of dirt from an ant mound, a piece of a broken China plate, and three lagit stones the size of the end of one's thumb are also put in the pot. Lagit stones are hard, heavy and smooth, best found in the river shallows where the water runs noisily, and are said to be "alive," reflecting the animism of the pre-Hispanic Filipinos.[48]

Some barriofolk omit the busikad and lagit stones but the pinch of dirt and the broken plate are almost

[48] Boga stones, said to be "dead," are soft, chalky and light.

rich man does not treat us kindly." Very few people in Caticugan knew this story. Possibly, in the past, the barriofolk may have believed corn had a "soul"; among some of the peoples of Southeast Asia (for example, Indo-China) rice is believed to possess a soul. 243 [774]

The second paddy corn and the first non-irrigated corn harvests usually occur in August and September. Manalabangs do not present such a problem since they are busy in their own fields and there are more crops to harvest. This is a busy period for everyone, particularly the women. They travel to Sandolot, Casala-an and other nearby barrios to obtain corn to replenish inadequate supplies. It is difficult not to think of the statement made by Taft that "the best man in the Philippines is the woman" when one observes the activities of these female harvesters. Their untiring efforts to maintain food for their family make many of them quiet heroes. 243 462 [476]

"Wet season" corn is harvested in August and the "dry season" corn, second non-irrigated crop, is normally planted in October. September is the climax month of the rainy season so the farmers wait until October when the monthly precipitation decreases considerably yet the fields are still moist enough to plow and plant. The second non-irrigated corn crop is normally harvested in Caticugan and environs in January or February. Some northern barrios, like Dolog, plant a third corn crop but the acreage is small. 243

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three consecutive nights. If this is not done the occupants will be plagued with misfortune and illness.

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Some house posts have white crosses painted on them as protection against harmful spirits. A few houses had placed under the entrance ladder a small cross made of a thorny wood (salay). The barriofolk explain that this custom of painting or putting crosses on or near their homes originated shortly before the last war. Tales of a "headless" nun who brought typhoid came to southern Negros from Cebu. This supernatural nun was said to visit a dwelling and call out, "Good evening." If any occupants answered her before the greeting was repeated three times one of the family became ill of typhoid and died. To protect themselves the people started to paint crosses on the posts or to erect one near the house entrance. Houses so "protected" were avoided by the "headless" nun who also did not trouble people with the family name of Cruz (cross).

When these tales reached southern Negros some people in Siaton were said to have built crosses as thick as a man's leg. Even today some people will not answer a "good evening" greeting from a visitor outside their house until it is repeated three times. There is a parallel here with the Spanish custom that once required Filipinos to introduce themselves three times to Spaniards before they were recognized.

[77]

New Guinea OJ1
Nias OD11
Tagalog OA36
Central Bisayan OA14 ●

I [556 cont.]

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20: Hart OA14 Central Bisayan OA14

774, 776, 769

/For a discussion of the role of spirits and ghosts in agriculture, see category 243, pp. 342-359. --Analyst/

trees. The new unpainted wooden residence of the parish priest is near the church. The plaza of Siaton is unimproved except for a circle of cement used for fiesta dances, now covered with pungent copra, and a basketball court. Across the street from the plaza is a small wooden building which houses the telegraph and postoffice and offices of the municipal agricultural agent and the government midwife. To the rear of the postoffice building is a neat wooden Protestant church.

The new elementary school is the pride of the community and the center for social gatherings--functions usurped from the church. There are three painted wooden buildings, but the other structures are temporary classrooms of bamboo and nipa. The schoolyard is covered with a green lawn and there are cement paths lined with oleander and small shrubs. By the domestic science building is a struggling rose garden which every "progressive" school must have. Across the street from the school buildings are several sari-sari stores which cater to the appetites of the school children. Farther west a new concrete bridge spans the wide, shallow (in the dry season) Siaton River. Overlooking the bridge is Pangligiran hill where Don Antoy, a legendary supernatural, lives in a grand palace of marble and gold, invisible to ordinary humans.

The houses of the poblacion are similar to those seen along the National Road. However, there are some white wooden houses where local officials live. To the

proper by the muddy Caticugan Creek. This is a rocky sandy area where the Siaton River once flowed. 133

Walking through the community one speculates that few visible changes have occurred during the past several centuries. The houses are basically the same, bamboo and nipa and rattan. The wooden plow that lies in the field must have been similar to that used by the owner's great-grandparents. Many pigs still feed from hollow stone troughs. Spears and blow-guns are found in some houses and ancient rites precede a wild pig hunt. Yet the modest chapel with its tire rim "bell" and the houses with family altars of plaster saints betoken the Catholic Spaniards. The old bow and arrow, used to shoot fish in the river, have been modified, for boys now hunt their prey with arrows of steel umbrella rib, propelled by strips of inner tubing. The barrio and elementary schools with coeducational facilities and stress on "integration" bespeak American influence. As one talks with the people and studies their way of life, the pre-Hispanic cultural base emerges: beliefs in unseen sprites of shaded spring and wooded hill, in blonde-haired dwarfs that race happily in the drainage canals, in the placating of departed souls with food offerings and various modified pagan agricultural rites. The very language reflects Hindu contacts. The wooden handles 178 177 [176]

When the Moros learned of Uanti's death, they returned to burn the church and take captives. However, the people were informed before the Moros arrived. They piled many big stones at the top of the bluff, overlooking the path which the Moros had to take to reach the barrio. When the Moros started up the path, the stones were rolled down, frightening them away. In three months the Moros were back at Bonbonon. Again the people had been forewarned of their raid. Corio, Uanti's son, was prepared. The people now had a small cannon, purchased from Boholano peddlers, loaded with powder, rice husks and a pearl wrapped in a cloth. The cannon was aimed at the Moro praos in the bay below and fired. "When the cannon exploded everybody was surprised because the ten praos of the Moros were all wrapped in fire. Most of the Moros jumped into the sea." It was said that this incident led the Moros to believe that Uanti was still alive and that they never returned to Bonbonon.[42]

175* 726

It was these constant Moro attacks that led to the selection of the present patron saint of Siaton poblacion. Borja (Borca), the third parish priest of Siaton, and the first to visit Bonbonon, suggested that the people should choose San Nicolas de Barri as their patron saint. "For according to the priest the saint

175* 776

[42] The Cadiane manuscript lists thirty-one men who became capitans, or later tenientes under the Americans at Bonbonon. Three or four families furnished most of the leaders such as Paladar, Jandug, Janala, or Pagules.

175* 776 ●

could fight against the Moros and also could help the boatmen when they were overtaken by bad weather."

175* 793

The first priest assigned to the Siaton parish is said to have been Siptin which possibly is a nickname. Suniga was the sixth priest of Siaton who visited the settlement before 1777. The Gadiane manuscript does not give the dates when these early priests were assigned with the exception that Father Jose Barido was replaced by Carias in 1827 or 1828.[43] With these two priests other printed sources begin to furnish data. Ruiz reports that Jose Arias (Carias) succeeded Jose Barredo (Barido) in 1831.[44] Arias was given the title of Acting Curate of Dauin and Siaton which Ruiz states indicates the growing pre-eminence of Dauin over Siaton. Following Arias, according to Gadiane, were four priests, the last one known as Prebitero Felix the Bisayan, the first Filipino assigned to the Siaton parish.[45] The assignment of these priests and the creation of new parishes indicates a growing population in southeastern Negros and a diminution of Moro raids.

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[43] It is possible that Siptin is Jose Fernandez de Setien who came to Dumaguete in 1754. Gadiane lists all the "parish priests of Siaton," although only the first names (or nicknames) of ten priests of the total forty-seven are given.

[44] Ruiz, op. cit., p. 151.

[45] Gadiane states in 1837 or 1838 two priests were living in Siaton, Areas and Prebitero Felix; the latter may be Felix Ramos, the first substitute priest of Dauin in 1847. Ruiz, op. cit., p. 146-7. Gadiane does not state if Siptin was an Augustinian or Jesuit. Since the Augustinians transferred their Negros missions to the Jesuits in 1628. Siptin probably was a Jesuit. (See Page 140.)

113, 241, 777, 787, 789, 796 Central Bisayan OA14

[For discussions of agricultural ceremonies, and of associated magical concepts, see 20: Hart, OA1 Philippines, category 116, pp. 280-284 (palio), p. 285 (buhatan), pp. 294-299 (loto), pp. 394-396 (camote-planting lihi), pp. 399-400 (cassava-planting lihi), pp. 304-306 (rice-planting lihi), p. 308 (rice-transplanting lihi), pp. 313-316 (rice-harvesting lihi), pp. 334-337 (corn-planting lihi), pp. 339-340 (protective charms for cornfields), pp. 342-359 (dulot), pp. 359-361 (other practices associated with corn agriculture), pp. 377-385 (guhang lihi), p. 404 (coconut-planting lihi). --Analyst]

loto. After the field offering, the food is taken to the house and eaten. One informant said they buried their food offering in the field after the dulot, but this is rarely done. 243 782

A person noted for skill in holding dulots may be requested to officiate, although the owner or tenant can hold his own dulot if so desired. An old bachelor in Dangola was frequently requested to officiate at dulots in Caticugan; another recognized expert was said to live in Sandolot. In Naga one dulot was held by brothers and sisters whose fields adjoined. However, in Barrio Caticugan such cooperative dulots were uncommon. 243 791

Certain standard offerings are made in nearly every dulot. These basic items include: (1) seven binaluksan (rice wrapped in coconut leaves and then boiled, (2) one boiled chicken egg (usually but not always shelled), (3) one roasted chicken, (4) seven boiled ears of young corn, (5) seven tilads (tobacco leaves, areca nut, lime, and betel leaves), (6) seven tostos (homemade cigars), (7) seven tigols (homemade cigarettes), (8) seven kinalopis (grated fresh corn wrapped in husks and then boiled), and (9) tuba, usually four cups but sometimes one, two, or seven cups. Other items may be used such as seven nilunan (cakes made from finely ground cornmeal) seven cups of roasted cornmeal "coffee", and incense of the dried sap of the kamanan tree. 243 801

Seven is often a magical number among Caticugan barriofolk. Describing the superstitions of the people of Negros, Echauz wrote: "The number seven comes into all his 243 777 801

undertakings and ceremonies..."[45] The offerings made by the Magahats in their rice and corn saingins include food items in sevens. Oracion reports: "Seven is normally the lowest number for the above items [i.e., in the Magahat's harvest food offering]. These items, however, can be increased to fourteen, twenty-eight, and fifty-six."[46] The Magahats offerings include many items used in the loto and dulot of the Siaton River valley barriofolk.

One dulot in Sitio Lamtoc, Casala-an, will be described in some detail since it appears to have been typical. I arrived at Pas' house in the late afternoon. Pas, a widow with several grown sons living at home, was holding a dulot that evening. She was busy in the kitchen with the help of three female neighbors husking fresh corn to be used to make kinalopis. Large clay pots filled with kinalopis boiled on the fire for she expected a large crowd to come that evening. Her visitors were to be offered kinalopis to eat and to take home. She was hopeful that a dance might be held if a sufficient number of young people came, some with their guitars.

Around 8 p.m., a Lamtoc resident arrived who had been requested to hold the dulot. At first it seemed that the dulot might be postponed because the sons were unable to obtain the tuba which Pas said was "the most important item." Guhang, a similar alcoholic drink made from the

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[45]Eshauz, op. cit., p. 143.

[46]Oracion, op. cit., p. 59.

in paper and state that the exact number of hills planted during the lihi is unimportant. The cassava lihi may be done in any part of the field as long as it is practiced for the first planting. 241

If these agricultural lihis for the crops do not succeed, if the crops are infested with pests and the harvests poor, the farmers believe their tribulations are due to "the will of God" (pagbu-ot sa Dios). Failure of the lihi is not attributed to ineffectiveness of the practice, by the majority of the people. This concept of God's will is a major theme of community life in Caticugan. It is the belief that man does not fail God so much as God fails man and that man, helpless in such situations, resigns humbly and quietly to his fate. This concept of man's relation to God is the basis for much of the conservatism of the barriofolk. 241 777

Once the cassava is planted the plants receive little care. There is no weeding of cassava patches, although cassava intercropped with corn is plowed for weeds. Rats, said to be the major cassava pest, destroy the larger tubers. When the first cassava tuber is dug, a simple lihi is often practiced. The tuber is boiled with some sugar to render all roots subsequently dug from the field "sweet and nice tasting." Often cassava roots are dug before they are fully mature, especially if the family needs food; with the end of the barrio fiesta in February, cassava tubers disappear except for those which were sliced, dried and stored. 241 [262]

When the exhausted pig is cornered, it will fight the barking dogs that try to surround the frightened beast. The hunters then spear the pig--a dangerous method of killing the animal; if a small pig is cornered the dogs kill the animal. The most effective place to spear a wild pig is behind the animal's shoulder; sometimes, however, it takes many thrusts to kill a large boar. One informant said it took twenty-three jabs of his spear to kill one boar he cornered while hunting alone. Another hunter had a special anting-anting (amulet) for hunting wild pigs, a spear in which a fragment of a boar's tusk had been embedded during a previous hunt. He was reported to be a lucky hunter for awhile but later was badly mauled by a wounded boar.

One noted hunter of Caticugan occasionally fed his dogs food mixed with the powdered bark of the hangot tree. Hangot bark "makes the dogs unusually sensitive to the wild pigs' scents and increases their courage." This hunter could not recognize the hangot tree but he bartered two chickens for some bark from a resident of Sta. Catalina municipality.

Hunters state that when a wild pig is lost it often disappears mysteriously near or under a dalakit tree (Ficus pavapa Blanco; also known as balete); the spirits are believed to inhabit this tree. Some hunters state this is how the spirits protect "their" pigs.

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a copy of the book; they consult one owned by a friend or neighbor. One illiterate informant had his daughter read a friend's Napta to determine when he should start the building of a new dwelling. Much of the information probably has become part of the people's folklore.

According to Napta unfavorable months to start building a new house are February, March, Apri, August, and December. According to Napta, if a house is started in these months its future occupants will be visited by serious illness, death, thunder, or lightning, and the owner will not be prosperous or happy. December is considered worst; this was the month that "King Herode of Judea ordered the beheading of the children." A house built during favorable months, June, July, September, October and November, is blessed by God, the occupants will prosper and have no misunderstandings with their neighbors. Some people state that months containing an R are favorable for beginning the construction of a new house.[18]

Barriofolk do not agree perfectly as to good and bad months. For example, Napta states that April is a bad month but some people said it was a good month. The belief that the months which contain an R are favorable conflicts with the recommendations of Napta that are more widely accepted. September, the peak of the rainy season, is considered by most people to be one of the

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[18] Enero, Pibrero, Marso, Abril, Septiyembri, Octubri, Obiyembri and Disyembri are months with an R in Cebuano; Mayo, Hunyo, Hulyo, and Agosto lack an R.

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best months in the year to begin a new dwelling; then it is easier to dig the deep post holes, and follows the first corn harvest, a period of less activity. Whether these factors really are involved is not known; none of the people cited them as reasons for selecting September.

The important requirement is to start construction of the house during a favorable month; building activities can continue during unfavorable months. One man, working on a new house in August, was questioned if this were wise since the month is unfavorable according to Napta. He replied that it was all right for he had raised the house posts in June--a favorable month.[19]

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The construction of a barrio dwelling rarely continues without a break until the house is finished. Building activities often extend over a period of months. Posts may be erected and nothing done for a month until the family is able to buy or prepare materials for the framework and walls. Sometimes only the roof and kitchen walls are finished; one family was living in such a house in Talo-ot. In the poblacion another family began to purchase house posts and timber for a residence two years before actual construction began. Several Caticugan families lived in semi-completed dwellings for months. Often the kitchen is added long after the completion of the one-room dwelling; until then cooking is done under the house.

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[19] One poblacion informant, a member of the principalia, said it was all right to begin construction of a house during June but if one did his children would grow up selfish. He also told how he once warned a Chinese merchant in the poblacion not to begin his house during an unfavorable month; the warning was not heeded and a few weeks after the house was completed it burned to the ground. The Chinese had fallen asleep while smoking; his opium pipe fell from his mouth and started the fire.

SELECTION OF A HOUSE SITE

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The same animistic concept that underlies saingin selection applies to selection of a house site. One must determine if the spirits approve or disapprove of the chosen location. The balisa is the most widespread method of selecting a house site in Caticugan; one might say that it kills two birds with one stone.

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To measure the correct distance between the four post holes (there may be more posts) four equal lengths of bamboo are prepared; a small hole is made in each end of each bamboo stick. The sticks are then arranged in a square on the ground and small pegs are driven through the holes, holding the square to the earth. Diagonals are then measured from northeast to southwest and southeast to northwest; if these diagonals are the same length this is deemed a favorable sign from the spirits. However, if the spirits object to a dwelling on that spot, no matter how carefully the bamboo square is made the diagonals will never be equal. The site is usually abandoned or the process repeated until a favorable response is obtained. The balisa has a practical aspect for if the diagonals are equal then the bamboo square has located the four post holes.

One Naga informant explained how he selected his house site in 1950. Questions in () I asked during the interview.

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I got a stick six feet long and split it into two pieces. I placed one part in the place where I wanted to build the house and said to myself: [loud enough so the spirits could hear] 'I will put this stick here and I have another stick of the same length that I shall sleep with tonight. I shall measure the two sticks tomorrow; if they are of the same length I will build my house here. If not, I shall look for another place. So while I sleep tonight you [the spirits] let me dream if you want me to build my house here or not.' When I went to sleep that night I slept with the stick. The next morning I measured the two sticks; and they were the same length so I built my house here.

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I also buried a green coconut, one that when you shake it you cannot hear the water inside. I let it stay in the ground all night and the next morning I dug it up. I shook it but I could not hear the water. According to the old people, all omens were good. If I had heard the water when I shook the coconut the old men say the site would be a hot one. (What do you mean by 'hot'?) I do not know what they mean by hot; I just follow what the old people say. (Did you have a dream the night you slept with the stick?) No, that is why I decided to build my house here.

~~Other people said the coconut remains buried for one week.~~

Often the balisa may be accompanied by other practices to determine whether the spirits object. One family, two days after holding a favorable balisa, put a small cross in what would be the center between the four post holes of the proposed house. A loop of sig-id vine (rattan is also used) about 6 feet long was put on one arm of the cross. The next morning the vine was measured and it was found to be the same length. This was interpreted as an omen that the spirits approved of the site. If the vine had been shorter or longer than 6 feet this would have been an unfavorable sign from the spirits. An almost identical method of selecting new house sites exists among the Magahats. A cross is put in the site and a vine hung

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on it; two days later the owner returns. If he is able to separate the vine, without a break, in two parts the site is a favorable one.[20]

Another method of selecting a house site is to mark a square on the ground on the proposed site. A cross and as many stones as there are members in the family are put inside this square. If some of the stones are missing the next morning this is an unfavorable omen. One family in Talo-ot repeated this method three times until finally the same number of stones were at the base of the cross as were put there the evening before. The spirits appear to be amenable to persistence and doggedness on the part of humans.

CONSTRUCTION OF THE DWELLING

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The first step in the actual construction of a new dwelling is to dig the post holes. A blunt iron-pointed digging stick (gabok) is used to loosen the dirt that is scooped out of the hole with one's hands or a coconut shell. When the hole becomes so deep that it is difficult to reach the bottom the songsong is employed. The songsong is a sturdy bamboo whose end is split in many places; when pounded into the loose dirt these ends flare outward and the earth is packed inside. The songsong is then withdrawn from the hole and the dirt shaken out.

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[20] Oracion, op. cit., pp. 21-2. The same method of locating the four post holes, as described by the balisa, is also used by the Magahats; however, it does not appear to have any supernatural purpose.

When the holes[1] are dug, the posts are laid beside them. Their tops point in a particular direction, depending on the month. Napta states that for January, February and March the posts must face the northeast, for the following three months the southwest, for the next three months to the east and for the last three months toward the northeast. The directions correlate with the southwest and northeast monsoons. This custom is to prevent accidents to the house such as fire or flood. 335 189 777

Some informants said that the tops of the posts should be pointed with the wind. Two dwellings in Caticugan were begun in June and the posts were pointed toward the southwest before they were placed in their holes. Sometimes the post ends are charred to prevent termites from eating the wood after it is in the ground.

Putting heavy posts in their holes appears to be one of the few occasions for a palihog; several palihogs were witnessed in Caticugan for this task. In one case friends and neighbors of one man were invited to help him and his son put posts in holes already dug. Eight men came; when they finished the job, which took about an hour, they ate a meal prepared by the owner. After the meal the men went home but not until some of their wives and children also had come to eat. 335 574 476

There are different ways of erecting bamboo house posts. (See Plate LXIII.)[2] Since bamboo rots quickly in the ground a few barrio houses had bamboo house posts that rested on stone foundations. In one case short 335 342

wooden posts were put in the holes and cut so they fitted inside the larger bamboos that supported the house. In this manner the bamboo posts did not enter the earth. These techniques of preparing bamboo house posts, however, are not widespread since wooden posts are normally used. 335 342

Before the house posts are erected, various items are put in the holes; this practice is followed by nearly all barriofolk. Table XL[1] indicates items placed in the holes and the reasons for so doing. Magahat men chew betel nut and lime and spit red saliva into the post holes: "This procedure is to show respect to the spirits of the place."[21] Spanish coins are considered superior to contemporary Philippine coins, although the latter are used if the former are unavailable. One builder purchased Spanish coins from a neighbor for his post hole ceremony. 335 342 789 777

As in most of these practices to honor or placate the spirits, the combination of items vary but a "core" is accepted by nearly all people. The "stock" items are tilala, kalipay, mik, damolmog, gabigabi, and the pieces of a broken frying pan. It is desirable but not necessary to have an adequate number of each item so one may be put in every post hole. One woman spent an afternoon collecting items for the post hole ceremony; the new house had six posts. She was unable to obtain all items in sixes. The items were dropped into the holes, beginning with the northeast hole, in a counter-clock-wise fashion; the ceremony was done quickly by the woman with no religious

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[21] Oracion, op. cit., pp. 22-3.

1 [See p. 678 cat. 335, 342, 789, or 777 -- Analyst]

20: Hart E-5 (195.) 1954 OA1 Philippines
Central Bisayan OA.4



TABLE XL

ITEMS USED IN POST HOLE CEREMONY
FOR A NEW DWELLING
CATICUGAN, 1951

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| Items | Purposes |
|---|---|
| 1. Small lagit (live) stones from river rapids. | 1. To prevent fire; to protect the house from strong winds so the dwelling will not be carried away as the stones are not washed away in the river rapids; to make the house posts last longer; to make occupants happy while living in the house; to make them have a "watery, cold mind," i.e., not quick to anger. |
| 2. Tilala leaves (Cordyline fruticosa A. Chev). | 2. So the spirits will not be surprised when they see people living in the new dwelling. |
| 3. Kalipay leaves. (Kalipay means "happiness") | 3. So household members will always be happy and courteous when visitors come. |
| 4. Mik (Spanish coins) or Philippine coins; salt is sometimes used as a substitute. | 4. To prevent termites from destroying the house posts; so members of the family will not be sickly. |
| 5. Dumolmog (a green river moss) and gabi-gabi, an underwater river plant. | 5. So the house will not burn. The connection is that these two plants are always under water. |
| 6. Palito leaves. | 6. So household members will always be happy and contented. |
| 7. Any type of flower. | 7. Same purpose as kalipay and palito. |
| 8. Pieces of a broken frying pan. | 8. To make the house strong; to make the occupants of the house live harmoniously, to sleep peacefully in the house. |

TABLE XL (Continued)

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| Items | | Purposes |
|---|---|---|
| 9. Beads from the dumdum necklace. (Dumdum means "to remember.") | 9. | So household members, if they move, will never forget their home and return some day. |
| 10. Kaboy leaves | 10. | So household members will always be kind to visitors. |

overtones. This is the common practice but no one could explain why the northeast hole was selected or a counter-clock-wise movement appropriate.

Framework Construction

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The accompanying drawing of a barrio dwelling represents a little better type than is typical for Caticugan as a whole. (See Plate LXIV.)[1] Most houses do not have wooden shutters, the porch usually is not as elaborate, and posts normally are wood instead of bamboo. Basically, however, the sketch represents the average Caticugan dwelling. Some houses were more huts than dwellings, raised only a foot from the surface, with one small room. Only one house in the barrio had wooden walls; this dwelling belonged to the most affluent resident of the community.

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After the posts have been placed in their holes, a plumb line is used to get them straight. Then earth is tamped around them so they are firmly fixed. If bamboo posts are used braces, pelepol, (Plate LXIV, 2)[1] may be added to strengthen the uprights. Only two houses in

1 [See p. 680, cat. 342 -- Analyst]

Caticugan had cement forms to which wooden house posts were bolted by iron straps embedded in the concrete. The cost of cement, made in nearby Cebu Island, was so high in 1951-52 that few families could afford to buy several sacks when building a new house.

After the posts have been installed a temporary bracing (dalamba)--the same term used for fish corral bracing--is lashed to the posts on which barefoot workers stand while building the roof. Once the bracing is finished holes are bored in the upper portions of the posts to insert pegs (tarogos) that support the rafter beams. (See Plates LXV, 30, and LXV-A.)[1]

Rafter beams are normally lashed with rattan. The barriofolk tend to use nails or nuts and bolts to fix the various rafters when wood and not bamboo is used. Rattan, however, is still more popular and cheaper.[22]

After the pegs are fixed in the posts, the sablayan (Plate LXV, 22) and balabag (Plate LXV, 28) rafter beams are added and lashed in place with rattan. The "heads" or larger ends of the bamboo sablayan and balabag should

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[22] Barriofolk may gather their rattan (uway) in the mountains or buy it. Rattan gathered for house construction, is cut in lengths about 12 feet long. There are many names for different varieties of rattan, usually based upon their use. Manamac, Malabagakay, tagalola and malabutong rattan varieties are normally used in house construction. Tagalola is the rattan employed to lash the bamboo floor slats. Palasan and tagas-on, thicker varieties, are used in making rope, e.g., to tie the goats or carabaos. Abangan, a thick variety, is not suitable for rope-making owing to the deep notches in the stem; it may be used as the anchor rope for bobo. Tagakan is rarely gathered because it is brittle "even when green" according to my informants. Homokan is used to make the woven seats of chairs or beds. Another variety of rattan, tagiti, the narrowest in diameter is used for a variety of purposes.

1 [See p. 682, cat. 335 or 116 -- Analyst]

should point either east or south. The reasons for this custom have been forgotten; some speculated that maybe it was because when one floats bamboo down the river the larger ends point south. If rafters are made of timber instead of bamboo it is impossible to determine the "head" and people ignore the custom. 335 789 777

The next step is to install the sbay-sbay (Plate LXIV, 16) that strengthen the sablayan and balabag; however, if timber is used the sbay-sbay are omitted. The roof framework (panalay) consists of a number of vertical and horizontal slats to which the nipa shingles (atop) are lashed. First the salasonting (Plate LXV, 27) then the hawak (Plate LXV, 26) and finally the katsay (Plate LXV, 23) are added to the roof framework. The thickest end of the bamboo salasonting must be at the peak of the roof; otherwise it is believed the occupants will always be sickly. The katsay should always alternate so the occupants will not suffer from nightmares. The hawak, that run the length of the roof, are tied under those that run the opposite direction; this is done to make it easier to add new nipa shingles. 335 342 [789 777]

Nipa shingles cost from $1.25 to $1.50 per 100 in Siaton. Nipa swamp owners not only sell shingles in the nearby barrios but also send them to Dumaguete. The Siaton bus often stopped along the road, just outside the poblacion, to pick up large bundles of nipa shingles that the owner was taking to Dumaguete. Some go to a nipa swamp and cut the leaves to make one's own shingles, paying 435 438

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the owner for the material. This is cheaper than buying the shingles ready-made.

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Shingles are made of strips of leaves "sewed" with rattan to a narrow bamboo slat. The leaves are doubled over the bamboo and rattan is interwoven below the stick to keep the leaves in place. Plate LXVI[1] illustrates how the shingles are attached to the roof; a nipa roof lasts from six to seven years. The barriofolk normally replace the rotted nipa shingles by twos and threes rather than reroof the entire dwelling; new shingles are added just before the start of a rainy season.

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When the roof framework is finished the roof is shingled. The first step is to put shingles on the silik (Plate LXIV, 10), the roof ridges. Before the first shingle is placed on the silik, a kapia small shell and some river moss are placed under the shingle. As one informant explained:

> In putting on shingles I put a kapia and river moss under the first one. In doing this I say to myself: 'I'll put this kapia here as a lihi so during strong winds the roof won't be destroyed. And I am putting moss here so my house will not be destroyed by fire.'

Another informant said kapia shells are used because "they are very hard to pry off the rocks in the river." Some added a few leaves found floating in the river to serve the same purpose as the river moss.

Many barriofolk consider it unwise to cut rattan by biting it when making the first tie in building a dwelling. One Naga informant told me:

1 [See p.685, cat. 342 or 116 -- Analyst]

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In the first tie of the house with rattan one must be careful not to bite the rattan or else the old people say the house will have many kinds of insects. Maybe they are right. The first house I built I happened to bite the rattan the first time I started to tie; there were plenty of mosquitos in this house, especially during the rainy season. In building this house [the informant's dwelling at the time] I was careful not to bite [the rattan] and there are not many insects, especially mosquitos.

The imitative magic principle is apparent; if one "bites" the rattan the completed house will have many insects that will "bite" the occupants. After the silik is finished, shingles are fixed to the remainder of the roof. Then the bamboo bobong (Plate LXIV, 12) are put along the roof ridges and the da-og (Plate LXIV, 19) added; sometimes the bobong is made of tin. The da-og strengthen the roof and prevent shingles from being blown off during a strong wind.

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When the roof is finished, the floor (salag) framework is begun. (See Plate LXVII.)[1] First pegs are inserted to support the floor beams that may be either bamboo or timber. The bangon are installed after the bamboo hanlag (bosa-og if made of wood) have been put in place. The floor is made of bamboo slats one-half an inch wide and one-fourth an inch apart; the slats are smoothed with the bolo and then either nailed or lasted to the liliman. Such a floor makes a dwelling cooler during the hot season and easier to clean than a solid flooring.

The framework for the door and shutters are now made. The door is usually made of woven strips of bamboo with "hinges" of strong rattan, or fixed to slide in

1 [See p. 687, cat. 342 or 335 Analyst]

grooves. The shutters (takop or sira) are made normally of nipa or buri palm leaves. In some cases the shutters are wooden. 335 342

A general belief is that it is best for the doorway to face either the east or north; most of the Catiogan dwellings do. However, the barrio chapel has two doors, one facing south and the other west, and a group of houses along the base of the Dangpla bluff doorways facing south. Some of these houses are unfinished; the owners eventually plan to have either an east or north doorway. In the poblacion, with its grid street system, there is no attempt to follow this custom. 335 342 789 777 [77]

Barriofolk state that the old people (gulang) thought it wise to have the doorway face either east or north so one's life will always be "rising like the sun" or because rain usually comes from the southwest or west. If the doorway opens to the south or west the occupants of the house will be sickly, not alert during their sleeping hours, or their lives "always setting like the sun does in the west." One informant, whose statement was not backed by the majority of the people, said it was necessary to have the door facing the east or north for otherwise when entering the house "one will go against the 'heads' of the sablayan and balabag."[23]

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[23] Oracion states: "Most houses in the coastal barrios and towns...are constructed so that the main door and stairs face east. This is believed to bring prosperity to the occupants. If the main door entrance faces west, it is believed that the occupants will get sick and may die." Oracion, op. cit., p. 25.

# 778

778 SACRED OBJECTS AND PLACES--conception of sanctity (e.g., possession by an indwelling or frequenting spirit, infusion with impersonal supernatural power); idols and fetishes; extraordinary objects (e.g., bezoar stones, albino animals, mandrake roots); sacred places (e.g., shrines, altars); places of asylum and sanctuary; notions of impersonal supernatural power (e.g., mana, soul-stuff); animatism; beliefs and practices of consecration and desecration; etc.

See also:


Churches and temples . . . . . 346
Heirlooms . . . . . 523
Asylum . . . . . 698
Protective amulets . . . . . 761
Relics . . . . . 765
Conception of the sacred and the profane. . . . 771
Luck amulets. . . . . 777
Notions of uncleanness . . . . . 783
Taboos . . . . . 784
Phallic rites . . . . . 786
Conception of magic force. . . . . 789
Holy men . . . . . 792

Finally the Guardia Civil went to Klofre's barrio to arrest him and suppress the meetings. After several clashes in which some of his followers were killed, Klofre decided to surrender to the authorities to halt any further bloodshed. Another account, however, states that he and his father were secretly visiting a nephew in Zamboanguita poblacion, and that Klofre intended to give himself up when he was surprised by the Guardia Civil. In the struggle to capture Klofre, his father was killed. Klofre and his brother-in-law, Valentin Tubigan, nicknamed "Cachila" (i.e., Spaniard because of his long black beard), were able to escape.[94]

Klofre's escape from the Guardia Civil allegedly was due to his supernatural powers and his anting-anting (amulet). At first the two men established their residence at Sitio Abolay (Aboli), west of Barrio Olambid in the northern part of Siaton municipality.[95] Later they

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[94] Ruiz also states his full name was Valentin Tubigan or "Cachila." Ruiz, op. cit., p. 150. One informant said Klofre was visiting his father's residence in Zamboanguita with no intention of surrendering. While there his dagger began "to bleed." Klofre's father believed this to be a bad omen and urged his son to leave before the Guardia Civil learned he was in the poblacion. Klofre refused and later the soldiers surrounded his father's residence, tied him to a chair and bayoneted his father to death before Klofre's eyes. Because of his supernatural powers, Klofre and Valentin were able to escape.

[95] The former capitan of Zamboanguita (whom I interviewed, when he was eleven years old, claims he actually saw an example of Klofre's magical powers. While at a house with Klofre, the latter requested a glass of water. The water did not arrive quickly and Klofre was quite thirsty, so he knocked a large bamboo, part of the house's structure, and fresh water gushed forth. One day when hungry and without money, Klofre told one of his friends to cut open a squash growing in the field. Inside the squash was found 20 centavos. When his followers were hungry, Klofre is said to have spread his handkerchief on the sea, sailed away, and returned later with plenty of fish.

spirits when he makes his palio. Usually he requests that the spirits punish any individual who tries to secretly interfere with the palio. The palio is performed by a man, but not necessarily by a specialist.

Oracion reports similar practices among the Magahats of Tolong in order to determine whether the spirits approve of a new caingin. In the proposed caingin site the Magahats place a pole and put at the top a small vine roll. The roll of vines is said to symbolize a crown and the stick the diwa (unseen spirits).[11] The cultivator returns home and his dreams for the next three days are interpreted as favorable or unfavorable signs. For example, if he dreams of sickness or death this is a bad omen and the caingin area is abandoned. Normally, however, the cultivators dreams are said to be favorable.[12]

Dream interpretation for selection of a caingin site appears to be more important among the Magahats than in Siaton. The writer did not inquire specifically whether dreams were used as omens in the selection of a caingin but the palio would seem to make dreams superfluous. The

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[11] Diwa was the name for idols in pre-Hispanic Philippines. "Others...reverenced most ugly idols made of stone or wood, which they called divatas." Luis de Jesus, Blair and Robertson, op. cit., XXI, p. 203. Cateugan barrio-folk use diwata today as a synonym for "superstition" and as the name for a rite connected with the fish corral.

[12] Oracion, op. cit., pp. 46-7.

Calendars with pictures of the Holy Family or religious scenes are common in the dwellings; these calendars are distributed free by Dumaguete Chinese merchants. Photographs are fairly typical—pictures of weddings, funerals, relatives, school graduations, etc. A few houses had an aparado, a chest cupboard, often with glass doors.

Every Caticugan dwelling had a family or domestic altar. In some cases the altar was merely a religious picture or a cheap plaster figure of a saint placed on a small shelf or, in one case, on the top of a trunk. A few altars were quite elaborate with two or three religious figures and pictures, vases (often beer bottles) for flowers, and paper cut-out or tinfoil decorations. Some altars have a small tin container filled with coconut oil with a wick made from a twist of kapok or native cotton.[5] The most elaborate altar in Caticugan belonged to two unmarried brothers who lived together; both young men were considered to be bayutes, highly feminine-acting men.

Little care is given most altars; they are often dirty and disarranged. During a novena or the fiesta, however, the altars are cleaned, rearranged and fresh flowers put in the vases.

4 (Continued) and several pages of current events. Personal communication to the writer from Mr. B. Canete, Circulation Manager, Liwayway Publications, Inc., Manila, April 3, 1954. Typescript.

5 There are two varieties of tree cotton in Caticugan, gapas gamay and gapas dako; both were identified as Gossypium brasiliense Macf. Also see Brown, op. cit., II, pp. 401-3.

flowers put in the vases. When a religious service is held at the altar, the coconut oil lamp and a few candles are lighted.[6] 778

Domestic altars of Caticugan are quite similar to those described by Robert Redfield for Tepoztlan. 353 778

> A domestic shrine is found in most houses. This may be no more than a printed or painted picture of a saint, but more commonly it is a carved and painted wooden figure, usually a Virgin or a Christ ...In front of this figure an incense burner...is placed...In it copal gum is burned. [No incense is used for altar services in Caticugan]. Flowers are also placed before the figure, in bottles or vases, and pictures of other saints are hung near the image. This shrine is the center of domestic worship and ritual. Candles are burned before it on feast days...[7]

A few wooden-carved saints can still be seen in Caticugan but, for the most part, they have been replaced by the bright-colored plaster figures sold in Dumaguete or purchased from peddlars who come to the barrios or poblacion during the fiestas.

The frequency of these domestic barrio altars decreases in the poblacion. Some of the more sophisticated think that the barriofolk's altars are primitive; none of the altars seen in the poblacion approached the elaborateness of the two brothers' altar in Barrio Caticugan. Since many principalia of Siaton are Protestants this may explain, in part, the fewer domestic altars that occur in the poblacion. 369 353 778 795

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[6]The life history of one man included a statement that he could escape punishment for a childhood misdeed if he reached the family altar before his father caught him.

[7]Redfield, op. cit., p. 38.

A general pattern does appear, however; the barriofolk more often have domestic altars in their dwellings, of various degrees of elaborateness. These altars are less popular among many of the poblacion principalia (who are Catholics); their popularity and frequency increase in homes of the urban wealthy. Some city homes I visited had a separate room that was a place of worship, a sanctuary with expensive religious pictures and elaborate figures of saints and the Holy Family. The nearness of the local church may account for the decline in number of altars in Siaton poblacion.

Kitchen equipment normally includes the large clay water jar and a dirt and ash-floored cooking platform or hearth (dapog). The small clay pot rests (hornos) cost fifteen cents and are put on the hearth; they resemble the Japanese shichirin. While most barriofolk now use the horno some still cook by setting pots on three stones placed in a triangular position and known as sug-sug.[8] This was the old way of cooking before the horno's introduction. Every kitchen has a few cooking pots. More people are buying iron kettles for cooking. Pot rests (balanka) are made of rattan or corn cobs. (See Plate LVIII.)[1]

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[8] There are a number of riddles concerning the sug-sug.
"Three brothers have but one name." (Bicol)
"What are those three houses facing each other that cannot be burned?" (Igorot)
The answer to both is sug-sug. Buaken, op. cit., pp. 348-50.

1 [See p. 658, Cat. 417 -- Analyst]

The ritualist shortly returned, and one of Pas' sons also went to the table and drank a sip of tuba. If there had been more tuba the son would have emptied the cup and then refilled it. Since only a small amount of tuba was available, he took but a swallow. The ritualist refilled the cup and again walked into the corn rows to mutter his incantations. 243

During the dulot Pas' sons and their male companions snickered and quietly laughed among themselves. Pas and her female companions were quiet but appeared slightly bored. Although the writer's presence may have been a disturbing element, he knew the family well. The participants acted as they would at a social gathering; certainly they showed neither religious awe nor fear. The man performing the dulot was quite serious in mien, but gave no indication of annoyance at the attitude of the young people. 771 781 243

When the offering was finished the table and food were carried inside the house. A rosary then was held by the women for the souls of previous owners of the cornfield. When the rosary was finished a large pot of boiled corn ears and kinalopis were placed on the floor under the center joint of the roof. The pot was surrounded by four plates of boiled fresh-water shrimp. Two girls and one of sons lifted the pot three times; a little food was thrown upward and some was pushed through the floor slats, as a symbolic offering to the souls of Pas' departed parents. 243 [177]

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The group performed this ceremony with much amusement. Then all the guests were served a meal, including food prepared for the dulot offering.

More visitors came later, although not as many as were expected. Pas said this was because six other dulots were being held in Lamtoc the same night! The visitors were given kinalopis to take home; the man who conducted the dulot received an additional gift of food.

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The spatial distribution of the dulot in Caticugan is quite interesting. The dulot is practiced in Talo-ot, by most of the people who cultivate fields west of the main canal in Barrio Caticugan, and in lower Naga. People living east of the main canal in Barrio Caticugan and in upper Naga generally do not hold a dulot before harvesting corn. While the distribution of the dulot in the upper Siaton River valley is not known in detail, it is far more widely practiced in these barrios than in Caticugan. Lamtoc is a small sitio yet in one night six different families were holding a dulot. This attempt to delimit the dulot areas in Caticugan is only approximate. One woman living in Talo-ot cultivated as a tenant, a field between the main path and Caticugan creek; she held a dulot.

It is difficult to determine why the dulot is not held in upper Naga. Many factors are involved. First, there are only a few fields in this area. Second, more people are giving up the dulot in Caticugan than in the more remote barrios fact to be discussed later. Third,

one in the barrio owned a boat. One man had a partnership with a resident of a seaside barrio; the former made the bobo, the latter furnished the boat and they shared the catch equally. This was the only such partnership discovered in Caticugan. The barriofolk of Caticugan depend largely on products of the creek and river for their proteins. Data of diet indicate that pelagic products are not common in the daily diet. The small fish, eels, shrimp, crabs and snails obtained from the creek and river compose the bulk of aquatic foods eaten in Caticugan. The importance of this source of food for rural Filipinos has been overlooked almost entirely.[75]

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As with agricultural and food-gathering activities, pre-Hispanic animism appears in aquatic techniques. The ceremonies related to the construction of boats, fish corrals and the rituals connected with the installation of these devices, reflect deep-rooted beliefs in unseen spirits who are the titular owners of sea products. While some poblacion residents who finance fish corrals are sceptical of these concepts, they usually are tolerant of their workers' attitudes. Perhaps these more sophisticated individuals, not thoroughly convinced of the falsity of these beliefs, take the attitude that "most superstitious practices do no harm and may do some good," a Cebuano saying. These attitudes and customs associated with securing

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[75] The Rivera-McMillan report includes several pages of "typical menus of rural households" (Appendix C) that make no mention of fresh-water shrimp or snails. However, one picture is included (p. 162) that shows a small family eating "rice, small shrimp, and snail for supper." The lack of this information in the typical menus may be due to the barriofolk's hesitation to admit eating snails. Rivera-McMillan, op. cit., pp. 212-3.

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Central Bisayan OA14
Cebuano

[For information pertaining to the description of a Cebu ceremony described by Pigafetta in 1520, see 18: Beyer, OA19 Ifugao, category 116, pp. 92-93.]

Not everyone practices the dulot in Catiesugan or in 243
the other barrios in the Siaton River valley. Some in- 184
formants reported that the present owners or tenants of a 183
field are not required to hold a dulot if the previous
cultivators did not practice this custom. These individ-
uals held no dulot because their "elders did not" or "our
field is not accustomed to it." Most barriofolk, however,
explained that once a dulot is held, they and future
cultivators (be they tenants or owners) are obligated to
continue the practice--the ideal but not the actual
practice.

Explaining the dulot as a pre-harvest ceremony is 243
incomplete. Many barriofolk believe fresh corn should not 784
be sold or given to friends until the dulot is held. It
is possible, however, for the cultivator and his family to
eat fresh corn at home, and to serve guests, prior to the
dulot. While traveling among the barrios along the Siaton
River my assistant sometimes requested fresh corn from his
friends. Several times he was refused because the dulot
had not been held. Once, however, he was given fresh corn
by a relative before his dulot had been performed.

The dulot ceremony is a food offering in the corn 243
field, although some say it may be held in the house. 782
What often happens is that the offering is made to the
spirits in the field and a religious ceremony follows at
the family altar for the deceased. This was done during
one dulot I observed. The dulot is always held at night;
the food is placed on a table in the field as for the

loto. After the field offering, the food is taken to the house and eaten. One informant said they buried their food offering in the field after the dulot, but this is rarely done. 243 782

A person noted for skill in holding dulots may be requested to officiate, although the owner or tenant can hold his own dulot if so desired. An old bachelor in Dangola was frequently requested to officiate at dulots in Caticugan; another recognized expert was said to live in Sandolot. In Naga one dulot was held by brothers and sisters whose fields adjoined. However, in Barrio Caticugan such cooperative dulots were uncommon. 243 791

Certain standard offerings are made in nearly every dulot. These basic items include: (1) seven binaluksan (rice wrapped in coconut leaves and then boiled, (2) one boiled chicken egg (usually but not always shelled), (3) one roasted chicken, (4) seven boiled ears of young corn, (5) seven tilads (tobacco leaves, areca nut, lime, and betel leaves), (6) seven tostos (homemade cigars), (7) seven tigols (homemade cigarettes), (8) seven kinalopis (grated fresh corn wrapped in husks and then boiled), and (9) tuba, usually four cups but sometimes one, two, or seven cups. Other items may be used such as seven nilunan (cakes made from finely ground cornmeal) seven cups of roasted cornmeal "coffee", and incense of the dried sap of the kamanan tree. 243 801

Seven is often a magical number among Caticugan barriofolk. Describing the superstitions of the people of Negros, Echauz wrote: "The number seven comes into all his 243 777 801

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The purposes of the annual bood are: (1) to ensure an easy kill; (2) to protect hunters and dogs from injury; (3) to placate or thank the spirits who might be angered because the pigs lived in their territory; and (4) to hex any other hunters or dogs that hunt wild pigs in the locality delimited during the bood. The implicit assumption is that the spirits own the animals living in their vicinity.

One hunter made his bood in the area where he planned to seek wild pigs. Sometimes the bood may be made "in places where the pigs disappear easily like the headwaters of creeks or woody tangled places"—localities where the spirits are most likely to live. Others state that the bood frequently is made on a knoll of a hill to facilitate delimitation of the locality to be hunted. The bood offering consists of cooked rice, binaluksan, puso, bingka, coconut tuba and sometimes Mallorca.

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The hunter holding the bood may say, for example; "I (We) plan to hunt from this big tree to the top of that hill, down in the valley to that creek, etc." If a stranger should try to hunt in this delimited region he is believed to endanger himself and his dogs. "His dogs will get hurt or they will get sick slowly, becoming thin, not wanting to bark any more and finally they die." After the locality is delimited the hunter will invite all the spirits (naming the places where they are supposed to live, sometimes in distant localities), to come and eat the food offering. The hunter may say, according to one informant:

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I am doing this [making the bood] because I have five dogs for hunting. I hope I can surely catch a wild pig because I have done this. Do not be selfish because I have done these things already. If there are other hunters who enter this area I ask you do not give it [pigs] to them. I hope also that their dogs will be hurt.

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One of the most noted boar hunters and expert in the bood (I was always referred to him when inquiring about the practice), who lived in Naga, stated:

When I used to hunt wild pigs I always performed a yearly bood. But since my wife died I no longer hunt because there is no one to care for my dogs while I work in the fields. I made my yearly bood in the mountains where nobody knew the place except myself. I used a live chicken and other food for the offering. The feathers of the chicken were like those I saw in my dreams. You see when you are familiar with these practices the taglomi [another name for encangtos] will let you dream and the following day you will make the bood.

Some hunters hold a bood for a premicias (thanksgiving) for every pig killed. This bood is often held because during the annual bood the hunter promised to make an offering for every pig killed. The food offered is similar to all offerings made to spirits except that the head, liver, heart and tail of each pig killed is added, cooked without any seasoning. One hunter said this was done because these parts "symbolize the whole pig." If a hunter killed three pigs, then he would use the three heads, livers, hearts, and tails. The offering is made under the house; the food is placed on a table. The hunter invites the spirits to come from various localities, shakes the table vigorously, and thanks them for the kill. Then the parts of the pig are taken to the kitchen, recooked with seasoning, and eaten by the hunter's family.

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Present day Barrio Caticugan's land was later purchased by Father Manuel Cabriada on Romero's transfer to Dumaguete. Later Cabriada was sent as the first missionary to Tolong. In 1872 Cabriada returned to Siaton. When Julio Adan replaced Cabriada he purchased the land and later sold it to Lucas Ege for fifteen dollars. Lucas Ege lived to be quite old; he died around 1898, according to his grandson. While the exact date is unknown, Ege's development of Caticugan must have begun after 1872 and before 1898. I estimate Ege began to drain the land and settle it with his relatives about 1885.

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Before its purchase by Ege, the pocket-size plain of Caticugan was a bog. Little of the land could be cultivated and planted with rice. The ground was so boggy that "carabaos could not walk on most of the land" and "a lighted cigar dropped on the earth would ignite it. The ground would burn, without smoke, just like ashes." Ege's friends warned him that the land was haunted for they saw mysterious torches there at night, the eerie handiwork of the <u>sncangtos</u> (unseen spirits). Lucas Ege, however, purchased the land and began to build a series of drainage canals in order to increase the cultivable area.

[784]

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Before the 1896 Siaton River flood, the river ran at the base of the Dangola bluff and turned southward along the present course of Caticugan Creek. After this flood, the Siaton changed its course to its present bed.

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the other barrios in the Siaton River valley. Some in- 184
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20: Hart OA14 Central Bisayan OA14

241, 777, 787, 789, 796

[For discussions of agricultural ceremonies, and of associated magical concepts, see category 241, pp. 280-284 (palio), p. 285 (buhatan), pp. 294-299 (loto), pp. 394-396 (camote-planting lihi), pp. 399-400 (cassava-planting lihi); category 243, pp. 304-306 (rice-planting lihi), p. 308 (rice-transplanting lihi), pp. 313-316 (rice-harvesting lihi), pp. 334-337 (corn-planting lihi), pp. 339-340 (protective charms for cornfields), pp. 342-359 (dulot), pp. 359-361 (other practices associated with corn agriculture); category 245, pp. 377-385 (guhang lihi), p. 404 (coconut-planting lihi). --Analyst]

113, 241, 777, 787, 789, 796 Central Bisayan OA14

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In case Moros were sighted the watcher would sound the alarm by using a big sea shell called Budyong. The sound of this shell could be heard in all parts of Kalumpang. The people in those days were always ready to flee when the Budyong was heard. They always had their carabaos saddled and their belongings packed so, at any moment, when the Moros came, they could quickly escape to the mountains with their belongings and carabaos.

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During this period another Moro captive from the locality escaped his wardens. Once home he told how the Moros made him fight "like a cock in bulangan (cockpit) with other Moros." He was finally freed by his captors because he won so many of his fights.

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Another stone watch tower was built at Baybay, at the mouth of the Siaton River. One old informant of Naga remembered stories from his childhood about the Moros.

> The watcher would blow his Budyong when he saw Moro boats. The people, on hearing the sound, would get their spears and bows and arrows and go to the beach to meet the Moros...I once heard a story about the Moros when I was a small boy. This was before the tower was built at Baybay and watchers posted at the beach. Then the Moros could land freely there. There was a woman who lived near the tower. One day she was weaving abaca unaware that Moros were landing at the beach. In those days whenever a toko [large house lizard] made a noise, we would ask them: 'Will it rain today: Will it not rain today, etc.' Whatever we said when the toko made its last noise was supposed to come true. This day the woman asked a noisy toko: 'Will the Moros come today: Will the Moros not come today, etc.' The toko stopped making noise on the question: 'Will the Moros come today.' The woman then looked into the silong [the space under the raised house] and saw the Moros.
>
> The Moros were surprised that this woman knew they were coming and asked her how she knew. She told them about the toko. The Moros took the toko with them in a piece of bamboo from the loom they destroyed. But they let the woman go free.

According to the gulang [old people] when the Moro boats were far out to sea there occurred a strong wind and rain. Maybe the Moros were baliw [supernaturally cursed with bad luck] because of the toko. 175* 187 825

This why today the gulang will say to a child who oversleeps: 'My God!, if it were like the old days when the Moros came to our place to make captives, children who overslept would find on awakening they would be sleeping in a Moro boat far out at sea.' The children today reply: 'I don't believe you.'

Founding of Siaton Poblacion

Kalumpang proved to be an unsatisfactory site because of its hilly nature and rocky soil. 175* 166 Capitan Francisco Sugboanon, who had been re-elected in 1827, and the former capitana met, discussed the matter, and brought it to the attention of the people. The barriofolk were divided on the selection of a new site. The people living in Bondo, Canaway, and Inalad wanted the new location to be on their (east) side of the Canaway River. The inhabitants of Mangudkod (who had not migrated to Kalumpang), Lingaton (a sitio of Sandolot), Dolog, Casala-an, Sandolot, Datag, and Mantuyop desired the new community to be located on the Canaway's west bank.

It was finally decided, due to the differences of opinion, to hold a paleo. A paleo was a method of voting, particularly well-suited for illiterate groups. Every individual, young and old, man and woman, had one vote, i.e., one stone. These stones were to be put in a certain spot on a designated day. 175* 623

Finally the Guardia Civil went to Klofre's barrio to arrest him and suppress the meetings. After several clashes in which some of his followers were killed, Klofre decided to surrender to the authorities to halt any further bloodshed. Another account, however, states that he and his father were secretly visiting a nephew in Zamboanguita poblacion, and that Klofre intended to give himself up when he was surprised by the Guardia Civil. In the struggle to capture Klofre, his father was killed. Klofre and his brother-in-law, Valentin Tubigan, nicknamed "Cachila" (i.e., Spaniard because of his long black beard), were able to escape.[94]

Klofre's escape from the Guardia Civil allegedly was due to his supernatural powers and his anting-anting (amulet). At first the two men established their residence at Sitio Abolay (Aboli), west of Barrio Olambid in the northern part of Siaton municipality.[95] Later they

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[94] Ruiz also states his full name was Valentin Tubigan or "Cachila." Ruiz, op. cit., p. 150. One informant said Klofre was visiting his father's residence in Zamboanguita with no intention of surrendering. While there his dagger began "to bleed." Klofre's father believed this to be a bad omen and urged his son to leave before the Guardia Civil learned he was in the poblacion. Klofre refused and later the soldiers surrounded his father's residence, tied him to a chair and bayoneted his father to death before Klofre's eyes. Because of his supernatural powers, Klofre and Valentin were able to escape.

[95] The former capitan of Zamboanguita (whom I interviewed, when he was eleven years old, claims he actually saw an example of Klofre's magical powers. While at a house with Klofre, the latter requested a glass of water. The water did not arrive quickly and Klofre was quite thirsty, so he knocked a large bamboo, part of the house's structure, and fresh water gushed forth. One day when hungry and without money, Klofre told one of his friends to cut open a squash growing in the field. Inside the squash was found 20 centavos. When his followers were hungry, Klofre is said to have spread his handkerchief on the sea, sailed away, and returned later with plenty of fish.

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Influences that came from India, either through mainland Southeast Asia (Malaya or Champa) and directly to the Philippines, or indirectly from the southern islands of present-day Indonesia, are still apparent in Caticugan. The importance of astrology to determine the most opportune times for certain activities is typical of the Hinayana Buddhist countries of Burma and Thailand--and also China. Traces of art styles, first originating in India, can be seen in the Garuda-like heads on the bolos of Caticugan.

Beyer believes that the "principal phases" of Neolithic culture reached the Philippines directly from northern and southern China. From this period to the present, Chinese contacts with the Philippines have continued. If there is little visible Chinese content in Caticugan, this also is typical of the Philippines as a whole. Kroeber writes: "There is scarcely an institution, piece of knowledge, or religious belief current in the Philippines that can be derived with certainty from China."[174] The Chinese were rarely interested in meddling or interfering with Filipino ways of living; they came as merchants and their impact was largely economic.[175]

This is not to imply that the Chinese did not influence Philippine culture. Manuel documents the words

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[174]Kroeber, op. cit., p. 17.

[175]H. Otley Beyer, "Early History of Philippine Relations with Foreign Countries, Especially China" in Arsenio E. Manuel, Chinese Elements in the Tagalog Language. Manila, Filipiniana Publications, 1948, p. xvi.

spirits when he makes his palio. Usually he requests that the spirits punish any individual who tries to secretly interfere with the palio. The palio is performed by a man, but not necessarily by a specialist. 241 [462] [463]

Oracion reports similar practices among the Magahats of Tolong in order to determine whether the spirits approve of a new caingin. In the proposed caingin site the Magahats place a pole and put at the top a small vine roll. The roll of vines is said to symbolize a crown and the stick the diwa (unseen spirits).[11] The cultivator returns home and his dreams for the next three days are interpreted as favorable or unfavorable signs. For example, if he dreams of sickness or death this is a bad omen and the caingin area is abandoned. Normally, however, the cultivators dreams are said to be favorable.[12] 241 787

Dream interpretation for selection of a caingin site appears to be more important among the Magahats than in Siaton. The writer did not inquire specifically whether dreams were used as omens in the selection of a caingin but the palio would seem to make dreams superfluous. The

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[11] Diwa was the name for idols in pre-Hispanic Philippines. "Others...reverenced most ugly idols made of stone or wood, which they called divatas." Luis de Jesus, Blair and Robertson, op. cit., XXI, p. 203. Cateugan barrio-folk use diwata today as a synonym for "superstition" and as the name for a rite connected with the fish corral. [778]

[12] Oracion, op. cit., pp. 46-7.

methods of selecting a new caingin and a new house site are quite similar; this is understandable since the purpose is to determine the wishes of the spirits that inhabit the spot. (See Chapter VIII.)

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Clearing the Caingin

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The clearing to be cultivated is cut during the dry season. First the vines, grasses and small trees are slashed--a process called ganas. The larger trees are then cut with axes or bolos and the biggest trees are cut last. This is to permit the grass and undergrowth to dry before the larger trees are felled. After the larger trees are cut--usually only girdled--the limbs are trimmed so the trunks will lie flat and burn better. This process is called gasap.

After the debris is dry, the clearing is fired. The general period of burning caingins in southern Negros is from February to May, although most of the caingins are fired in April or May. The extent of caingin agriculture in Siaton is difficult accurately to determine. In 1950 the Municipal Agriculture Agent of Siaton estimated there were 296 acres of upland rice planted in the municipality. One can see caingins on both sides of the Siaton River valley. Since few trips were made among the hills beyond the valley the extent of caingin agriculture in this area is not known. During the burning season, however, there were no spectacular night fires or smoke palls over the mountains to the north to indicate widespread caingin firing.

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> As you will note, the mixture of species under two of the common names are mixtures of what we understand as biological species in the same genus; in other words, the people, in identifying these snails by common names, are pretty closely following the lines of their biological relationships. In the case of the 'Bokgay', the two species of Neritina are very closely related. Again, in the case of the snails called 'Soso', the four species mixed thereunder are very closely related.[2]

The most common snails in the Siaton River, and therefore those most frequently gathered, are the Red-Mouth Ungka, Kapia and Tibo-Tibo. The other less abundant types are collected when available. While most barriofolk insisted that Soso and Igalao were the same snail with different names, others said they were different--that the Soso was larger, blacker and had a different coloration around the orifice than the Igalao. The White-Mouth Ungka (Bokgay) was reported to be "most plentiful ~~when there are many stars~~ in the sky." Bokgay snails, rarely found in the vicinity of Caticugan, are more common in the Siaton River beyond Sandolot and Balanan, and "in mountain streams." Bong-Bong are uncommon in the river near Caticugan and disappear north of Sitio Lantoc. One resident of Datag said when Bong-Bong are found in the Siaton River near his barrio it was a sign of a coming flood. [87]

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[2]Personal communication to the writer from Dr. Morrison, August 6, 1951. Identification of these snails and other aquatic life was made possible through the courtesy of Dr. Morrison and Dr. Harold A. Rehder, Curator, Division of Mollusks, Smithsonian Institution.

20: Hart E-5 (1951) 1954 OA1 Philippines
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ASSOCIATED PRACTICES: When to Begin House Construction

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Construction of a Caticugan barrio dwelling involves various associated practices. Certain months are considered best to start building of a new house, for various practices concerned with building methods, and for numerous ceremonies appropriate after the house is completed.

For advice on when to begin construction of a house most barriofolk consult a small astrology booklet, Napta Lunario.[17] (No one knew what Napta meant; Lunario was translated as "something to do with the moon.") The subtitle of this booklet states that it is:

> The true story of the fate of all people. With the stars that go together at the time you were born, the day that is good for planting, to build a house, buying, making love, or getting married, etc. What is the significance of nights with no moon, etc.

However, the role of astrology in the life of the people in Caticugan is not as prominent as in mainland southeast Asia--Burma and Thailand--where hardly a decision is reached that is not influenced by astrological readings.

In fact, the Napta does not seem to be widely used by the barriofolk except for practices connected with house construction. I never heard of anyone consulting the book to determine when to plant fields, make love or get married; all Napta references were made when information was collected for this chapter. Not everyone has

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[17] Primo J. Alvez. Napta Lunario, Cebu City, Bacalso Press, Basak, Pardo, 1938.

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a copy of the book; they consult one owned by a friend or neighbor. One illiterate informant had his daughter read a friend's Napta to determine when he should start the building of a new dwelling. Much of the information probably has become part of the people's folklore.

According to Napta unfavorable months to start building a new house are February, March, Apri, August, and December. According to Napta, if a house is started in these months its future occupants will be visited by serious illness, death, thunder, or lightning, and the owner will not be prosperous or happy. December is considered worst; this was the month that "King Herode of Judea ordered the beheading of the children." A house built during favorable months, June, July, September, October and November, is blessed by God, the occupants will prosper and have no misunderstandings with their neighbors. Some people state that months containing an R are favorable for beginning the construction of a new house.[18]

Barriofolk do not agree perfectly as to good and bad months. For example, Napta states that April is a bad month but some people said it was a good month. The belief that the months which contain an R are favorable conflicts with the recommendations of Napta that are more widely accepted. September, the peak of the rainy season, is considered by most people to be one of the

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[18] Enero, Pibrero, Marso, Abril, Septiyembri, Octubri, Obiyembri and Disyembri are months with an R in Cebuano; Maro, Hunyo, Hulyo, and Agosto lack an R.

best months in the year to begin a new dwelling; then it is easier to dig the deep post holes, and follows the first corn harvest, a period of less activity. Whether these factors really are involved is not known; none of the people cited them as reasons for selecting September. 335 777 787.

The important requirement is to start construction of the house during a favorable month; building activities can continue during unfavorable months. One man, working on a new house in August, was questioned if this were wise since the month is unfavorable according to Hapta. He replied that it was all right for he had raised the house posts in June--a favorable month.[19]

The construction of a barrio dwelling rarely continues without a break until the house is finished. Building activities often extend over a period of months. Posts may be erected and nothing done for a month until the family is able to buy or prepare materials for the framework and walls. Sometimes only the roof and kitchen walls are finished; one family was living in such a house in Talo-ot. In the poblacion another family began to purchase house posts and timber for a residence two years before actual construction began. Several Catiougan families lived in semi-completed dwellings for months. Often the kitchen is added long after the completion of the one-room dwelling; until then cooking is done under the house. 335 461 342

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[19] One poblacion informant, a member of the principalia, said it was all right to begin construction of a house during June but if one did his children would grow up selfish. He also told how he once warned a Chinese merchant in the poblacion not to begin his house during an unfavorable month; the warning was not heeded and a few weeks after the house was completed it burned to the ground. The Chinese had fallen asleep while smoking; his opium pipe fell from his mouth and started the fire.

## SELECTION OF A HOUSE SITE

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The same animistic concept that underlies saingin selection applies to selection of a house site. One must determine if the spirits approve or disapprove of the chosen location. The balisa is the most widespread method of selecting a house site in Caticugan; one might say that it kills two birds with one stone.

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To measure the correct distance between the four post holes (there may be more posts) four equal lengths of bamboo are prepared; a small hole is made in each end of each bamboo stick. The sticks are then arranged in a square on the ground and small pegs are driven through the holes, holding the square to the earth. Diagonals are then measured from northeast to southwest and southeast to northwest; if these diagonals are the same length this is deemed a favorable sign from the spirits. However, if the spirits object to a dwelling on that spot, no matter how carefully the bamboo square is made the diagonals will never be equal. The site is usually abandoned or the process repeated until a favorable response is obtained. The balisa has a practical aspect for if the diagonals are equal then the bamboo square has located the four post holes.

One Naga informant explained how he selected his house site in 1950. Questions in () I asked during the interview.

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I got a stick six feet long and split it into two pieces. I placed one part in the place where I wanted to build the house and said to myself: [loud enough so the spirits could hear] 'I will put this stick here and I have another stick of the same length that I shall sleep with tonight. I shall measure the two sticks tomorrow; if they are of the same length I will build my house here. If not, I shall look for another place. So while I sleep tonight you [the spirits] let me dream if you want me to build my house here or not.' When I went to sleep that night I slept with the stick. The next morning I measured the two sticks; and they were the same length so I built my house here.

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I also buried a green coconut, one that when you shake it you cannot hear the water inside. I let it stay in the ground all night and the next morning I dug it up. I shook it but I could not hear the water. According to the old people, all omens were good. If I had heard the water when I shook the coconut the old men say the site would be a hot one. (What do you mean by 'hot'?) I do not know what they mean by hot; I just follow what the old people say. (Did you have a dream the night you slept with the stick?) No, that is why I decided to build my house here.

~~Other people said the coconut remains buried for one week.~~

Often the balisa may be accompanied by other practices to determine whether the spirits object. One family, two days after holding a favorable balisa, put a small cross in what would be the center between the four post holes of the proposed house. A loop of sig-id vine (rattan is also used) about 6 feet long was put on one arm of the cross. The next morning the vine was measured and it was found to be the same length. This was interpreted as an omen that the spirits approved of the site. If the vine had been shorter or longer than 6 feet this would have been an unfavorable sign from the spirits. An almost identical method of selecting new house sites exists among the Magahats. A cross is put in the site and a vine hung

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on it; two days later the owner returns. If he is able to separate the vine, without a break, in two parts the site is a favorable one.[20]

Another method of selecting a house site is to mark a square on the ground on the proposed site. A cross and as many stones as there are members in the family are put inside this square. If some of the stones are missing the next morning this is an unfavorable omen. One family in Talo-ot repeated this method three times until finally the same number of stones were at the base of the cross as were put there the evening before. The spirits appear to be amenable to persistence and doggedness on the part of humans.

## CONSTRUCTION OF THE DWELLING

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The first step in the actual construction of a new dwelling is to dig the post holes. A blunt iron-pointed digging stick (gabok) is used to loosen the dirt that is scooped out of the hole with one's hands or a coconut shell. When the hole becomes so deep that it is difficult to reach the bottom the songsong is employed. The songsong is a sturdy bamboo whose end is split in many places; when pounded into the loose dirt these ends flare outward and the earth is packed inside. The songsong is then withdrawn from the hole and the dirt shaken out.

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[20] Oracion, op. cit., pp. 21-2. The same method of locating the four post holes, as described by the balisa, is also used by the Magahats; however, it does not appear to have any supernatural purpose.

(rice wrapped in coconut leaves and then boiled), one plate of cooked rice, and four bamboo containers of tuba made from either the coconut or sdiok palms.[20] 241 574 801

Guests normally do not participate in the offering but stand or sit around the edges of the field. Some women may be inside the house preparing food for the meal that follows the ceremony. If the caingin owner feels confident, he may conduct the ceremony himself. Otherwise he will request a man well-versed in the ritual to make his offering. The "speech" given during the brief ritual, however, appears to be an improvisation and not a recitation that requires a nimble memory. Yet many people do not wish to perform the ceremonies for the loto or the dulot because they believe any mistakes might offend the unseen spirits they seek to please. 241 574 241 537

The ceremony is always conducted by a man. No cases were reported of a woman who made the loto or dulot; this is interesting because the magical rites connected with lowland agriculture are normally performed by women. The man goes to the center of the caingin and stands by by the table. Speaking to the spirits and kalags (souls) of the parents or relatives of the caingin cultivator, he invites them to dine on the proffered food. The specialist may repeat his invitation in a whisper or speak loudly. According to one female informant, what is said usually is: 241 537 [790] [462] 241 537 788

[20] The Magahats offer one chicken, seven tilad, seven rice cakes, sever tinostos, two glasses of tuba, and three candles. Oracion, op. cit., p. 59-60.

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> Here is tuba, here is loto, binaluksan, bina-ang, tilad, tinostos, tinigol [tigol] eggs and roasted chicken. Here are the things that we offer, the fruit of our labor. We have now fulfilled and we hope that next year the crop will be as good as this year. You that have lived here before don't be surprised at us who live here now. And if we are working here don't be surprised either.[21]

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When the ceremonies are finished the food is taken from the saingin to the owner's house or temporary shelter. Before the offering and the other prepared food are eaten a rosary is said by the women. This is a Catholic addition to the original ceremony.[22]

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Inside the house a large winnowing basket (niggo) is filled with cooked rice. In the center of the heaped rice are stuck many rice heads harvested from the saingin. All the people present eat some of the rice. No rice may be returned to the pots; it is believed if this happens the next harvest will not be abundant. Souls of the saingin cultivator's parents and relatives are invited to partake and are requested to make future harvests plentiful and to give the cultivator and his family good health and long life.

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[21] The original text is: "Niay tuba, niay loto, binaluksan, bina-ang, tilad, tinostos, tinigol, itlog, manok inasal. Niay naman ning among ibulang among abut nakatuman naman in bason podlaman inaron ug maayo gihapon, kamong namoyo dinhi sa una dila lawan ikatingala kaning gapoyo dinhing bagohanay lamam. Ug magtrabaho ini dinhi ayaw laman mi ug kiatingola."

[22] It is interesting to note that the Magahat ceremony makes no mention of the souls of the cultivator's parents or relatives. It might be supposed that the addition of the souls to the loto described above is due to Catholic influence. This is probably not the case since the pre-Hispanic Filipinos had well-developed concepts regarding the worship and placating of their dead. Oracion, op. cit., pp. 57-62.

Finally two young boys and a girl are selected from 241
the group and their mouths are stuffed with roasted rice. 188
The person who puts the rice into the boys' mouths repeats: "Pokpok bata" and for the girl "Pokpok baye." Pokpok means "plenty" or "full" while bata and baye mean "boy" and "girl" respectively. The purpose of this ceremony is to ensure a full storehouse of rice for the caingin cultivator after the next year's harvest. Now the guests eat and if there are sufficient young people present, and some who can play guitars, a dance may follow. One woman enthusiastically said that the "loto is the happiest part of the harvest season in the mountains."

It is difficult to assess the importance of the 262
food the barriofolk of Caticugan obtain through bartering with or working for caingin cultivators. Caingin gleaners probably are those whose food supply is very low; dried cassava and camote chips are not a popular or widely eaten food in Caticugan. Dried cassava and camote chips often are eaten during the "starvation months," the period following the rice harvest, before the first corn crop is mature. Women who went to Padang during March were mothers and wives searching for food for their families during this period of food shortage. Corn and rice obtained from upland caingins are important supplementary foods for those who make the tiring hike to the mountains to harvest in steep-sloped caingins.

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[For discussions of agricultural ceremonies, and of associated magical concepts, see category 241, pp. 280-284 (palio), p. 285 (buhatan), pp. 294-299 (loto), pp. 394-396 (camote-planting lihi), pp. 399-400 (cassava-planting lihi); category 243, pp. 304-306 (rice-planting lihi), p. 308 (rice-transplanting lihi), pp. 313-316 (rice-harvesting lihi), pp. 334-337 (corn-planting lihi), pp. 339-340 (protective charms for cornfields), pp. 342-359 (dulot), pp. 359-361 (other practices associated with corn agriculture); category 245, pp. 377-385 (guhang lihi), p. 404 (coconut-planting lihi). --Analyst]

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[For discussions of agricultural ceremonies, and of associated magical concepts, see 20: Hart, OA1 Philippines, category 116, pp. 280-284 (palio), p. 285 (buhatan), pp. 294-299 (loto), pp. 394-396 (camote-planting lihi), pp. 399-400 (cassava-planting lihi), pp. 304-306 (rice-planting lihi), p. 308 (rice-transplanting lihi), pp. 313-316 (rice-harvesting lihi), pp. 334-337 (corn-planting lihi), pp. 339-340 (protective charms for cornfields), pp. 342-359 (dulot), pp. 359-361 (other practices associated with corn agriculture), pp. 377-385 (guhang lihi), p. 404 (coconut-planting lihi). --Analyst]

Indian and Arabic concepts were reinterpreted by their bearers, in most cases, before the customs reached the Filipinos. The last two alien cultures to leave their imprint on the Filipinos were Spanish and American, often termed the western Christian strata. 177

Pre-Hispanic traditions and customs are still visible in Caticugan. Contacts with Negros' Negritos appear to have stopped in Siaton during the first part of the 20th century. Few people in Caticugan had ever seen a Negrito. Evidence of a slight Negrito imprint on the barriofolk's way of life exists, however, in the latter's agricultural rites, use of certain plants, and folklore. Yet the barriofolk of Caticugan took very little from the Negritos that remains today; the cultural interchange probably was in the opposite direction, from Filipinos to Negritos, as was typical in most of the Philippines. 174

Drastic reinterpretations of the pre-Hispanic Malaysian cultural base have occurred in Caticugan. However, animism is still a vital force in the community, perpetuating a major Filipino religious concept prior to the Spaniard's arrival. The resistance of the Malaysian stratum to Mohammedanism, Catholicism and Protestanism is remarkable. Few aspects of barrio life escape the influence of animism--hunting and gathering activities, fishing, agricultural practices, attitudes toward disease, and the concept of nature itself. Imitative magic, another Malaysian trait that spread as far west as Madagascar, also exists in Caticugan. 174 774 178 789

When the holes[1] are dug, the posts are laid beside them. Their tops point in a particular direction, depending on the month. Napta states that for January, February and March the posts must face the northeast, for the following three months the southwest, for the next three months to the east and for the last three months toward the northeast. The directions correlate with the southwest and northeast monsoons. This custom is to prevent accidents to the house such as fire or flood. 335 189 777

Some informants said that the tops of the posts should be pointed with the wind. Two dwellings in Caticugan were begun in June and the posts were pointed toward the southwest before they were placed in their holes. Sometimes the post ends are charred to prevent termites from eating the wood after it is in the ground.

Putting heavy posts in their holes appears to be one of the few occasions for a palihog; several palihogs were witnessed in Caticugan for this task. In one case friends and neighbors of one man were invited to help him and his son put posts in holes already dug. Eight men came; when they finished the job, which took about an hour, they ate a meal prepared by the owner. After the meal the men went home but not until some of their wives and children also had come to eat. 335 574 476

There are different ways of erecting bamboo house posts. (See Plate LXIII.)[2] Since bamboo rots quickly in the ground a few barrio houses had bamboo house posts that rested on stone foundations. In one case short 335 342

wooden posts were put in the holes and cut so they fitted inside the larger bamboos that supported the house. In this manner the bamboo posts did not enter the earth. These techniques of preparing bamboo house posts, however, are not widespread since wooden posts are normally used. 335 342

Before the house posts are erected, various items are put in the holes; this practice is followed by nearly all barriofolk. Table XL[1] indicates items placed in the holes and the reasons for so doing. Magahat men chew betel nut and lime and spit red saliva into the post holes: "This procedure is to show respect to the spirits of the place."[21] Spanish coins are considered superior to contemporary Philippine coins, although the latter are used if the former are unavailable. One builder purchased Spanish coins from a neighbor for his post hole ceremony. 335 342 789 777

As in most of these practices to honor or placate the spirits, the combination of items vary but a "core" is accepted by nearly all people. The "stock" items are tilala, kalipay, mik, damolmog, gabigabi, and the pieces of a broken frying pan. It is desirable but not necessary to have an adequate number of each item so one may be put in every post hole. One woman spent an afternoon collecting items for the post hole ceremony; the new house had six posts. She was unable to obtain all items in sixes. The items were dropped into the holes, beginning with the northeast hole, in a counter-clock-wise fashion; the ceremony was done quickly by the woman with no religious

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[21] Oracion, op. cit., pp. 22-3.

1 [See p. 678 cat. 335, 342, 789, or 777 -- Analyst]

20: Hart E-5 (195.) 1964 OA1 Philippines
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TABLE XI.

ITEMS USED IN POST HOLE CEREMONY
FOR A NEW DWELLING
CATIGUGAN, 1951

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| Items | Purposes |
|---|---|
| 1. Small lagit (live) stones from river rapids. | 1. To prevent fire; to protect the house from strong winds so the dwelling will not be carried away as the stones are not washed away in the river rapids; to make the house posts last longer; to make occupants happy while living in the house; to make them have a "watery, cold mind," i.e., not quick to anger. |
| 2. Tilala leaves (Cordyline fruticosa A. Chev). | 2. So the spirits will not be surprised when they see people living in the new dwelling. |
| 3. Kalipay leaves. (Kalipay means "happiness"). | 3. So household members will always be happy and courteous when visitors come. |
| 4. Mik (Spanish coins) or Philippine coins; salt is sometimes used as a substitute. | 4. To prevent termites from destroying the house posts; so members of the family will not be sickly. |
| 5. Damolmog (a green river moss) and gabigabi, an underwater river plant. | 5. So the house will not burn. The connection is that these two plants are always under water. |
| 6. Paliko leaves. | 6. So household members will always be happy and contented. |
| 7. Any type of flower. | 7. Same purpose as kalipay and paliko. |
| 8. Pieces of a broken frying pan. | 8. To make the house strong; to make the occupants of the house live harmoniously, to sleep peacefully in the house. |

TABLE XL (Continued)

| Items | | Purposes |
|---|---|---|
| 9. Beads from the dumdum necklace. (Dumdum means "to remember.") | 9. | So household members, if they move, will never forget their home and return some day. |
| 10. Kaboy leaves | 10. | So household members will always be kind to visitors. |

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overtones. This is the common practice but no one could explain why the northeast hole was selected or a counter-clock-wise movement appropriate.

Framework Construction

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The accompanying drawing of a barrio dwelling represents a little better type than is typical for Caticugan as a whole. (See Plate LXIV.)[1] Most houses do not have wooden shutters, the porch usually is not as elaborate, and posts normally are wood instead of bamboo. Basically, however, the sketch represents the average Caticugan dwelling. Some houses were more huts than dwellings, raised only a foot from the surface, with one small room. Only one house in the barrio had wooden walls; this dwelling belonged to the most affluent resident of the community.

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After the posts have been placed in their holes, a plumb line is used to get them straight. Then earth is tamped around them so they are firmly fixed. If bamboo posts are used braces, pelepol, (Plate LXIV, 2)[1] may be added to strengthen the uprights. Only two houses in

1 [See p. 680, Cat. 342 -- Analyst]

335 [435]

Caticugan had cement forms to which wooden house posts were bolted by iron straps embedded in the concrete. The cost of cement, made in nearby Cebu Island, was so high in 1951-52 that few families could afford to buy several sacks when building a new house.

After the posts have been installed a temporary bracing (dalamba)--the same term used for fish corral bracing--is lashed to the posts on which barefoot workers stand while building the roof. Once the bracing is finished holes are bored in the upper portions of the posts to insert pegs (tarogos) that support the rafter beams. (See Plates LXV, 30, and LXV-A.)[1]

[342 435]

Rafter beams are normally lashed with rattan. The barriofolk tend to use nails or nuts and bolts to fix the various rafters when wood and not bamboo is used. Rattan, however, is still more popular and cheaper.[22]

335 789 777

After the pegs are fixed in the posts, the sablayan (Plate LXV, 22) and balabag (Plate LXV, 28)[1] rafter beams are added and lashed in place with rattan. The "heads" or larger ends of the bamboo sablayan and balabag should

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[22] Barriofolk may gather their rattan (oway) in the mountains or buy it. Rattan gathered for house construction, is cut in lengths about 12 feet long. There are many names for different varieties of rattan, usually based upon their use. Manamao, malabagakay, tagalola and malabutong rattan varieties are normally used in house construction. Tagalola is the rattan employed to lash the bamboo floor slats. Palasan and tagsa-on, thicker varieties, are used in making rope, e.g., to tie the goats or carabaos. Abangan, a thick variety, is not suitable for rope-making owing to the deep notches in the stem; it may be used as the anchor rope for bobo. Tagakan is rarely gathered because it is brittle "even when green" according to my informants. Homokan is used to make the woven seats of chairs or beds. Another variety of rattan, tagiti, the narrowest in diameter is used for a variety of purposes.

1 [See p. 682, cat. 335 or 116 -- Analyst]

should point either east or south. The reasons for this custom have been forgotten; some speculated that maybe it was because when one floats bamboo down the river the larger ends point south. If rafters are made of timber instead of bamboo it is impossible to determine the "head" and people ignore the custom. 335 789 777

The next step is to install the sbay-sbay (Plate LXIV, 16) that strengthen the sublayan and balabag; however, if timber is used the sbay-sbay are omitted. The roof framework (pamalay) consists of a number of vertical and horizontal slats to which the nipa shingles (atop) are lashed. First the salamonting (Plate LXV, 27) then the hawak (Plate LXV, 26) and finally the katsaw (Plate LXV, 23) are added to the roof framework. The thickest end of the bamboo salamonting must be at the peak of the roof; otherwise it is believed the occupants will always be sickly. The katsaw should always alternate so the occupants will not suffer from nightmares. The hawak, that run the length of the roof, are tied under those that run the opposite direction; this is done to make it easier to add new nipa shingles. 335 342 [789 777]

Nipa shingles cost from ₱1.25 to ₱1.50 per 100 in Siaton. Nipa swamp owners not only sell shingles in the nearby barrios but also send them to Dumaguete. The Siaton bus often stopped along the road, just outside the poblacion, to pick up large bundles of nipa shingles that the owner was taking to Dumaguete. Some go to a nipa swamp and cut the leaves to make one's own shingles, paying 435 438

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the owner for the material. This is cheaper than buying the shingles ready-made.

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Shingles are made of strips of leaves "sewed" with rattan to a narrow bamboo slat. The leaves are doubled over the bamboo and rattan is interwoven below the stick to keep the leaves in place. Plate LXVI[1] illustrates how the shingles are attached to the roof; a nipa roof lasts from six to seven years. The barriofolk normally replace the rotted nipa shingles by twos and threes rather than reroof the entire dwelling; new shingles are added just before the start of a rainy season.

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When the roof framework is finished the roof is shingled. The first step is to put shingles on the silik (Plate LXIV, 10), the roof ridges. Before the first shingle is placed on the silik, a kapia snail shell and some river moss are placed under the shingle. As one informant explained:

> In putting on shingles I put a kapia and river moss under the first one. In doing this I say to myself: 'I'll put this kapia here as a lihi so during strong winds the roof won't be destroyed. And I am putting moss here so my house will not be destroyed by fire.'

Another informant said kapia shells are used because "they are very hard to pry off the rocks in the river." Some added a few leaves found floating in the river to serve the same purpose as the river moss.

Many barriofolk consider it unwise to cut rattan by biting it when making the first tie in building a dwelling. One Naga informant told me:

1 [See p.685, cat. 342 or 116 -- Analyst]

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In the first tie of the house with rattan one must be careful not to bite the rattan or else the old people say the house will have many kinds of insects. Maybe they are right. The first house I built I happened to bite the rattan the first time I started to tie; there were plenty of mosquitos in this house, especially during the rainy season. In building this house [the informant's dwelling at the time] I was careful not to bite [the rattan] and there are not many insects, especially mosquitos.

The imitative magic principle is apparent; if one "bites" the rattan the completed house will have many insects that will "bite" the occupants. After the silik is finished, shingles are fixed to the remainder of the roof. Then the bamboo bobong (Plate LXIV, 12) are put along the roof ridges and the da-og (Plate LXIV, 19) added; sometimes the bobong is made of tin. The da-og strengthen the roof and prevent shingles from being blown off during a strong wind.

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When the roof is finished, the floor (salag) framework is begun. (See Plate LXVII.)[1] First pegs are inserted to support the floor beams that may be either bamboo or timber. The bangon are installed after the bamboo hanlag (bosa-og if made of wood) have been put in place. The floor is made of bamboo slats one-half an inch wide and one-fourth an inch apart; the slats are smoothed with the bolo and then either nailed or lasted to the liligan. Such a floor makes a dwelling cooler during the hot season and easier to clean than a solid flooring.

The framework for the door and shutters are now made. The door is usually made of woven strips of bamboo with "hinges" of strong rattan, or fixed to slide in

1 [See p.687, cat. 342 or 335 Analyst]

grooves. The shutters (takop or sira) are made normally of nipa or buri palm leaves. In some cases the shutters are wooden. 335 342

A general belief is that it is best for the doorway to face either the east or north; most of the Caticugan dwellings do. However, the barrio chapel has two doors, one facing south and the other west, and a group of houses along the base of the Dangpla bluff doorways facing south. Some of these houses are unfinished; the owners eventually plan to have either an east or north doorway. In the poblacion, with its grid street system, there is no attempt to follow this custom. 335 342 789 777 [77]

Barriofolk state that the old people (gulang) thought it wise to have the doorway face either east or north so one's life will always be "rising like the sun" or because rain usually comes from the southwest or west. If the doorway opens to the south or west the occupants of the house will be sickly, not alert during their sleeping hours, or their lives "always setting like the sun does in the west." One informant, whose statement was not backed by the majority of the people, said it was necessary to have the door facing the east or north for otherwise when entering the house "one will go against the 'heads' of the sablayan and balabag."[23]

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[23] Oracion states: "Most houses in the coastal barrios and towns...are constructed so that the main door and stairs face east. This is believed to bring prosperity to the occupants. If the main door entrance faces west, it is believed that the occupants will get sick and may die." Oracion, op. cit., p. 25.

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three consecutive nights. If this is not done the occupants will be plagued with misfortune and illness.

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Some house posts have white crosses painted on them as protection against harmful spirits. A few houses had placed under the entrance ladder a small cross made of a thorny wood (salay). The barriofolk explain that this custom of painting or putting crosses on or near their homes originated shortly before the last war. Tales of a "headless" nun who brought typhoid came to southern Negros from Cebu. This supernatural nun was said to visit a dwelling and call out, "Good evening." If any occupants answered her before the greeting was repeated three times one of the family became ill of typhoid and died. To protect themselves the people started to paint crosses on the posts or to erect one near the house entrance. Houses so "protected" were avoided by the "headless" nun who also did not trouble people with the family name of Cruz (cross).

When these tales reached southern Negros some people in Siaton were said to have built crosses as thick as a man's leg. Even today some people will not answer a "good evening" greeting from a visitor outside their house until it is repeated three times. There is a parallel here with the Spanish custom that once required Filipinos to introduce themselves three times to Spaniards before they were recognized.

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## Preparation of the Clay and Moulding the Pots

The pot is shaped by hand with the use of wooden paddles, flat stones, and seashells; the potter's wheel is not used.[4] A grey-colored sandy clay is obtained in nearby hills by the potter of Datag. Originally she gave the owner of the land where she obtained her clay one pot for each batch of earth. This arrangement proved unsatisfactory so she now obtains clay from the field of a relative. After the clay is dug, a rag is tied in a simple knot and left near the pit. This is a precaution against "envious persons" who might utter disparaging words while passing the location, making the dug clay unsuitable for pottery. She told me that "Sometimes these 'envious people' put egg shells or even seashells inside the hole where I dig my clay, mixing them with the clay. Pots made with this clay will explode or crack when burned."[5]

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A supply of clay is brought back to the potter's house where she dampens it and removes any small pebbles

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[4] The potter's wheel is used in other regions of the Philippines. "A Pot Is Made." Manila, This Week: Sunday Magazine of the Manila Chronicle, VII, No. 27 (July 6, 1952), pp. 13-4, contains a series of pictures of pot making in La Union, an Ilocano province. The article states either a hand or foot rotated potter's wheel is used and that one woman can make a dollar's worth of pots a day.

[5] In describing the making of clay pots in Masbate Island, Solheim writes: "The old folks used to leave a little money (sanag--protection money) where they got the clay and a piece of red cloth so that the resulting pots would not crack when used for cooking. The informant ..thought that if these gifts were not left, the spirits of the clay pots would be angry and cause the pots to break." Wilhelm G. Solheim, III, "Pottery Manufacturing in the Islands of

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Then the pounded thread is sorted for size, a process called tog-ot.[13] One of the first tasks taught a young girl learning to weave is to sort thread. Five different sizes of thread based on its thickness as determined by the weaver's sight and touch are sorted. These five classes of thread are, from the thickest to the thinnest, respectively: dagku; halan-ayon; okyot; katung-an; and magamayn. Halan-ayon is the most plentiful in the abaca hanks (gatang) purchased by weavers.

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Bonos: Tieing

The second step, bonos, is tying the various thread sizes into one continuous thread, e.g., all dagku threads are tied together.[14] A weaver's knot (dogkong) is used to joint the individual threads. (See Plate LXXIII below.)

PLATE LXXIII

DOGKONG KNOT

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[13] In Bacong, Negros Oriental, tog-ot is begun at high tide, the belief being that this will increase the number of the fibers. Timoteo S. Oracion and Avelino T. Torres, "Some Notes on the Weaving of Abaca Cloth in Bacong, Negros Oriental, Philippines." Dumaguete, Silliman University, Negros Oriental, Philippines, 1953, p. 4. Typescript.

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[14] In Bacong bonos is done at high tide. Kapingan shells and homemade wooden combs are placed in kalalay baskets to increase the length of abaca fibers. It may be that the purpose of the combs is to prevent the fibers from tangling. Ibid., p. 5.

Loose ends of the dogkong (A and B in Plate LXXIII) are cut after the knot is pulled together. As threads of one size are tied in long strands (linakgak) they are loosely coiled in kalalaw baskets. If the joined strands of threads are not used immediately for weaving, they are made into individual skeins, bito-ol, composed of one class of thread. The skeins are carefully wrapped and often hung in the rafters to protect them from damage by rats. 286

Han-ay: Hand Warping

The third step in preparing the loom is reeling the warp to be placed between the beam and cloth roller, a process called han-ay. The next to thickest size thread, halsn-ayon, is used to weave most abaca cloth made in Caticugan; this size is the most plentiful in the hanks. If halsn-ayon thread is used for the warp, the weft thread is dagku, since the two threads are about the same thickness. When okyot thread is used for the warp, the same class of thread is used for the weft--which is also the case for the other sizes of threads. The reason for these choices is that the approximately same size threads for warp and weft makes a better-appearing fabric, according to the weavers, than would mixing of a large size thread (dagku) with a much smaller size (magamaya).

Coiled piles of thread are taken from their kalalaw baskets and placed in individual piles on a mat on the floor of the house. A pinch of earth from the mound of the anay (termite), a busikad flower, or a kapinan 286 789

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seashell, is put under one coiled pile of thread. The purpose of these items is "to increase the thread"--a reflection of the increase magic of agricultural practices, previously discussed.[15] For example, the literal translation of kapinan is "more than." Small stones or sand are placed on top of each coiled pile of thread to prevent them from tangling as they are hand warped between two opposite poles inside the house.

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Coils of thread (linakgak) are placed on the mat in two rows. There are usually four, eight, or ten coils of thread, each coil being paired with another. If ten coils of thread are used, they are arranged in two rows, e.g.:

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1 2 3 4 5

Spreads from coils 1-6 are drawn through a small bamboo hoop suspended above the piles of thread; threads from coils 2-7, 3-8, 4-9, 5-10, are pulled through their respective hoops, tied together, and reeled between two posts (usually house posts) at opposite ends of the room. Each post has five or six pegs arranged from top to bottom around which the threads are reeled.

The first pair of threads (i.e., 1-6) is held between the small finger and ring finger of the left hand, the second pair (2-7) between the ring finger and middle

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[15] In Bacong coconut shell charcoal, kapinan shell, and busikad grass are used. "The charcoal and grass are believed to prevent rats from gnawing the fibers." Ibid., p. 6. It might be added that busikad grass has a pungent odor.

the framework of the reed spacer. Once through the batten, threads are tied in pairs to the pablon. When all warp threads are fixed to the pablon, the stick is inserted in a groove of the cloth roller. A dried strip of banana stalk or bandan plant (Donax cannaiformis (Forest. f.) K. Schum.) is woven through the warp threads; the purpose is to make the threads nearest the cloth roller's pablon strong and firm. Now the warp, that varies from 34 to 41 inches in width, is ready for weaving.

A number of beliefs are associated with weaving abaca in Catiougan. When the warp thread is first installed on the beam roller, some weavers rub the roller with lime or ginger so "insects will not damage the threads." A piece of cotton dampened with coconut oil or a strand of hair from the weaver's head may also be placed on this roller "so the warp threads will not break easily." Some weavers put a piece of coconut-oil dampened cotton and a spider's web in the shed the first time the shuttle is pushed across the warp. The purpose of coconut oil is the same as above whereas the spider's web is inserted "because the spider starts its web one day and the next morning is finished"; others state the web is used so the woven abaca will be as smooth as the web's texture and not tear easily. Another practice is to weave into the right hand corner of the beginning of the fabric a piece of cotton and a small chicken feather soaked in

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coconut oil. The oil is said to make the abaca fabric appear shiny and the cotton and feather prevent threads from breaking frequently.[16]

The Shuttle

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The spool shuttle (lansarida) is carved from a solid piece of boat-shaped wood twelve to fourteen inches in length, about two inches in width and one inch in height. (See Plate LXXV.) A slot is carved in the shuttle's interior where the bobbin (kalanyasan) is placed. (See Plate LXXV.) The weft (kinalinyas) thread is wound around the bobbin, the latter being a piece of bamboo that revolves on small pegs in the shuttle slot. Weft thread is wound around the bobbin by a type of spinning wheel (galingan) and emerges from a small hole in the shuttle's side. Bobbins wound with weft thread may be soaked in a coconut shell of water before used; this makes the weft thread more elastic and less apt to break. The shuttle's movement across the shed is facilitated by two pairs of small bamboo rollers on its bottom.

To wind the weft thread on the hollow bobbin the latter is placed on the sambolan and the cloth-covered spinning wheel turned by hand, rotating the sambolan. (See Plate LXXV.) The size of galangana measured in Caticugan varied but usually they are about 20-28 inches long and 16-20 inches high.

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16"During the weaving a few human hairs, wet in oil, are interlaced in the first weave. Their belief is that this makes the fibers strong and smooth like human hair." Ibid., p. 7.

51:Hart E-3 (1950-1952)1954 OAl Philippines
Central Bisayan OA14



796 121 123 presents preliminary notes on the rural fiesta complex as observed in Negros Oriental province during 1950-52. The information on the fiesta was obtained through participant observation, interviewing of informants, a careful analysis of scores of printed fiesta programs, and other published materials.

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796 177 The fiesta complex was brought to the Philippines by the Spanish conquerors of the archipelago in the 16th century. All fiestas originally corresponded to church feasts listed on the Catholic calendar " . . . and were, whatever they have now turned out to be, originally intended solely to do honor to the patron saints of the towns of King Philip's Catholic colony."[3] During the following centuries the fiesta was reinterpreted by the Filipinos. The event came to fill a sociocultural void created by the priests' suppression of ancient pagan ceremonies, to increase the religious education of the *tao* and the church's position among the people, and whether it was an original purpose or not, soon became a profitable financial venture for the Church.

771 Most rural Filipinos regard their patron saint as the "guardian" of their *barrio* or *poblacion*, watching over their health, households and general welfare. The patron saint is normally in the background of community affairs in the *barrios*, if less so in the *poblacions*, except during the fiesta period, when the *poblacions* also render special homage to their [789] saint. In periods of crises, crop failures, lack of rain, epidemics, etc., the patron saint may be turned to for aid, particularly by the barrio folk. During the writer's residence in Siaton, the people of Caticugan carried their patron saint (San Isidro) around the barrio, singing and praying, in hope of producing a badly needed rain for their parched crops. Ordinarily, however, the patron saint does not have such an important place in the daily routine of the people as during the annual fiesta. Yet, for many of the Filipinos, the mere fact that a patron saint exists must give them a diffused feeling of security.

796 This article cannot fully explore the modifications made by Filipinos on the original fiesta complex of the Spaniards. However, certain obvious and important reinterpretations will be pointed out.

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[3] *Ibid.*, p. 30.

In a survey of the fiestas of Negros Island the four frequently selected patron saints were: (1) San Isidro de Labrador; (2) Santo Niño; (3) San Jose; and (4) Sta. Cruz. San Isidro is the patron saint of farmers, a fact which probably explains, in part, his popularity. Male saints are, by far, the most popular, probably because there are more male than female saints in the Catholic faith.

(rice wrapped in coconut leaves and then boiled), one plate of cooked rice, and four bamboo containers of tuba made from either the coconut or ediok palms.[20]

Guests normally do not participate in the offering but stand or sit around the edges of the field. Some women may be inside the house preparing food for the meal that follows the ceremony. If the caingin owner feels confident, he may conduct the ceremony himself. Otherwise he will request a man well-versed in the ritual to make his offering. The "speech" given during the brief ritual, however, appears to be an improvisation and not a recitation that requires a nimble memory. Yet many people do not wish to perform the ceremonies for the loto or the dulot because they believe any mistakes might offend the unseen spirits they seek to please.

The ceremony is always conducted by a man. No cases were reported of a woman who made the loto or dulot; this is interesting because the magical rites connected with lowland agriculture are normally performed by women. The man goes to the center of the caingin and stands by by the table. Speaking to the spirits and kalags (souls) of the parents or relatives of the caingin cultivator, he invites them to dine on the proffered food. The specialist may repeat his invitation in a whisper or speak loudly. According to one female informant, what is said usually is:

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[20] The Magahats offer one chicken, seven tilad, seven rice cakes, seven tinostos, two glasses of tuba, and three candles. Oracion, op. cit., p. 59-60.

loto. After the field offering, the food is taken to the house and eaten. One informant said they buried their food offering in the field after the dulot, but this is rarely done. 243 782

A person noted for skill in holding dulots may be requested to officiate, although the owner or tenant can hold his own dulot if so desired. An old bachelor in Dangola was frequently requested to officiate at dulots in Caticugan; another recognized expert was said to live in Sandolot. In Naga one dulot was held by brothers and sisters whose fields adjoined. However, in Barrio Caticugan such cooperative dulots were uncommon. 243 791

Certain standard offerings are made in nearly every dulot. These basic items include: (1) seven binaluksan (rice wrapped in coconut leaves and then boiled, (2) one boiled chicken egg (usually but not always shelled), (3) one roasted chicken, (4) seven boiled ears of young corn, (5) seven tilads (tobacco leaves, areca nut, lime, and betel leaves), (6) seven tostos (homemade cigars), (7) seven tigols (homemade cigarettes), (8) seven kinalopis (grated fresh corn wrapped in husks and then boiled), and (9) tuba, usually four cups but sometimes one, two, or seven cups. Other items may be used such as seven nilunan (cakes made from finely ground cornmeal) seven cups of roasted cornmeal "coffee", and incense of the dried sap of the kamanan tree. 243 801

Seven is often a magical number among Caticugan barriofolk. Describing the superstitions of the people of Negros, Echauz wrote: "The number seven comes into all his 243 777 801

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The group performed this ceremony with much amusement. Then all the guests were served a meal, including food prepared for the dulot offering.

More visitors came later, although not as many as were expected. Pas said this was because six other dulots were being held in Lamtoc the same night! The visitors were given kinalopia to take home; the man who conducted the dulot received an additional gift of food.

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The spatial distribution of the dulot in Caticugan is quite interesting. The dulot is practiced in Talo-ot, by most of the people who cultivate fields west of the main canal in Barrio Caticugan, and in lower Naga. People living east of the main canal in Barrio Caticugan and in upper Naga generally do not hold a dulot before harvesting corn. While the distribution of the dulot in the upper Siaton River valley is not known in detail, it is far more widely practiced in these barrios than in Caticugan. Lamtoc is a small sitio yet in one night six different families were holding a dulot. This attempt to delimit the dulot areas in Caticugan is only approximate. One woman living in Talo-ot cultivated as a tenant, a field between the main path and Caticugan creek; she held a dulot.

It is difficult to determine why the dulot is not held in upper Naga. Many factors are involved. First, there are only a few fields in this area. Second, more people are giving up the dulot in Caticugan than in the more remote barrios fact to be discussed later. Third,

insight into the once greater abundance of food in Caticugan is given from an offering made during the last part of the Spanish period. This offering included one pig, fifteen or twenty chickens (with white feathers), a basketful each of bingka, bodbod, and puto (all varieties of rice cakes), three plates with ten eggs each, and large quantities of tuba. In the past the ritualist who performed the dulot in Naga often received a basketful of corn for his service; none of the ritualists receives this amount today.

Some individuals who stopped the dulot in Caticugan said they did so because "it is too expensive today." The food offering to the spirits was not as costly as feeding the guests. The dulot described in Lantoc required much corn to make the cakes, beside the other food served. It is possible that since the corn yield in these northern barrios is nearly twice that of Caticugan the community dulot is less of a burden. One reason given for having only a family dulot in Caticugan is that the expense of guests is eliminated. Dulots held for Caticugan's irrigated corn harvests would attract a large number of people since they would occur during a seasonal period of food shortage.

This detailed discussion of the spatial distribution of the dulot in both Caticugan and the northern barrios of the Siaton River valley illustrates how many factors must be considered in explaining change in one custom. There is no "royal road" to a clear understanding

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of the sugar industry during this period, these bandits found even richer spoils to loot in the haciendas and centrals. Some of these uprisings, however, were of a messianic or nativistic nature with supernatural sanctions and sometimes a racial aspect directed against the Chinese. In 1878 the Guardia Civil was first established in Negros; in the same year a detachment was sent to Siaton.[91] The arrival in Siaton of the Guardia Civil, which in those days was moved from one region to another as "shock troops," is an indication that military force was needed to suppress growing lawlessness. Conditions in Siaton so deteriorated within a ten-year period that in December, 1887, the Governor-General of the Philippines, Valeriano Weyler, anchored a battleship with 500 soldiers off Siaton.[92]

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In 1887 the southern part of Negros was disturbed by the activities of Ponciano Elofre, also known by his nicknames "King Kanoy" or "Buhawi" (Waterspout) who had thousands of followers.[93] Elofre was a cabeza of Barrio

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91 Marco, op. cit., p. 110. It is the Cadiane manuscript that states that a Guardia Civil detachment came to Siaton.

92 In 1888 Weyler fought the Moros of Lanao to end a conflict that had begun in 1887. David P. Barrows, History of the Philippines. Rev. ed. New York, World Book Company, 1926, p. 548.

93 This account is a reconstruction of material obtained from the Cadiane manuscripts and interviews with the daughter-in-law of one of Elofre's adopted sons (actually his nephew), Santiago Tayko, a former capitan of Zamboanguita who knew Elofre, and several other informants. Elofre is not mentioned by name in either Schaum' Apunte or Marco's Reseña.

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Nahandig (some say Kaladias) located in the interior part of the present municipality of Zamboanguita. He was married but never had any children except those he adopted. Klofre is remembered as a man of means since "one could not become a cabeza unless he owned some property then." He was said to be good-natured, generous, and a devout Catholic. His almost fanatic devotion to his religion led him to organize Saturday prayer meetings in his barrio; these began to attract many people. After the religious services there was dancing, singing and often a cockfight. Later the people, through cooperative labor, built a small chapel in Klofre's barrio.

As more people were attracted to these services, particularly from Zamboanguita poblacion, local Spanish officials grew suspicious of Klofre's motives. Klofre allegedly urged his followers not to pay their taxes, although others state he did not encourage the people to revolt against Spanish authority. His prayer meetings were attended by devout Catholics, many of whom believed he possessed unusual powers. It is also said that Klofre was unable to pay the taxes required of him as a cabeza and from this inability his troubles with the Spaniards began. The Spanish authorities, however, appeared to believe he was inciting the barriofolk to revolt against the government. Their suspicions of Klofre grew as the crowds at his barrio services increased. Throughout the Philippines at this time political conditions were such as to stimulate the Spanish authorities to suspect any large Filipino gathering.

Finally the Guardia Civil went to Klofre's barrio to arrest him and suppress the meetings. After several clashes in which some of his followers were killed, Klofre decided to surrender to the authorities to halt any further bloodshed. Another account, however, states that he and his father were secretly visiting a nephew in Zamboanguita poblacion, and that Klofre intended to give himself up when he was surprised by the Guardia Civil. In the struggle to capture Klofre, his father was killed. Klofre and his brother-in-law, Valentin Tubigan, nicknamed "Cachila" (i.e., Spaniard because of his long black beard), were able to escape.[94]

Klofre's escape from the Guardia Civil allegedly was due to his supernatural powers and his anting-anting (amulet). At first the two men established their residence at Sitio Abolay (Aboli), west of Barrio Olambid in the northern part of Siaton municipality.[95] Later they

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[94] Ruiz also states his full name was Valentin Tubigan or "Cachila." Ruiz, op. cit., p. 150. One informant said Klofre was visiting his father's residence in Zamboanguita with no intention of surrendering. While there his dagger began "to bleed." Klofre's father believed this to be a bad omen and urged his son to leave before the Guardia Civil learned he was in the poblacion. Klofre refused and later the soldiers surrounded his father's residence, tied him to a chair and bayoneted his father to death before Klofre's eyes. Because of his supernatural powers, Klofre and Valentin were able to escape.

[95] The former capitan of Zamboanguita (whom I interviewed), when he was eleven years old, claims he actually saw an example of Klofre's magical powers. While at a house with Klofre, the latter requested a glass of water. The water did not arrive quickly and Klofre was quite thirsty, so he knocked a large bamboo, part of the house's structure, and fresh water gushed forth. One day when hungry and without money, Klofre told one of his friends to cut open a squash growing in the field. Inside the squash was found 20 centavos. When his followers were hungry, Klofre is said to have spread his handkerchief on the sea, sailed away, and returned later with plenty of fish.

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moved to Sitio Dagangdang north of Olambid. Gradually the legends of Klofre's supernatural powers spread throughout the southern part of Negros. Ruiz writes that he claimed to be a "Living God" while other informants say Klofre was invulnerable to bullets. His magical powers were believed to reside in a mole on the back of his neck. He was able to make it rain at will. One day, in the presence of nearly 1,000 followers, Klofre climbed a coconut tree and prayed for rain, which soon fell in torrents. The Guardia Civil, then searching for Klofre and his group, had to abandon their hunt because of the heavy rain. It was from this incident that Klofre received his nickname, Buhawi, "Waterspout."

Klofre predicted that the world would be destroyed by a great flood, although no specific date was set for the catastrophe. After the flood the world would be plunged into utter darkness and those who did not follow Klofre would perish in rivers of boiling water and fire. Klofre wore a uniform of black pants with vivid red stripes down the seams and a black coat with orange stripes on the breast. However, he wore only this gaudy uniform when the Guardia Civil were chasing him "because he did not wish to frighten his followers."

> With this prophecy [that he was a Living God] he succeeded in attracting people from various towns on the coast who blindly followed him...He had his own police who went to the nearby towns to collect candles and tribute from the people. Persons who could not pay these were taken before the Living God who punished them at will for failing to follow orders.[96]

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[96]Ruiz, op. cit., p. 140.

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Gadiane writes that thousands of people from the coastal poblacions and barrios flocked to Klofre's mountain lair.

> There were very few people left in the poblacions of Negros Oriental. Young and old, father and son, going with him anyplace. It was said that the people were fearful of him if they failed to obey what he said. They were told to bring to Klofre a candle, five centavos, a chicken and egg which were signs of homage to him. There were about 15,000 people in the mountains who were followers of Buhawi, even some Loog.[97]

Various stories are told of Klofre's mountain residences that he constantly changed due to Guardia Civil patrols. He was said to always be surrounded by his soldiers while beautiful women and handsome young men alternately danced and sang the Estihado (a dance in which the participants compose their songs extemporaneously) to entertain him. Klofre's "palace" was so bright it seemed as if it were illuminated with electricity. When he lived in Barrio Nahandig he would wave his silk handkerchief at the side of a near-by cliff that miraculously opened, exposing inside a richly decorated room. When new followers came with offerings, Gadiane reports Klofre told them:

> You must believe and have faith in me. I am the owner of your salvation. For those who are with me, and those who died from the beginning to now, are witness of my calling to you. So you just clap your hands and nothing will happen to you.

The clapping of hands appears to have been both a ritual and a magical protection against harm for Klofre's followers.

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[97] Ruiz, op. cit., p. 148: "From each new convert he collected tribute for his personal expenses, plus a candle." Gadiane's estimate of 15,000 followers is probably an exaggeration, although there is no way the actual numbers can be determined.

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So many people from Siaton began to visit or became followers of Elofre that in 1888 the parish priest, Julian Adan, told Andres Ragay, the local judge, to go to his mountain camp to investigate.[98] Ragay visited Elofre's group and is said to found all reports about him correct. He discovered a former clerk of the Siaton cabeza, Pio Kiti, recording names of Elofre's new followers who came from Tolong, Maloconan, Giliga-on, Siaton, Bonbonon, Zamboanguita, Dauin, Bacong, Valencia, Dumaguete, Sibulan, Tanjay and other coastal settlements of Negros Oriental. Elofre did not attract many followers from western Negros, probably due to the poor transportation facilities.

After Ragay's report to the priest and local officials, a plan was formed to capture Elofre. It was agreed that the Guardia Civil patrols of Tolong, Bais, Guihulngan, Dumaguete, Zamboanguita, and Siaton were to march from their respective poblacions and secretly meet near Elofre's camp. The patrols met as planned. When the attack began Elofre cried: "Make your belief in me strong for we are being attacked by the Devil." Elofre and most of his followers escaped, although one soldier and four of Elofre's followers were killed and sixty men, women, and children arrested. After this encounter Elofre and

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[98]Adan is said to be the first person to bring goats and sheep to Siaton poblacion. Goats were a pre-Hispanic animal in the Philippines while sheep were brought to the archipelago by the Spaniards.

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his followers seem to have been inactive for a short period. Some said that angels had taken Elofre to heaven but that he would return. Peace and order so improved that the soldiers stationed in Siaton under Lt. Col. Villabrille who had arrived with Weyler returned to Manila.[99]

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In the middle of the year (1888) Elofre's followers became active again, stealing cattle or carabaos from the lowlanders, "Sometimes cutting off only the two hind legs or just taking the tongue." The barriofolk began again to go to the mountains to join Elofre. "This was in July, 1888, because the corn was already in tassels," Cadiane writes. Conditions became so unsettled that it was dangerous to leave the centers of population. Guardia Civil patrols combed the mountains, and often shot any suspicious character on sight. There were a few days, during this period, Cadiane reports, that bodies did not arrive from the mountains in Siaton poblacion due to the Guardia Civil patrols. "Sometimes they would only bring back a string of ears, one ear for each man shot. These strings of ears were often nearly three feet long." Cadiane describes Siaton poblacion at this time.

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[99] Cadiane manuscript's conflicts with the account given by Ruiz who states Villabrille did not go to Manila when his group left Negros; he was sent to Antique province, Panay, where another "God" had made his appearance. Ruiz, op. cit., p. 150.

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The condition of the poblacion was like that of a cave because when the sun set nobody would walk the streets. When one talked it would be in a whisper because there might be soldiers or followers of Buhawi listening under the house. If you talked against the soldiers, they would take you to their headquarters. If you said anything against Buhawi, his men might hear you and take you to face him in the mountains. There was continual stealing in the near-by area and continual shooting in the mountains. You would hear the rattle of the guns and of the machitas [heavy cutting knives carried by the Guardia Civil]. You would hear the sorrowful howling of the dogs.[100]

The disorder and violence in this locality continued until 1889. One day Manuel Ege, the son of Capitan Lucas Ege (who had been re-elected capitan for the fourth time in 1889), was captured by Elofre's followers. Ege, however, managed to escape and reported their presence in the mountains. Fortunately, forty Guardia Civil soldiers from Tolong were stationed in Siaton, under the command of Lt. Dominick (Ruiz, Domenech).[101] The following morning as the people attended mass news arrived that Elofre's

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[100] Valentin seems to have had his personal following, although subject to the command of Elofre. In the latter part of 1888, after the attack on Elofre's group, Valentin and some of his followers held a meeting in the house of Alegio Ragpa, Barrio Datag. The people danced, shouted, sang, and clapped their hands for Valentin said: "Clap your hands and we shall never be in danger." News of this meeting reached the poblacion. A messenger was sent to Valentin, telling him the people did not mind his gathering but the Guardia Civil said it was illegal and for them to disband immediately. Valentin refused. As a result several Guardia Civil soldiers and local policemen returned to Datag and attacked the group. Valentin was reported to have wiped off the bullets that hit him "like fireflies that were lighting on his chest." Finally Valentin said, "Because you cannot get us, we will be the ones to get you" and the soldiers and policemen fled in fear, leaving behind a companion thought to be dead but who was merely badly wounded. This man returned to the poblacion and another patrol was sent after Valentin but he had left Datag.

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[101] Ruiz gives a slightly different version. A rainy and dark night in August, 1887 Elofre decided to attack the poblacion. The Guardia Civil, stationed in Siaton, decided to hunt him out but just then Lt. Domenech arrived and advised that the attack should be postponed until the next morning. Ruiz, op. cit., p. 148.

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group was meeting in the house of Bernabe Cajonera in Barrio Sandolot (Ruiz states Sitio Nabais, Sandolot) in preparation for an attack on the poblacion.

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More than 100 soldiers and local policemen marched to Sandolot to surprise Klofre's followers. As the soldiers moved through the fields of ripe corn surrounding Klofre's meeting place they could hear the people singing and clapping their hands. The men were filled with "sadness and fear for they were going to meet Klofre who was even more powerful than Valentin who had just wiped off the bullets shot from their guns." This surprise attack resulted in the death of Klofre. Cadiane writes:

> As the Guardia Civil were firing their guns they saw someone who was quite big and stout, dressed in black clothing with red and white stripes, going up the hillside. In his right hand he was holding a pinoti [a bolo-like knife]. The Guardia Civil believed this man was Buhawi so they concentrated their fire on him. Buhawi did not run or even walk fast. He was just walking in a natural pace up the steep slope of the hill. After firing for awhile the soldiers no longer were able to see Buhawi. They went up the hill after him. When they reached the top of the hill they saw at the opposite bank of the river, in a small clearing, a man kneeling on one knee, holding a pinoti. They fired at him many times but he did not fall. They did not know Buhawi was already dead. So the Guardia Civil went near and one man pushed the body. They then saw blood was coming out of his mouth and that a bullet had passed through his rectum into his head.

Thus died the King called Kanoy.

His body was carried to Siaton poblacion where it was bathed in coconut oil, dressed, the hair neatly combed, and placed in a chair in front of the casareal. Criers were sent throughout the poblacion and near-by barrios telling the people to come to see the former

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superman. The corpse was later sent to Zamboanguita under heavy guard because the rumor was that Elofre's followers were going to try to highjack their dead leader. In Zamboanguita Elofre's relatives were called to identify the body.

The legends concerning Buhawi continued to multiply after his death. It was said that it took five days to carry the body from Siaton to Zamboanguita yet it did not decompose. A friend donated a blanket, mat, and pillow for Elofre's burial. Several evenings after the funeral this friend heard a voice in the darkness say: "Pari, here are your things." Going outside his house he found his blanket, mat, and pillow used to bury Elofre. Elofre had been resurrected. There are some old people who today believe that Elofre was never shot, that he is still alive and may return. For the most part, however, the life and legend of Buhawi are being forgotten rapidly; he is not part of the folklore of the younger people, many of whom have never heard of the former King Manoy.

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The death of Elofre did not end all the disturbances in southern Negros. In 1890 Elofre's brother-in-law, Valentin, and the latter's brother, Higino (Ruiz: Higinio known as "God Talisic"), held a meeting near Magdalamas, a mountain in the vicinity of Sitio Kaladyas, Barrio Bonawon. A large number of armed men and women attended the meeting. New threats to Siaton's peace were feared, so a Guardia Civil patrol was sent to capture the group. They fought Valentin's followers, who were trapped in

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and ashes filled the air. Large waves were formed at sea but when they reached the shore they were small and did no damage.

Fearing a tidal wave, the people streamed to the hills where they sang hymns and prayed for deliverance. In one locality twenty-five persons were buried alive by a landslide and the Siaton church and convento were badly damaged. One of the tributaries of the Siaton River near Balanan was blocked by earth slides and Lake Linao was created. The Mantuyop River was temporarily dammed by a slide and its bed near Naga remained dry for several hours. This earthquake also closed some of the hillside springs in Barrio Caticugan.

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A new messianic prophet appeared in Panay during this period. Florencio Intrencherado claimed to be in communication with a spiritual guide and threatened the people with flood, earthquake and fire unless they overthrew the American government and made him their emperor. The eruption of Canlaon volcano, the 1925 Negros earthquake and the earthquake disaster in Japan gave Intrencherado tremendous prestige in both Panay and Negros. In 1926 his followers were said to number more than twenty-six thousand. In May, of the same year, some three hundred adherents of Intrencherado attacked the municipio at Victorias. They were defeated by the local police. Intrencherado was arrested in Jaro (Iloilo province), declared insane, and later confined in a Manila hospital.

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Cebuano

[For information pertaining to the description of a Cebu ceremony, described by Pigafetta in 1520, see 18: Beyer, OA19 Ifugao, category 116, pp. 92-93.]

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could fight against the Moros and also could help the boatmen when they were overtaken by bad weather."

The first priest assigned to the Siaton parish is said to have been Siptin which possibly is a nickname. Suniga was the sixth priest of Siaton who visited the settlement before 1777. The Gadiane manuscript does not give the dates when these early priests were assigned with the exception that Father Jose Barido was replaced by Carias in 1827 or 1828.[43] With these two priests other printed sources begin to furnish data. Ruiz reports that Jose Arias (Carias) succeeded Jose Barredo (Barido) in 1831.[44] Arias was given the title of Acting Curate of Dauin and Siaton which Ruiz states indicates the growing pre-eminence of Dauin over Siaton. Following Arias, according to Gadiane, were four priests, the last one known as Prebitero Felix the Bisayan, the first Filipino assigned to the Siaton parish.[45] The assignment of these priests and the creation of new parishes indicates a growing population in southeastern Negros and a diminution of Moro raids.

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[43]It is possible that Siptin is Jose Fernandez de Setien who came to Dumaguete in 1754. Gadiane lists all the "parish priests of Siaton," although only the first names (or nicknames) of ten priests of the total forty-seven are given.

[44]Ruiz, op. cit., p. 151.

[45]Gadiane states in 1837 or 1838 two priests were living in Siaton, Areas and Prebitero Felix; the latter may be Felix Ramos, the first substitute priest of Dauin in 1847. Ruiz, op. cit., p. 146-7. Gadiane does not state if Siptin was an Augustinian or Jesuit. Since the Augustinians transferred their Negros missions to the Jesuits in 1628. Siptin probably was a Jesuit. (See Page 140.)

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Agustin Omedillas (Agustin Olmidillas in the Gadiane manuscript) was the first Recollect father assigned to the Siaton parish in September, 1848. In 1849 he was transferred to Himamaylan and succeeded by Tomas Mezquita. Omedillas appears also to be the first Siaton parish priest who made his permanent residence in Siaton. In 1848 Fr. Romauldo Gimeno (Ruiz - Romauldo Jimeno), Archbishop of Cebu, petitioned that the Recollects be given full possession of the administration of Negros. This request was granted a year later by Father Superior F. Joaquin Soriano.[46] The Recollects (Spanish, Recoletos), also known as the Descalzos (literally, barefooted) in Spain, were a reform branch of the Augustinians that came to the Philippines in 1606. Besides working in Negros, they established themselves in Luzon, Mindoro, Calamianes, Cebu, Bohol and Misamis, Mindanao. At the start of the 20th century there were 522 Recollects in the islands.[47]

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In 1819 or 1820, the people moved from Mangudkod to Kalumpang. Before leaving Mangudkod an election was

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[46] Zehauz, op. cit., p. 10, and Ruiz, op. cit., p.146.

[47] "Decrees Regarding Religious Orders. Felipe III and Others," (Valladolid, 1604). Blair and Robertson, op. cit., XIII, pp. 246-7, and Wilcox, Marrion (ed.) Harper's History of the War in the Philippines. New York, Harpers and Brothers, 1900, p. 362.

to build a new school in the poblacion. He told the people to collect the materials for the building and selected the plaza as the site. The parish priest, Jorje Carcabilla, objected to the erection of the school on land that belonged to the church.

A bitter struggle between the two leaders followed. The quarrel over the school was secondary; the root of the disagreement was the conflict between the parish priest and the commandant over the management of local affairs and the accession of heirs of the Spanish throne. The political rivalries of Spain were carried to the Philippines. Carcabilla was a supporter of the Carlista party and Torres of the Isabelina party who were then quarreling over the accession rights of Isabel and Carlos, King Ferdinand's children.

Cadiane describes the priest as "cruel, like a soldier," but he is an obvious admirer of Torres. The priest emerged victorious in this dispute and classes continued to be held in the old school building. This victory of the parish priest over the commandant of the Guardia Civil indicates the power the priests then wielded in the Philippines.

Zaide writes that the average parish priest during the Spanish period was "virtual ruler of the town."[106]

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[106] Zaide, The Philippines Since the British Invasion, p. 163.

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There was hardly a branch of the local government to which the influence of the priest did not extend, directly or indirectly. He was the inspector of primary schools, the town censor, honorary president of all local government committees, a member of the town council, assisted in choosing the local officers (technically without a vote), signed all certificates of election, participated in decisions to build public works, and even had the authority to decide at what hour the town council would assemble.[107] The priests of Siaton parish were not atypical.

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Cadiane writes of the schooling he received in Siaton poblacion during the latter part of the 19th century.

> Here was the real study. There were many students. You were given three days to learn a lesson. If you did not learn your lesson you were told to lie on your stomach on a bench and you were whipped three times. If you were absent from class the number of days you were absent was doubled and you were whipped this many times.

A great deal of time appears to have been spent in studying Spanish.

> If you did not speak Spanish in the class and outside in the yard we were in danger of being punished if someone reported us. If we were discovered or reported not speaking Spanish we were whipped six times, [i.e., given six lashes]. We had a Spanish

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[107] Report of the Philippine Commission to the President. Washington, D.C., Government Printing Office, I, 1900, pp. 57-8. This report is often called the "Schurman Report" after the head of the Commission, Jacob Gould Schurman. Hereafter cited as Philippine Commission Report, I, 1900.

51:Hart E-3 (1950-1952)1954 OA1 Philippines
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*Kahologan* begins around four or five in the morning with the *diana* or reveille. After this event some *poblacions* may have a small fireworks display or shoot off a few booming rockets. Then, from about six to nine, masses are held. The church is usually jammed and more men are present than at the regular weekly services. (In the *barrios* only one mass is performed on *kahologan*, often the only mass of the year in the small chapel owing to the shortage of priests in the Philippines.)[9] After the masses there is a light breakfast (*pa-init*) of various types of rice cakes (*puto*, *bodbod*, or *bingka*), bread, hot chocolate, fruit, etc. The remainder of the morning is devoted to sports— basketball, volleyball, and softball games, horse, bicycle, and "crab" races, carabao fights, eating contests, or billiard competition. Often teams vie for prizes or trophies which have been donated by patrons, and are awarded *kahologan* evening.

At twelve noon the church bells are rung, often three times, and the orchestra marches around the *poblacion*, playing loudly and enthusiastically. This is the *jornada*. Rockets may be fired into the air and the *luthangs* (home-made bamboo cannons) shot. This is when the "big feast" of the fiesta is served. There is often much competition among the *principalia* to attract to their dwelling for this dinner the most prominent visitors to the fiesta. Since food is synonymous with hospitality for most Filipinos, the tables groan under the weight of different meat courses, rice and noodle dishes, *lechon* (roast pig), drinks (coke, beer, and perhaps whisky and brandy), etc. A number of Filipino hostesses told the writer, when he attended fiestas in in the larger *poblacions* or in Dumaguete, that they admired the American custom of serving a meal consisting of only several courses. However, to do so during a *kahologan* dinner, they said, would be considered unfavorably by their guests. Meals are served in relays, the tables being cleared after one setting and reset for the next group of guests. Visiting friends during *kahologan* is often most painful, since one must eat, at least the delicacies prepared by one's hosts, although one's capacity to consume more food is absolutely non-existent.

After dinner, which may continue for several hours, with guests coming

[9] In 1952 there were 2492 Catholic priests in the Philippines for an estimated 15,810,024 Catholics, or one priest for 6340 Catholics. The average of the Philippines is lower than the average of Latin America (one priest for 5104 Catholics) and much lower than the average for the United States (one priest for 620 Catholics). Leo A. Cullum, S.J., "Distribution of Priests", *Philippine Studies*, 1:169-173, September, 1953. A review of an article written by J. Luzzi, S. J., "L'appel de l' Amerique latine", *Nouvelle Revue Theologique*.

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settlements facilitated the tasks of governing, taxing and converting them.[39] Gadiane writes:

> The priests in those days found it difficult to go to Mangudkod because the way was covered with trees. Therefore, they suggested that the people transfer their barrio from Mangudkod to Kalumpang which was near the present cemetery of the poblacion.

So the people moved south, within a mile of the coast. At this time it appears that more Filipinos lived in the Siaton River valley than on the small plain of Canaway; the 1903 census figures suggest this settlement pattern. The exposed nature of the plain to Moro attacks was one reason why it was less attractive to early settlers; as previously noted the barriofolk of Bokoboko abandoned their Canaway community because of Moro attacks and moved inland. This is only one example how Moro expeditions against the people of southern Negros influenced early population patterns in this area.

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When the people lived at Mangudkod a priest called Valero (nicknamed Paring Gulang, i.e. "Old Priest") who resided in Dauin, made occasional visits to the community. By the 19th century the influence of the Catholic church was expanding in this community; Gadiane states about 1817 (during Capitan Etib's office) the position of cristan was first opened to the barriofolk of Mangudkod.

> This was the first time Filipinos were made cristans to a white priest. The people appointed as cristans had to attend to various services at the church in Dauin. They were to serve the priest one week and then another group would replace them. But this was not really followed. Instead of serving by weeks they served by months.

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[39] James L. LeRoy, Philippine Life in Town and Country. New York, G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1905, p. 43.

attempts as the Maura Law (1893) came too late to be enforced effectively. There had been a gradual shift in the objectives of the "Propaganda Movement" from reform to home rule and finally to independence.[115] Under the leadership of Andres Bonifacio, the secret society, Katipunan, was founded in July, 1892, with the main objective of establishing Philippine independence from Spain by revolution. There was increasing concern over conditions in the Philippines by highly-placed officials in Manila. The number of Spanish soldiers in the Philippines was small, and the 1895 draft in Siaton probably was a reflection of this growing consternation. Although Gadiane was one of twenty-five trainees selected during the drawing, the influence of the parish priest removed him from the list.

By 1895 there were three Recollect priests in the Siaton area with permanent residences at Barrios Giliga-on and Bonbonon, besides the poblacion. Gadiane was paid three dollars a month to keep the records of the churches (birth, marriage, death, and baptismal) and to file the circulars which came from the bishop at Bacolod and other religious documents. The diocese of Jaro (Panay), which included Negros, had existed since 1865.

In August, 1896, the discovery of the Katipunan by the Spaniards in Manila resulted in the wholesale arrest

[115] Eufronio M. Alip, Political and Cultural History of the Philippines: II, "Since the British Occupation." Manila, Alip and Brion Publications, 1952, p. 89.

51:Hart E-3 (1950-1952)1954 OAI Philippines
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796 In Negros Oriental province there are now fiestas which are held on dates other than the patron saint's birthday (*kahologan*). If the saint's birthday falls during the holy week or conflicts with a fiesta in a nearby community, the date may be disregarded and a more convenient one selected by the people. Three fiestas were listed in the 1951 *Catholic Directory of the Philippines*, for Negros Island, with "moveable", i. e. unfixed, dates. The patron saint of Barrio Caticugan and Zamboanguita *poblacion* is San Isidro. Barrio Caticugan purposively established its fiesta the last of February in order not to conflict with the Zamboanguita fiesta which is held on May 15, San Isidro's birthday. The birthdays of the patron saints of Barrio Caticugan and Giliga-on occur during Holy Week. The fiestas in these two *barrios* are always postponed several weeks since dancing and gambling, and certain fiesta food, would be inappropriate during such a religious period.

The religious aspects of the original fiesta complex have been significantly modified. For the majority of the Filipinos, the religious character of the contemporary rural Philippine fiesta has assumed a relatively minor [794] part in the festivities. Often communities feel it necessary to justify the fiesta, with its dancing, feasting and gambling, for charitable purposes which were not part of the original complex.[4] Fiestas are now held to raise money for a worthy cause, to build a need public, building, etc., instead of solely in honor of the patron saint. Abaya has written:

> Now piety is only a subtle flavor which the inveterate fiesta-goer often fails to sample in the melange of more exciting ingredients. It is localized in the morning mass and perhaps a procession in the afternoon, which is convenient for skirting around by those who have other plans for their time.[5]

There are four reference points in the contemporary fiesta complex in regard to religion, although they are not as rigidly categorized as this pre-

[4] The writer obtained the figures of the total income and expenses of some fiestas advertised, basically as charitable affairs. The amount of money remaining after the expenses of the event were paid was sometimes a mere pittance. The money spent on the orchestra, rental of the "Queen's gown and crown, etc. could have been reduced and a larger fund raised for charitable purposes. This observation is not meant as a criticism of such fiestas, merely a generalization that the charitable aspects of the fiesta appears to be a public rationalization by those who feel its diminished religious significance no longer justifies the fiesta's continuance.

[5] Abaya, *loc. cit.*

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574 181 Third, the fiesta is an economic investment. One's guests will, in the future, be one's hosts during their fiesta. In fact, this is one of several reasons given for organizing new *barrio* fiestas in southern Negros. The people felt ashamed to attend fiestas in neighboring communities without having a fiesta of their own when they could reciprocate enjoyed hospitality. In the long run, the bread thrown on the water returns. In some cases doubled. From this point of view the fiesta may not be as wasteful as many Filipinos believe.

796 181 *Fourth*, the fiesta serves a religious function, particularly in the *barrios* distant from the *poblacion* church. The fiesta is often the only time in the year the priest visits the local chapel and holds mass in the community for the barriofolk. Sometimes combining a baptismal or wedding celebration with the fiesta serves to reduce the family expenses by making a normal entertainment unnecessary by coordination with the fiesta. *Fifth*, the fiesta re-inforces the people's feeling of solidarity within the *barrio* or *poblacion*, although sometimes the event may enhance competitiveness between different communities. Most Filipinos take great pride in their *barrio* or *poblacion* fiesta. *Sixth*, the *barrio* and *poblacion* fiesta often reunite, for the only time of the year, members of the immediate families. The ideal pattern is for one always to return to one's home fiesta. It is not at all uncommon to meet relatives from Siquijor, Cebu, Panay, Leyte, or even more distant places, at Negros Oriental fiestas.

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996 794 181 *Seventh*, the fiesta furnishes the church with a sizeable annual income. The money collected for baptisms, masses, and the church's participation in the various religious activities of the fiestas is an important aspect of the financial support of the church by the people. The fiesta often renews the authority of the church in more isolated areas where this authority and responsibility lies dormant for most of the year. *Eight*, the fiesta in the larger *barrio* and *poblacion* is a commercial stimulant to the economic life of the community. Prices are often raised, purchases of food and clothing more frequent and larger than normal. The fiesta creates new wants and needs which do not exist during most of the year.

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426 181 *Ninth*, the fiesta is a means by which the indebtedness of many families is increased, by borrowing money to entertain their guests properly. Some families may mortgage their land for "agricultural" loans and others sell farmyard animals to raise a little cash for the fiesta. However, the waste may not be as great as imagined by many Filipinos. One's guests may next month be one's hosts. The fiesta also stimulates many people to work harder, and for others it is an oppotunity to augment the pitifully small family cash income by selling food and drink. *Tenth*, in the larger *barrio*

flowers put in the vases. When a religious service is held at the altar, the coconut oil lamp and a few candles are lighted.[6] 778

Domestic altars of Caticugan are quite similar to those described by Robert Redfield for Tepoztlan. 353 778

> A domestic shrine is found in most houses. This may be no more than a printed or painted picture of a saint, but more commonly it is a carved and painted wooden figure, usually a Virgin or a Christ ...In front of this figure an incense burner...is placed...In it copal gum is burned. [No incense is used for altar services in Caticugan]. Flowers are also placed before the figure, in bottles or vases, and pictures of other saints are hung near the image. This shrine is the center of domestic worship and ritual. Candles are burned before it on feast days...[7]

A few wooden-carved saints can still be seen in Caticugan but, for the most part, they have been replaced by the bright-colored plaster figures sold in Dumaguete or purchased from peddlars who come to the barrios or poblacion during the fiestas.

The frequency of these domestic barrio altars decreases in the poblacion. Some of the more sophisticated think that the barriofolk's altars are primitive; none of the altars seen in the poblacion approached the elaborateness of the two brothers' altar in Barrio Caticugan. Since many principalia of Siaton are Protestants this may explain, in part, the fewer domestic altars that occur in the poblacion. 369 353 778 795

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[6]The life history of one man included a statement that he could escape punishment for a childhood misdeed if he reached the family altar before his father caught him.

[7]Redfield, op. cit., p. 38.

A general pattern does appear, however; the barriofolk more often have domestic altars in their dwellings, of various degrees of elaborateness. These altars are less popular among many of the poblacion principalia (who are Catholics); their popularity and frequency increase in homes of the urban wealthy. Some city homes I visited had a separate room that was a place of worship, a sanctuary with expensive religious pictures and elaborate figures of saints and the Holy Family. The nearness of the local church may account for the decline in number of altars in Siaton poblacion.

Kitchen equipment normally includes the large clay water jar and a dirt and ash-floored cooking platform or hearth (dapog). The small clay pot rests (hornos) cost fifteen cents and are put on the hearth; they resemble the Japanese shichirin. While most barriofolk now use the horno some still cook by setting pots on three stones placed in a triangular position and known as sug-ang.[8] This was the old way of cooking before the horno's introduction. Every kitchen has a few cooking pots. More people are buying iron kettles for cooking. Pot rests (balanka) are made of rattan or corn cobs. (See Plate LVIII.)[1]

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[8] There are a number of riddles concerning the sug-ang.
"Three brothers have but one name." (Bicol)
"What are those three houses facing each other that cannot be burned?" (Igorot)
The answer to both is sug-ang. Buaken, op. cit., pp. 348-50.

1 [See p.658, cat. 417 -- Analyst]

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Cebuano

[For information pertaining to the description of a Cebu ceremony, described by Pigafetta in 1520, see 18: Beyer, OA19 Ifugao, category 116, pp. 92-93.]

20: Hart OA14 Central Bisayan OA14

241, 777, 787, 789, 796

[For discussions of agricultural ceremonies, and of associated magical concepts, see category 241, pp. 280-284 (palio), p. 285 (buhatan), pp. 294-299 (loto), pp. 394-396 (camote-planting lihi), pp. 399-400 (cassava-planting lihi); category 243, pp. 304-306 (rice-planting lihi), p. 308 (rice-transplanting lihi), pp. 313-316 (rice-harvesting lihi), pp. 334-337 (corn-planting lihi), pp. 339-340 (protective charms for cornfields), pp. 342-359 (dulot), pp. 359-361 (other practices associated with corn agriculture); category 245, pp. 377-385 (guhang lihi), p. 404 (coconut-planting lihi). --Analyst]

[For discussions of agricultural ceremonies, and of associated magical concepts, see 20: Hart, OA1 *Philippines*, category 116, pp. 280-284 (palio), p. 285 (buhatan), pp. 294-299 (loto), pp. 394-396 (camote-planting lihi), pp. 399-400 (cassava-planting lihi), pp. 304-306 (rice-planting lihi), p. 308 (rice-transplanting lihi), pp. 313-316 (rice-harvesting lihi), pp. 334-337 (corn-planting lihi), pp. 339-340 (protective charms for cornfields), pp. 342-359 (dulot), pp. 359-361 (other practices associated with corn agriculture), pp. 377-385 (guhang lihi), p. 404 (coconut-planting lihi). --Analyst]

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to find and follow the wild pigs." Some people believe that the wild pigs do not run as fast or as far as normal on Holy Friday for "they are then very grave." This is one of a number of beliefs associated with Holy Week in Caticugan.

When the pig is killed, division of the animal may be made in various ways. Apparently the most common division is one-half to the man who kills the pig, the remainder divided equally among the other hunters. If only one hunter has dogs, he receives two-thirds of the pig he kills and others share the remaining one-third. Some hunters said that if the "main hunter" (the one who held the annual bood) kills the pig he receives three-fourths and the others receive equal parts of the remainder. If another member of the group kills the pig, the "main hunter" receives only one-half, the man killing the pig one-fourth, and the remainder to the other members of the party. If the person who kills the pig is not a member of the hunting group he receives one-fourth of the animal, the "main hunter" one-half, and the remainder is divided among the rest. For example, a pursued boar might pass through a gaingin where a man was watching his crops; if he killed the pig, one-fourth would be given to him. The head, liver, heart and tail always are given to the man who kills the pig.

Sometimes men who hunt without dogs are given one-half; or the meat may be divided according to the dogs they have on the hunt. The division is not standardized

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# PRELIMINARY NOTES ON THE RURAL PHILIPPINE FIESTA COMPLEX
## (NEGROS ORIENTAL PROVINCE) [1]

DONN V. HART

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THE fiesta (piyesta) is as typical of the Philippines as corn, coconuts, and carabaos. Every day in the year some city, *poblacion* or *barrio* is holding a fiesta in honor of its patron saint. For most rural Filipinos the fiesta is the big annual *premicias* (blow-out). As one sophisticated Manileña has written:

> At certain times of the year, Manila loses portions of its population to the provinces surrounding it. The call is irresistible to those who hear it and completely mystifying to those who do not and who are compelled to watch while, one after another, a segment of the community around them collectively drops everything it holds dear and necessary to life in this dusty metropolis to participate in the curious religious-social rites known as the fiesta.[2]

There is no printed source by which the actual number of fiestas annually held in Negros Island can be determined, or in the Philippines as a whole. Since there are more than 600 *barrios* in Negros, and many more *sitios*, the number of fiestas held in this island each year probably total more than 500. The fiesta is a major aspect of Philippine culture and an excellent example of the reinterpretation of Spanish culture by Filipinos over the centuries. It is remarkable that so little has been written on these fiestas, for they are so typical of the Philippines. This article

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[1] This study was part of the research done by the writer while a Fulbright Fellow in the Philippines, 1950-52. For one year the writer lived in the southern part of Negros while making a community study of Barrio Caticugan, municipality of Siaton. The writer attended eight *barrio*, three *poblacion*, and one city fiestas while living in Negros Oriental. His work was aided in many ways by the gracious hospitality and cooperation afforded him by the faculty of Silliman University. It is understood, of course, that neither the Fulbright Committee nor Silliman University is responsible for the opinions and conclusions stated in this draft on the rural fiesta complex.

[2] Consuelo Abaya, "The Fiesta," *Philippine Quarterly*, 1:30, March, 1952.

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796 121 123 presents preliminary notes on the rural fiesta complex as observed in Negros Oriental province during 1950-52. The information on the fiesta was obtained through participant observation, interviewing of informants, a careful analysis of scores of printed fiesta programs, and other published materials.

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796 177 The fiesta complex was brought to the Philippines by the Spanish conquerors of the archipelago in the 16th century. All fiestas originally corresponded to church feasts listed on the Catholic calendar " . . . and were, whatever they have now turned out to be, originally intended solely to do honor to the patron saints of the towns of King Philip's Catholic colony."[3] During the following centuries the fiesta was reinterpreted by the Filipinos. The event came to fill a sociocultural void created by the priests' suppression of ancient pagan ceremonies, to increase the religious education of the *tao* and the church's position among the people, and whether it was an original purpose or not, soon became a profitable financial venture for the Church.

771 Most rural Filipinos regard their patron saint as the "guardian" of their *barrio* or *poblacion*, watching over their health, households and general welfare. The patron saint is normally in the background of community affairs in the *barrios*, if less so in the *poblacions*, except during the fiesta period, when the *poblacions* also render special homage to their [789] saint. In periods of crises, crop failures, lack of rain, epidemics, etc., the patron saint may be turned to for aid, particularly by the barrio folk. During the writer's residence in Siaton, the people of Caticugan carried their patron saint (San Isidro) around the barrio, singing and praying, in hope of producing a badly needed rain for their parched crops. Ordinarily, however, the patron saint does not have such an important place in the daily routine of the people as during the annual fiesta. Yet, for many of the Filipinos, the mere fact that a patron saint exists must give them a diffused feeling of security.

796 This article cannot fully explore the modifications made by Filipinos on the original fiesta complex of the Spaniards. However, certain obvious and important reinterpretations will be pointed out.

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[3] *Ibid.*, p. 30.

In a survey of the fiestas of Negros Island the four frequently selected patron saints were: (1) San Isidro de Labrador; (2) Santo Niño; (3) San Jose; and (4) Sta. Cruz. San Isidro is the patron saint of farmers, a fact which probably explains, in part, his popularity. Male saints are, by far, the most popular, probably because there are more male than female saints in the Catholic faith.

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796 In Negros Oriental province there are now fiestas which are held on dates other than the patron saint's birthday (*kahólogan*). If the saint's birthday falls during the holy week or conflicts with a fiesta in a nearby community, the date may be disregarded and a more convenient one selected by the people. Three fiestas were listed in the 1951 *Catholic Directory of the Philippines*, for Negros Island, with "moveable", i. e. unfixed, dates. The patron saint of Barrio Caticugan and Zamboanguita *poblacion* is San Isidro. Barrio Caticugan purposively established its fiesta the last of February in order not to conflict with the Zamboanguita fiesta which is held on May 15, San Isidro's birthday. The birthdays of the patron saints of Barrio Caticugan and Giliga-on occur during Holy Week. The fiestas in these two *barrios* are always postponed several weeks since dancing and gambling, and certain fiesta food, would be inappropriate during such a religious period.

[794] The religious aspects of the original fiesta complex have been significantly modified. For the majority of the Filipinos, the religious character of the contemporary rural Philippine fiesta has assumed a relatively minor part in the festivities. Often communities feel it necessary to justify the fiesta, with its dancing, feasting and gambling, for charitable purposes which were not part of the original complex.[4] Fiestas are now held to raise money for a worthy cause, to build a need public, building, etc., instead of solely in honor of the patron saint. Abaya has written:

> Now piety is only a subtle flavor which the inveterate fiesta-goer often fails to sample in the melange of more exciting ingredients. It is localized in the morning mass and perhaps a procession in the afternoon, which is convenient for skirting around by those who have other plans for their time.[5]

There are four reference points in the contemporary fiesta complex in regard to religion, although they are not as rigidly categorized as this pre-

[4] The writer obtained the figures of the total income and expenses of some fiestas advertised, basically as charitable affairs. The amount of money remaining after the expenses of the event were paid was sometimes a mere pittance. The money spent on the orchestra, rental of the "Queen's gown and crown, etc. could have been reduced and a larger fund raised for charitable purposes. This observation is not meant as a criticism of such fiestas, merely a generalization that the charitable aspects of the fiesta appears to be a public rationalization by those who feel its diminished religious significance no longer justifies the fiesta's continuance.

[5] Abaya, *loc. cit.*

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796 sentation implies. First, the novenas (either individual or group prayers) which usually precede the fiesta, the last prayer occurring on *vesperas* evening. Second, the masses held in honor of the patron saint on *vesperas* [851] (the day before *kahologan*) and *kahologan* mornings. Third, the baptism of babies, particularly those born since the last fiesta in *barrios* isolated from the *poblacion* church. In some *barrios* distant from the *poblacion* church of Siaton, as many as 30 babies were baptized by the priest when he visited the community for their annual fiesta. Fourth, the religious procession held on the afternoon of *kahologan* (sometimes on *vesperas*) when the patron saint is taken from the chapel or church and paraded around the fiesta area.

The religious, economic, and social activities of the rural fiesta complex are not solely concentrated in the "fiesta core" which, for most purposes, can be described as *vesperas* and *kahologan* days although variations do exist in some *poblacion* (but rarely *barrio*) fiestas. A series of weekly pre-fiesta dances are held, sometimes beginning two or three months before the "fiesta core." Barrio Caticugan's pre-fiesta Saturday night dances began (in 1951) a month before *vesperas* while those in Siaton *poblacion* started nearly three months before *vesperas* in 1950. As the fiesta approaches these dances increase in frequency, attendance, and admission fee for the individual. Many of the people begin to repair, or even enlarge, their dwellings for the coming fiesta. Efforts are made to earn additional money in order to entertain properly visitors during the fiesta, buy new clothing, etc. One of the busiest periods of tailors and dressmakers in the rural areas is several months before the fiesta. No Filipino likes to wear the [838] same dress at two different fiestas. Beauticians (often *bayutes*)[6] invade [305] the *poblacions* and *barrios* along the road to set up their permanent wave shops. Local stores begin to stock their shelves with foods associated with the fiesta but not normally sold to their patrons. More and more committee meetings are held regarding the fiesta organization as the period approaches.

796 An innovation introduced to the original Spanish fiesta complex is 541 the beauty or popularity contest. The beauty candidates are local *barrio* or *poblacion* girls who are supported by various factions in their communities. In the *poblacion* for example, the municipal employees, merchants, and school-teachers will sponsor a candidate for "Queen" or "Muse" of the fiesta. These contests are not as typical of *barrio* fiestas as in larger communities, nor nearly as elaborate. Tickets are sold by the candidates

[6] Hermaphrodites.

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796 541 [557] or their supporters which represent a certain number of votes. The candidate selling the most tickets wins the honor of being the "Queen" of the fiesta, the runners-up are the "Princesses" or the "Queen's 'damas.'" In the larger *poblacions* and cities these contests became elaborate affairs and the candidates' parents or relatives may spend thousands of pesos to make their daughter the "Queen". In these areas, the contest is more often a struggle within the small elite than within the community as a whole.

796 [369] The organization of each fiesta is done by various committees, a method which gives Filipinos, particularly those living in *barrios*, some valuable experience in committee work—one basic aspect of democracy in action.[7] Committee organization increases in size and complexity as one moves from the small *barrio* fiesta to large urban fiestas. There are usually the following committees in most fiestas: executive or board of directors; arches (to build the bamboo-paper decorated arches under which the patron saint is carried during the procession); athletics (to arrange for various competitive sports); auditorium and decoration (to build a temporary dancing area, especially in the *barrios*, or prepare and decorate the plaza or schoolhouse); beauty or popularity contest; dance; decorations (often listed as "all lady teachers" whose responsibility is to decorate the church and altar); finance and audit (usually chaired by the municipal treasurer); invitation and reception; lights (sometimes such a committee must arrange to rent a generator to supply electricity during the fiesta period); music; parade; publicity; program; and patrons and donors (to obtain prizes for the various contests held during the fiesta).

796 565 The membership of the *barrio*, and particularly the *poblacion*, fiesta committees is largely composed of the *principalia*—the more prominent people of the community. In the *barrio*, social and economic stratification is not as visible or complex as in the *poblacion*; but it exists, nevertheless, in a milder form. The importance of the *principalia* in organizing the Philippine fiesta is a distinct difference between most of the fiesta of Mexico where the organizational and administrative aspects of the event are disdained by the more prominent citizens. If the fiesta is to be more effectively used as a way of giving the people increased experience in committee work, the organizational aspects need to be broadened to include more individuals outside the *principalia*. Whether this can be accomplished, however, under the present systems of social stratification in the Philippines is somewhat dubious.

[7] In a penetrating and provocative article, Lansang states the lack of experience of most Filipinos with "so elementary a democratic tool as the committee of conference." Jose Lansang, "The Philippine-American Experiment, a Filipino View," *Pacific Affairs*, 25:233, September, 1952.

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796 565 562 pines is somewhat dubious. Usually the executive committee is composed of the mayor or other municipal officials, schoolteachers, and prominent merchants in the larger *poblacions*. In a survey made of 28 different fiestas held in 16 different *poblacions*, the executive committee was almost always completely dominated by men. In certain committees, such as decoration, invitation, reception, dances, and prizes, there are normally more women than men, yet *the chairman* of these committees is usually a man. Very few women are included in the finance and audit committees of the fiesta. The Filipina's privilege of controlling the family purse-strings is not extended to the management of fiesta finances.

The predominance of men on the fiesta committees is due to a number of factors. Men, with their greater physical strength, are more appropriate as members of such committees engaged in building arches, constructing a dance platform, etc. Women, traditionally assigned certain positions in Philippine society, are the logical choice (culturally) for committees needed to decorate the church altar (making lovely paper flowers, a skill taught them by the older generation of Spanish priests), etc. Yet the predominance of males over females in the rural fiesta organization reflects another factor, i. e., the secular nature of the complex. Catholicism in the *barrios* and *poblacions* is primarily feminine. In those sacred aspects of the fiesta the women normally predominate, yet the contemporary fiesta is a complex which falls largely within the sphere of masculine activities. There are many other interesting and significant aspects of the Philippine fiesta which merit attention but cannot be dealt with here owing to space limitations.

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796 The material which follows is a "reconstruction" of the "fiesta core," *vesperas* and *kahologan*. This "core" is typical of nearly all of the fiestas observed by the writer in Negros Oriental province and of those fiestas analyzed through their printed fiesta programs. Variations in the fiesta complex do occur before or after this "core" with some fiestas having a formal program covering as much as eight days. The fiesta's length is often increased by synchronizing it with other events such as a provincial Boy Scout meeting, the opening of a new bridge in the area, etc. Another difficulty inherent in this "reconstruction" of the fiesta complex "core" is that it blurs differences between small *barrio* and larger, more urban *poblacion* fiestas. This reconstruction is more typical of a medium-size urban *poblacion* than a typical small *barrio* or sitio.

*Vesperas*, the day before *kahologan* is also called "Proclamation Day," "Eve of the Fiesta," or "Fiesta Vesperas," although in the printed fiesta programs the most common title is "Proclamation Day"—when the elected

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Queen is proclaimed at the evening dance. *Vesperas* is the "day of arrival" of most of the fiesta visitors; at least, it is the ideal pattern. If one lives fairly near the fiesta, one may not come until early *kahalogan* morning. The young men and women, however, prefer to arrive on *vesperas* in order to attend the dance that evening, an event which holds little attraction for most older Filipinos. (In the smaller *barrios* the dances are rarely attended by the older people who do not know how to dance the fox-trots, mambos and tangos of the younger generation.) The arrival of relatives and guests on *vesperas* depends upon such factors as; (1) distance one lives from the fiesta; (2) transportation facilities; (3) whether relatives are living in the community giving the fiesta; (4) prestige of the fiesta; (5) weather conditions, etc. For larger fiestas special busses are added to the regular schedule and the fare is often raised.

*Vesperas* may begin with a "reveille" or *diana*, as early as four or five in the morning, when the orchestra marches around the *poblacion* playing sprightly melodies to awaken the people—many of whom have been up for hours busy with food preparations or gambling all night. One can often determine the residences of the *principalia* by following the band, for their route is normally from one such residence to another where they stop to play a few minutes and then pass on. Often the orchestra's members may be invited inside for a breakfast snack. There may be some fireworks after the *diana*. While the fiesta programs for *kahalogan* invariably state that church services follow the *diana*, this is not always the case in *vesperas*. If masses are held, they are followed by athletic games.

At noon the church bells are rung and more fireworks may be exploded. A few fiesta programs list "Dinner in all houses" but this event is not as frequently included in the progams for *vesperas* as on *kahalogan*. Meals served *vesperas* noon are not as elaborate as those served *kahalogan* noon. *Vesperas* afternoon is filled with sports, Boy Scout exhibitions, demonstration of folk dances or calisthenics by the local school children. Gambling activities continue all day, either at the residences of the people, or at the mean gambling area of the fiesta, often the market place. There are games of chance, such as *palipat, diolens, or argolya*, card games, *monte, elbores*, or *hantak*, and cockfights. There are games of chance for the "small fry" which require only one-centavo bets. Frequently, the writer saw small boys (10-14 years) dealing at card games and was told that they had been hired by gamblers to impress the players that their game was an honest one.

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796 527 A somewhat distinct feature of some *vesperas* afternoon programs is the "Civic" or "Inaugural" parade of the winning candidates of the beauty contest. Floats are entered in the parade by various groups within the community, e. g. schoolteachers, municipal employees, etc. A religious procession was listed in some of the fiesta programs for late *vesperas* afternoon, although the writer did not observe such a procession on this day at the fiesta attended. Several programs also stated a Holy Rosary would be held in the late afternoon in the church or chapel. This is a fairly common feature (although often omitted from the printed programs) since *vesperas* is normally the ninth and last of the pre-fiesta *novena* prayers. There may be more fireworks around six o'clock, although there are fewer fireworks in the fiesta today owing to recent government restrictions levied [177] against their importation. It seems that the use of fireworks during the fiesta is a Chinese addition.

527 537 The proclamation dance *vesperas* evening may begin as early as six p. m. The admission charge for the dance is lower than for the Coronation Ball held *kahalogan*, averaging ₱1.50 to ₱2.00. This price is one indication that the Proclamation Dance is not considered such a gala and important affair as the Coronation Ball. Normally, both in the *barrio* and *poblacion*, women are admitted free to these dances "to attract the men," who must pay. There is a program which includes the presentation to the audience of winners of the beauty contest. A local speaker introduces the proclamation guest orator who is normally a provincial official, a prominent attorney, or an affluent citizen of Dumaguete. Sometimes the local congressman may be the speaker but not as frequently as for the Coronation Ball. The most important speaker is usually reserved for the most important dance, the Coronation Ball.

527 535 437 The program for the Proclamation dance may include prizes for the best tango, bee-bop, rhumba, calypso couples, "surprise" numbers, and other entertainment. One fiesta program stated that an auction of "bouquets" for the "Fiesta Muse" would be held, the *poblacion* counterpart of the *barrio* fiesta custom of "selling flowers" at their dances.[8] The dance may continue until after midnight; one fiesta program stated the dance would last from six in the evening to six the following morning.

[8] During the pre-fiesta and fiesta dances in Barrio Caticugan, one flower was auctioned to the highest bidder, who was permitted to dance for one dance with the local belle the flower represented, while the people watched. Often three or four flowers would be auctioned during the dance, the money collected being used to finance the fiesta. This custom was more frequently observed at *barrio* than *poblacion* fiestas.

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796 527 *Kahologan* begins around four or five in the morning with the *diana* or reveille. After this event some *poblacions* may have a small fireworks display or shoot off a few booming rockets. Then, from about six to nine, masses are held. The church is usually jammed and more men are present [793] than at the regular weekly services. (In the *barrios* only one mass is per- [369] formed on *kahologan*, often the only mass of the year in the small chapel owing to the shortage of priests in the Philippines.)[9] After the masses there is a light breakfast (*pa-init*) of various types of rice cakes (*puto*, *bodbod*, or *bingka*), bread, hot chocolate, fruit, etc. The remainder of the [526] morning is devoted to sports— basketball, volleyball, and softball games, horse, bicycle, and "crab" races, carabao fights, eating contests, or billiard competition. Often teams vie for prizes or trophies which have been donated by patrons, and are awarded *kahologan* evening.

527 At twelve noon the church bells are rung, often three times, and the orchestra marches around the *poblacion*, playing loudly and enthusiastically. This is the *jornada*. Rockets may be fired into the air and the *luthangs* [574] (home-made bamboo cannons) shot. This is when the "big feast" of the fiesta is served. There is often much competition among the *principalia* to attract to their dwelling for this dinner the most prominent visitors to the fiesta. Since food is synonymous with hospitality for most Filipinos, the tables groan under the weight of different meat courses, rice and noodle dishes, *lechon* (roast pig), drinks (coke, beer, and perhaps whisky and brandy), etc. A number of Filipino hostesses told the writer, when he attended fiestas in in the larger *poblacions* or in Dumaguete, that they admired the American custom of serving a meal consisting of only several courses. However, to do so during a *kahologan* dinner, they said, would be considered unfavorably by their guests. Meals are served in relays, the tables being cleared after one setting and reset for the next group of guests. Visiting friends during *kahologan* is often most painful, since one must eat, at least the delicacies prepared by one's hosts, although one's capacity to consume more food is absolutely non-existent.

After dinner, which may continue for several hours, with guests coming

[793] [9] In 1952 there were 2492 Catholic priests in the Philippines for an estimated 15,810,024 Catholics, or one priest for 6340 Catholics. The average of the Philippines is lower than the average of Latin America (one priest for 5104 Catholics) and much lower than the average for the United States (one priest for 620 Catholics). Leo A. Cullum, S.J., "Distribution of Priests", *Philippine Studies*, 1:169-173, September, 1953. A review of an article written by J. Luzzi, S. J., "L'appel de l' Amerique latine", *Nouvelle Revue Theologique*.

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527 and going, the athletic games and contests are resumed. The older folks may take a siesta, visit or gossip with friends and relatives, or play mah-jong. If the *poblacion* is near a large river there may be aquatic sports. The gambling never stops, but continues night and day. Cockfights are held.

796 Between five and six, the religious procession occurs. The figure of the patron saint is carried outside the *poblacion* church, after a brief service, and slowly taken on a platform around the *poblacion*, under the four arches when they exit. In one *poblacion* the writer remarked about the absence of the arches and was informed this was *not* a *barrio* fiesta. The patron saint is followed by the priests who are visiting the local priest, and by the people, mostly women and children who often hold lighted candles and sing hymns. The procession returns to the church where another short service is held before the people disperse. Another fireworks display may be held at the end of the procession.

527 535 The Coronation Ball begins around seven or eight p.m. in the auditorium (the school building) or the outdoor dance hall (usually the *poblacion* plaza). The admission prizes varies from ₱2.00 to ₱3.00. Ladies are admitted free as is the custom. However, if a man brings more than two ladies, he is charged for his additional female companions.

At the Coronation Ball the "Queen" and her "Princesses" are installed. The new Queen may be crowned by the Queen of the previous year and some *poblacions* have torch parades to escort the Queen from her residence [537] to the dance. There is an introductory speech by a local official of the *poblacion* to introduce the guest speaker. The Coronation Ball speaker is quite frequently the congressmen of the district in which the *poblacion* is located, the governor, or a choice from other top provincial officials. Normally the congressman of Negros Oriental province speak at these fiestas in their own districts, although this is not always the case. After the crowning of the Queen of the fiesta, there may be a "Parade of the Royal Family," and the prizes and trophies are awarded to the winners. Contests are held for the best tango, mambo or waltz couple, and vocal solos or orations are given. When the program is over, the dance continues into the early hours of the following morning. The Coronation Ball is usually the fiesta climax for the young people who dance gracefully and tirelessly almost until dawn.

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527 666 The fiestas have a political function, particularly those held in the cities, *poblacions* or larger *barrios* located along the National Road. The small *barrio* fiesta, such as that at Caticugan, rarely has such a func-

51:Hart E-3 (1950-1952)1954 OA1 Philippines
Central Bisayan OA14



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181 Third, the fiesta is an economic investment. One's guests will, in the future, be one's hosts during their fiesta. In fact, this is one of several reasons given for organizing new *barrio* fiestas in southern Negros. The people felt ashamed to attend fiestas in neighboring communities without having a fiesta of their own when they could reciprocate enjoyed hospitality. In the long run, the bread thrown on the water returns. In some cases doubled. From this point of view the fiesta may not be as wasteful as many Filipinos believe.

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181 *Fourth*, the fiesta serves a religious function, particularly in the *barrios* distant from the *poblacion* church. The fiesta is often the only time in the year the priest visits the local chapel and holds mass in the community for the barriofolk. Sometimes combining a baptismal or wedding celebration with the fiesta serves to reduce the family expenses by making
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181 a normal entertainment unnecessary by coordination with the fiesta. *Fifth*, the fiesta re-inforces the people's feeling of solidarity within the *barrio* or *poblacion*, although sometimes the event may enhance competitiveness between different communities. Most Filipinos take great pride in their
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181 *barrio* or *poblacion* fiesta. *Sixth*, the *barrio* and *poblacion* fiesta often reunite, for the only time of the year, members of the immediate families. The ideal pattern is for one always to return to one's home fiesta. It is not at all uncommon to meet relatives from Siquijor, Cebu, Panay, Leyte, or even more distant places, at Negros Oriental fiestas.

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181 *Seventh*, the fiesta furnishes the church with a sizeable annual income. The money collected for baptisms, masses, and the church's participation in the various religious activities of the fiestas is an important aspect of the financial support of the church by the people. The fiesta often renews the authority of the church in more isolated areas where this authority and responsibility lies dormant for most of the year. *Eight*,
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181 the fiesta in the larger *barrio* and *poblacion* is a commercial stimulant to the economic life of the community. Prices are often raised, purchases of food and clothing more frequent and larger than normal. The fiesta creates new wants and needs which do not exist during most of the year.

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181 *Ninth*, the fiesta is a means by which the indebtedness of many families is increased, by borrowing money to entertain their guests properly. Some families may mortgage their land for "agricultural" loans and others sell farmyard animals to raise a little cash for the fiesta. However, the waste may not be as great as imagined by many Filipinos. One's guests may next month be one's hosts. The fiesta also stimulates many people to work harder, and for others it is an oppotunity to augment the pitifully small family cash income by selling food and drink. *Tenth*, in the larger *barrio*

The day before the loto the womenfolk prepare pilipig, toasted rice pounded almost flat in the rice mortar.[18] The morning the loto is to be held by the owner of the caingin, his family prepares the food offering. Oracion writes that during the rice harvest ceremonies of the Magahats

> The food for the diwata [unseen spirits] is cooked separately on an open hearth outdoors by the owner himself. It is believed that since this is a thanksgiving offering the owner should show his heartfelt reverence by actually performing all the work.[19]

Whether this is the case for the food offering of the caingin loto in Siaton I do not know. However, the family who holds the ceremony for the dulot has the responsibility of preparing the food offering. Friends, however, often help the host family cook the food to be served to guests after the loto.

In the evening (among the Magahats when there is a full moon) a temporary bamboo table is constructed and put in the center of the harvested caingin. On this table are placed plates of pilipig, seven tigola (home-made cigarettes), seven tinostos (home-made cigars), seven tilads (the ingredients for betel chewing), one roasted chicken, one boiled egg, sometimes shelled, seven bina-ang (a type of rice cake), seven binaluksan

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[18] I never witnessed a loto; this is a reconstructed account based on information gathered from various informants in the Siaton River valley and Caticugan.

[19] Oracion, op. cit., p. 59.

(rice wrapped in coconut leaves and then boiled), one plate of cooked rice, and four bamboo containers of tuba made from either the coconut or ediok palms.[20]

Guests normally do not participate in the offering but stand or sit around the edges of the field. Some women may be inside the house preparing food for the meal that follows the ceremony. If the caingin owner feels confident, he may conduct the ceremony himself. Otherwise he will request a man well-versed in the ritual to make his offering. The "speech" given during the brief ritual, however, appears to be an improvisation and not a recitation that requires a nimble memory. Yet many people do not wish to perform the ceremonies for the loto or the dulot because they believe any mistakes might offend the unseen spirits they seek to please.

The ceremony is always conducted by a man. No cases were reported of a woman who made the loto or dulot; this is interesting because the magical rites connected with lowland agriculture are normally performed by women. The man goes to the center of the caingin and stands by by the table. Speaking to the spirits and kalags (souls) of the parents or relatives of the caingin cultivator, he invites them to dine on the proffered food. The specialist may repeat his invitation in a whisper or speak loudly. According to one female informant, what is said usually is:

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[20] The Magahats offer one chicken, seven tilad, seven rice cakes, seven tinostos, two glasses of tuba, and three candles. Oracion, op. cit., p. 59-60.

loto. After the field offering, the food is taken to the house and eaten. One informant said they buried their food offering in the field after the dulot, but this is rarely done. 243 782

A person noted for skill in holding dulots may be requested to officiate, although the owner or tenant can hold his own dulot if so desired. An old bachelor in Dangola was frequently requested to officiate at dulots in Caticugan; another recognized expert was said to live in Sandolot. In Naga one dulot was held by brothers and sisters whose fields adjoined. However, in Barrio Caticugan such cooperative dulots were uncommon. 243 791

Certain standard offerings are made in nearly every dulot. These basic items include: (1) seven binaluksan (rice wrapped in coconut leaves and then boiled, (2) one boiled chicken egg (usually but not always shelled), (3) one roasted chicken, (4) seven boiled ears of young corn, (5) seven tilads (tobacco leaves, areca nut, lime, and betel leaves), (6) seven tostos (homemade cigars), (7) seven tigols (homemade cigarettes), (8) seven kinalopis (grated fresh corn wrapped in husks and then boiled), and (9) tuba, usually four cups but sometimes one, two, or seven cups. Other items may be used such as seven nilunan (cakes made from finely ground cornmeal) seven cups of roasted cornmeal "coffee", and incense of the dried sap of the kamanan tree. 243 801

Seven is often a magical number among Caticugan barriofolk. Describing the superstitions of the people of Negros, Echauz wrote: "The number seven comes into all his 243 777 801

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undertakings and ceremonies..."[45] The offerings made by the Magahats in their rice and corn saingins include food items in sevens. Oracion reports: "Seven is normally the lowest number for the above items [i.e., in the Magahat's harvest food offering]. These items, however, can be increased to fourteen, twenty-eight, and fifty-six."[46] The Magahats offerings include many items used in the loto and dulot of the Siaton River valley barriofolk.

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One dulot in Sitio Lamtoc, Casala-an, will be described in some detail since it appears to have been typical. I arrived at Pas' house in the late afternoon. Pas, a widow with several grown sons living at home, was holding a dulot that evening. She was busy in the kitchen with the help of three female neighbors husking fresh corn to be used to make kinalopis. Large clay pots filled with kinalopis boiled on the fire for she expected a large crowd to come that evening. Her visitors were to be offered kinalopis to eat and to take home. She was hopeful that a dance might be held if a sufficient number of young people came, some with their guitars.

Around 8 p.m., a Lamtoc resident arrived who had been requested to hold the dulot. At first it seemed that the dulot might be postponed because the sons were unable to obtain the tuba which Pas said was "the most important item." Guhang, a similar alcoholic drink made from the

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[45]Eahauz, op. cit., p. 143.

[46]Oracion, op. cit., p. 59.

same methods used in the lowlands. The harvesters normally get one-fourth, sometimes, but rarely, one-third of the rice harvested. 243

A very limited survey, so restricted in nature as to be merely suggestive, was made of seven caingins. The average corn yield per acre of these caingins was five bushels.[15] This figure is for the first corn harvest that usually yields more than the second crop. Three of the seven caingins were damaged by wild pigs and monkeys, suggesting the problem these pests present to the farmers. Dong-go was planted in all the caingins except two which grew Bagsiao. The caingins were located in sitios Kang-otot and Nawakat (Casala-an), Casala-an, Dolog, and Bantolinao and Sitio Banat-e (Maloh). 241 311 433

15The conversion was: one cavan of shelled corn equals 58 kilos and 1 kilo equals 2.2 pounds. One bushel of ear corn (not shelled corn) equals 52 pounds. To determine the size of caingin or lowland corn fields the following method, recommended by the provincial agricultural office, was used: "With reference to your letter...regarding rate of planting corn, please be informed that the rate varies according to the number of grains dropped per hill and the distance of planting corn. We noted that if the distance of planting is 80 x 80 cm. dropping 4-5 grains per hill the rate of planting is around 6 gantas per hectare, especially if the grains of corn used are small. By dropping only three grains per hill at a distance of 1 M. x 80 cm., especially if the grains are big, the rate of planting per hectare of corn is only around four gantas. But by dropping three grains per hill at a distance of 1 meter by 1 meter, if the grains are medium size, the rate of planting is only five gantas per hectare. So on the average we use five gantas per hectare as the rate of seeding corn regardless of the size of the grains and the distance of planting and the rate of planting per hill..." Personal communication to writer from Provincial Agricultural Supervisor, February, 1951, Dumaguete, Negros Oriental. [804]

SELECTION OF A HOUSE SITE

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The same animistic concept that underlies caingin selection applies to selection of a house site. One must determine if the spirits approve or disapprove of the chosen location. The balisa is the most widespread method of selecting a house site in Caticugan; one might say that it kills two birds with one stone.

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To measure the correct distance between the four post holes (there may be more posts) four equal lengths of bamboo are prepared; a small hole is made in each end of each bamboo stick. The sticks are then arranged in a square on the ground and small pegs are driven through the holes, holding the square to the earth. Diagonals are then measured from northeast to southwest and southeast to northwest; if these diagonals are the same length this is deemed a favorable sign from the spirits. However, if the spirits object to a dwelling on that spot, no matter how carefully the bamboo square is made the diagonals will never be equal. The site is usually abandoned or the process repeated until a favorable response is obtained. The balisa has a practical aspect for if the diagonals are equal then the bamboo square has located the four post holes.

One Naga informant explained how he selected his house site in 1950. Questions in () I asked during the interview.

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I got a stick six feet long and split it into two pieces. I placed one part in the place where I wanted to build the house and said to myself: [loud enough so the spirits could hear] 'I will put this stick here and I have another stick of the same length that I shall sleep with tonight. I shall measure the two sticks tomorrow; if they are of the same length I will build my house here. If not, I shall look for another place. So while I sleep tonight you [the spirits] let me dream if you want me to build my house here or not.' When I went to sleep that night I slept with the stick. The next morning I measured the two sticks; and they were the same length so I built my house here.

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I also buried a green coconut, one that when you shake it you cannot hear the water inside. I let it stay in the ground all night and the next morning I dug it up. I shook it but I could not hear the water. According to the old people, all omens were good. If I had heard the water when I shook the coconut the old men say the site would be a hot one. (What do you mean by 'hot'?) I do not know what they mean by hot; I just follow what the old people say. (Did you have a dream the night you slept with the stick?) No, that is why I decided to build my house here.

~~Other people said the coconut~~ remains buried for one week.

Often the balisa may be accompanied by other practices to determine whether the spirits object. One family, two days after holding a favorable balisa, put a small cross in what would be the center between the four post holes of the proposed house. A loop of sig-id vine (rattan is also used) about 6 fee. long was put on one arm of the cross. The next morning the vine was measured and it was found to be the same length. This was interpreted as an omen that th spirits approved of the site. If the vine had been shorter or longer than 6 feet this would have been an unfavorable sign from the spirits. An almost identical method of selecting new house sites exists among the Magahats. A cross is put in the site and a vine hung

paddies) and a few use the leaves of the dapdap (Erythrina variegata L. var. orientalis (L.) Merr.) tree as greens. 222 262 Sometimes the blossoms of wild bananas are gathered, boiled, and eaten.

MUSHROOMS

Wild mushrooms, though not very plentiful, are 222 gathered by the barriofolk. Most people are fond of mushrooms, and consider them a delicacy. Individuals rarely make special searches for mushrooms; they watch for them when traveling in the mountains. Mushrooms are usually collected during the rainy season; they are found growing in bamboo groves, on dead logs, rotting banana or abaca stalks (often in saingina) and other shady places.[14]

Eleven different types of edible mushrooms (ohong) are gathered by the barriofolk: amamakol, libaya, kolukdop, layat, asha-an, kotmaya, ohong (a poisonous type is also known by the same name), talope, tangogtangog, layalaya and songadsongad. The most common varieties that grow near Caticugan

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[14] Few cases of fatal mushroom poisoning occur in the Philippines since the poisonous species rarely grow in the lowlands; they thrive best in cool places in the mountains. "It is a common belief in the Philippines that thunder and lightning have something to do with the spontaneous appearance of mushrooms. When thunder begins to rumble, especially during May or early June, at the start of the rainy season, young and old in rural communities rush out to the open fields and meadows to search for mushrooms." The general name for edible mushrooms in Tagalog is kabute, in Negros and Panay, ohong, and Leyte ulaping. Jose M. Mendoza, "Philippine Mushrooms." The Philippines Journal of Science, LXV, Nos. 1-2, (January-February, 1938), pp. 13-15. My collection of mushrooms for identification spoiled: for this reason the English or scientific names are not given. Mendoza's study did not list the Cebuano names for these mushrooms. [81] [146]

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Hipon, according to the barriofolk, are the young of the Tibiw, Manbot, Toghod and Ontangol.[15] Their eggs allegedly are washed to the sea during river floods or they may be laid near the river's mouth; when hatched the fingerlings swim upstream. Tibiw eggs are laid on river stones for the boys see them when fishing with goggles.

There are two types of Hipon: (1) a "fine type" (translucent) that average perhaps one-half an inch and (2) a "big type" that may be several inches long and is blacker than the "fine type." Barriofolk say the former type of Hipon start upstream first, "maybe they are guards" and the "big type" follows. The upstream migration begins about 45 days after Hipon appear at the river mouth. They run most plentifully during the latter part of the rainy season, especially from August to January. During the dry season the Hipon are said to run but they are very few in number. The first ta-an net seen in the Siaton River during my residence appeared in the latter part of July.

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From August to December the Hipon are reported to run twice a month, a statement that I verified. Each month they run three or four days after the "noon moon"

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[15] Herre and Umali, op. cit., p. 115, state Hipon are Goby fry (Family Gobiidae).

(i.e., the last quarter of the moon, often seen in the sky at noon), several days after the "dying moon" (himatayon) and two or three days after the full moon (subang). During the full moon, however, only the "fine type" are said to be caught. Examination of the types of Hipon caught during these runs did not bear out this folk-statement. Others said that in years when mushrooms are scarce Hipon are most plentiful. During a Hipon run several hundred people, from the poblacion and the barrios, can be seen catching the fish in the river; Caticugan is almost deserted during these runs.

Ta-an Nets

Ta-an nets are placed in shallow water near the banks or on sand bars of the Siaton River. Usually low walls of stone and palm leaves are built to make a channel that leads the water into the net. The net, tied to stakes driven into the river bed, is usually four or five feet long and two or three feet wide. The net opening faces downstream since the Hipon swim upstream. Fish pass into the first section of the net, over the front flap that is weighted with stones or sticks. This flap is weighted so it is only partly submerged, not touching the net bottom, but tied by strings at a five or ten degree angle. (See Plate XXXV, Detail B.)[1] This makes it impossible for fish, once they swim over the flap and into the first section of the net, to escape. Eventually they swim from the first section through the two small openings (galao) into the second section of the net;

[1] [this plate (p. 544) is missing -- Analyst]

TABLE XX (Continued)

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| 8. Barb of ray fish (pak-i) | 8. Protection against "envious persons" | 245 273 |
| 9. Pieces of sharpened thorny bamboo | 9. Protection against "envious persons" | 824 825 |
| 10. Discarded flashlight bulb or battery | 10. Protection against "envious persons." The idea seems to be that "neither will work without the other," i.e., the flashlight will not work without a bulb or a battery. | 751 |
| 11. Red peppers | 11. To improve the taste of the guhang | |
| 12. Gunpowder | 12. Protection against "envious persons" who might shoot buri. Used in Bombonon but not in Caticugan. | |
| 13. Mallorca (a commerically produced alcoholic drink made from sugar cane alcohol) | 13. To improve the taste of the guhang | |
| 14. Scrapings from a wild pig's tusk | 14. Protection against "envious persons" | |
| 15. Salt | 15. So "eye" will not leak, be soft and give plenty of sap | |
| 16. Scrapings from the spur of a wild chicken | 16. Protection against "envious persons" | |
| 17. Chicken feathers of any color | 17. Reason or purpose unknown | |
| 18. Bark of the kalingay tree | 18. So when a person drinks guhang he will not get diarrhea. | 245 273 824 751 |
| 19. Koling roots | 19. Protection against "envious persons" | |
| 20. Tango sa lite ("teeth of the thunder.") The barrio folk report when lightning strikes a tree little stones are sometimes found sticking to the bark. | 20. Protection against "envious persons" | [82] |

INTERIOR FURNISHING OF THE BARRIO HOUSE

The typical Caticugan dwelling has two rooms--the sala or the living, dining bed-room, and kitchen. Sometimes the kitchen is completely separated from the sala but there may be only a partial partition. Some dwellings have a third room, a combined bedroom and storage space. Normally this room lacks beds and is used mainly to store boxes of clothing, sleeping mats, grain or other household equipment. Rarely do the "bedrooms" have windows; most barriofolk believe that night air is not healthy. In the poblacion many principalia shutter their bedroom windows when they retire; another reason is to discourage thieves. However, fresh air circulates through the loose walls and the slat floors.

In Caticugan the sala usually has a table and one or more wooden benches; sometimes benches of bamboo are fixed to the wall. Very few chairs occur in barrio dwellings although they are quite common in better houses in the poblacion. In two houses, one in Barrio Caticugan and the other in Naga, Singer sewing machines were seen. Most houses have a few pictures on the walls. The walls of the sala may be covered with colored illustrations from newspapers and magazines, mostly of American origin, and pictures of Filipino movie stars from the Cebuano-dialect magazine, Bisaya.[4]

[4] Bisaya is the most widely read dialect magazine in Siaton; it is a weekly, published in Manila, with a 1954 circulation of 2,973 in Negros Oriental. The magazine, first started in 1946, contains short stories, comics,

The connection is that charcoal is a dark color and if the corn leaves are dark green the plant will be healthy and produce large ears. 243

As one progresses up the Siaton River valley tubli becomes less plentiful until it almost disappears. Its scarcity may be due to the wider use of the plant as a fish poison by this people. Since tubli is often unavailable in the northern barrios of the valley, the leaves of the suwa (Citrus grandis Osbeck), a citrus tree with strong-odored leaves, are substituted along with the shells of a fresh-water snail, ungka (Clithon bicolor Recluz). These two items are never used in Caticugan. Some barriofolk state that suwa and bendita protect the corn from damage by lightning. 824 243

Many, but not all, of the barriofolk of Caticugan bury their lihi items on the east side of the field. One informant explained that if the furrows run east-west, the lihi is made on the east; if the furrows run north-south, the southern side is selected. No one could explain why the east or south sides were considered the proper place to make the lihi. When questioned, they usually replied: "Because this is the way the gulang [old people] did it." Local folklore in southern Negros, however, contains references to the advisability of facing dwellings toward the rising of the sun. This may have been the original reason for the selection of the eastern part of the field for the lihi. [823]

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the people usually include, like malapgos and tubli, and other items that may or may not be used depending on the individual. This is true for most of the agricultural lihis. The variations that occur around the "lihi core" makes it difficult to describe them fully. Normally the women perform the corn planting lihi, probably because the men are disinterested and busy plowing the furrows for the women to plant.

The most common planting corn lihi is to bury certain plants or items in the first or the first three corn hills covered. Corn blessed during Holy Week is often planted for many barriofolk believe this seed is protected from insect damage. Malapgos, tubli and tanlad are widely [824] used and for the same purposes as in the rice lihi. Some bury the malapgos with the seed while others stick a twig in a hill. One informant reported he used malapgos so the corn would not wilt in hot weather and so the stalks would have many ears "like the malapgos berries." Malapgos grows along the river banks and the leaves are always a crisp bright green during the hottest part of the weather.

Some items used in the corn lihi are not employed in the rice planting lihi. The leaves of the tuba bush [824] (Jatropha curcas Linn.) which have a pungent odor, are sometimes included to protect the corn from insects. Tuba bushes are never to be attacked by insects, the barriofolk explain, because of their strong, almost disagreeable, odor. Charcoal is used for the people say it makes the corn "nice to see" or "the leaves dark green and not yellow."

The connection is that charcoal is a dark color and if the corn leaves are dark green the plant will be healthy and produce large ears. 243

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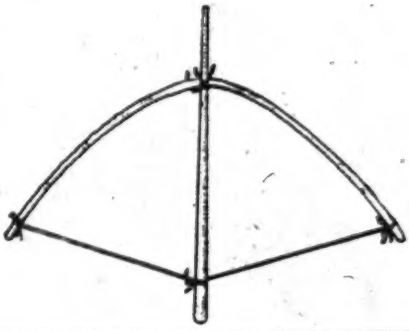
always used. Water is then added to the pot and the corn or meal is cooked. The pinch of dirt from the mound of an ant and the busikad are said to make the corn easy to grind or the cornmeal to increase when cooked in the future. The broken plate is to make the corn "healthy like a China plate" while the lagit stones are to protect stored corn from the bokbok weevils. 343

Another similar practice, and for the same purpose, is to put busikad and bila-bila (Eleusine indica (Linn) Gaertn) in the bottom of a pot. A miniature bow and arrow is then added. (See Plate XXVII.) The tiny bow [824]

PLATE XXVII

BUSOG (ACTUAL SIZE)



and arrow are significantly called busog (i.e., "full"). These objects are covered with coconut or banana leaves, cornmeal and water are added, and the pot put on the fire. Bila-bila and busikad are said to increase all

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GUHANG

Of all the "cash crops" of Caticugan guhang is probably the major source of cash income for the largest number of families. The fermented sap of the buri palm (Corypha elata Roxb.) is the source of guhang. Though much as been written about making tuba (from the sap of the coconut tree) there are fewer accounts of making guhang. One poblacion wit said the name of the drink came from the desire, after excessive drinking, "to go hang yourself." Brown states:

> This [the buri] is the largest and most stately palm found in the Philippines. Its straight trunk attains a diameter of one meter and height of 20 meters...The plant grows 25 to 30 or more years, during which time large quantities of starch collect in the trunk. It then flowers once and dies...[54]

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Besides being the source of guhang the buri has many other uses in the Philippines. The palm is the source of alcohol, vinegar and sugar, all made from the sap while the trunk yields large quantities of starch. The edible kernels of the fruit are used to make sweetmeats. The immature unopened frond is utilized in many parts of the archipelago to manufacture mats, sails, bags, while the buri's petiole yields the so-called Buntal fiber from which the famous hats of Baliuag and Lucban are woven.[55] Barriofolk in Caticugan do not make sugar from the buri's sap, although flour was extracted from the

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[54] Brown, op. cit., I, p. 284.

[55] Brown, op. cit., I, pp. 286-95.

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its better roads to Siaton, would seem to indicate that guhang-making diffusion came from the east not the west. Yet many of the older people insisted that Siatonites first learned to make guhang from residents of Tolong.

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There is little folklore concerning the buri. Some barriofolk tell a story that explains how they first learned to make guhang. One day a tall buri was felled by a typhoon. While cutting the tree to remove it from the field the men noticed sap running from the fresh cuts. They drank some of the sap, discovered its pleasant taste, and reasoned how much more sap they could collect from a living buri. So they started to make guhang.

In selecting a buri, the manangueta prefers a palm which is 25 to 30 feet tall. Buri palms that are either too short, young or old do not give as much sap as those that are "just right." When the stems of the fronds of a buri radiate counter-clockwise around the bole and the fronds droop downward, the palm is thought to be especially well-suited for producing large quantities of fine-flavored sap.

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Once the tree has been chosen the manangueta climbs to the top on a bamboo ladder. This ladder is a long bamboo with the branches trimmed so short stubs remain as steps. Often the upper third of the ladder has removable pegs; when the owner is not obtaining guhang he removes the pegs as he descends. This makes it difficult for others to take any guhang during his absence.

After the prescribed period has lapsed, the manamguete or the owner of the buri holds the lihi. One important reason for the lihi is to protect the palm from "envious persons" (tawo moguat) who, according to the people, are able to damage the buri if they wish. "Envious people" are those who hold a grudge against the owner of the tree, often because they are refused free drinks, or feel the owner is greedy with his guhang. They become angry at the owner because they arrived too late to buy guhang or their ire stems from past misunderstandings. Such individuals may "whip" the buri with paniawan (Tinospora rumphii Boerl.), a warty vine with a very acrid sap, that is said to make the guhang bitter or even stop the sap's flow.[57] One story was told of a man who "whipped" his own buri with a piece of paniawan "just for fun"; he did not believe folklore about the vine. The sap of his buri soon stopped flowing. Later he "treated" the tree with honey and the sap resumed its flow.

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"Envious persons" may also spoil the sap's flavor or kill the buri by driving a fish bone into the trunk, striking the trunk with the barbed tail of the pag-i (ray fish), or smashing a seaworm (bahagbahag) against the palm. Others say a guhang-producing buri can be damaged by flashing a light across the tree and a rotten egg thrown against the palm makes the sap malodorous.

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[57] Brown, op. cit., I, pp. 533-5. Paniawan is also known as makabuhai (Tagalog).

Many items are used in the buri lihi in Catiougan. 245
Each manangueto, however, seems to improvise. Certain 273
items are basic to all the lihis such as pag-i, sharpened 824
bits of thorny bamboo, pauli roots (Cleidion spieiflorum 825
Merr.), and guhang vinegar. Other items depend upon the 751
individual making the lihi and perhaps their availability.
I always asked for the specific purpose for each lihi
item but the explanation given in some cases was only
"it protects the buri," how or why was unknown. Table XX
summarizes the information gathered concerning the buri
lihi.

TABLE XX

Guhang Lihi Chart for Catiougan and Environs

| Items Used in Lihi | Purposes | |
|---|---|---|
| 1. Guhang vinegar | 1. To give the guhang a strong taste | |
| 2. Roots of pangasan vine that have a bitter taste | 2. To give the guhang a strong taste | |
| 3. Bark and roots of badbad tree | 3. Protection against "envious persons" | 754 |
| 4. Tagilaway (an insect that is said always to be secreting saliva; tagilaway means "saliva"). | 4. To keep the buri sap flowing | |
| 5. Bahagbahag (a seaworm) | 5. Protection against "envious persons", | 754 |
| 6. Roots of uli-an vine(uli-an means "bring back"). | 6. Ensure constant flow of sap. If sap stops this may be added to "bring back" sap. | |
| 7. Roots of the pauli tree (Pauli means "to come back" or "to go home"). | 7. Same reason as uli-an. Also protection against "envious persons." | 754 |

TABLE XX (Continued)

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| 8. | Barb of ray fish (pag-i) | 8. Protection against "envious persons" |
| 9. | Pieces of sharpened thorny bamboo | 9. Protection against "envious persons" |
| 10. | Discarded flashlight bulb or battery | 10. Protection against "envious persons." The idea seems to be that "neither will work without the other," i.e., the flashlight will not work without a bulb or a battery. |
| 11. | Red peppers | 11. To improve the taste of the guhang |
| 12. | Gunpowder | 12. Protection against "envious persons" who might shoot buri. Used in Bonbonon but not in Caticugan. |
| 13. | Mallorca (a commerically produced alcoholic drink made from sugar cane alcohol) | 13. To improve the taste of the guhang |
| 14. | Scrapings from a wild pig's tusk | 14. Protection against "envious persons" |
| 15. | Salt | 15. So "eye" will not leak, be soft and give plenty of sap |
| 16. | Scrapings from the spur of a wild chicken | 16. Protection against "envious persons" |
| 17. | Chicken feathers of any color | 17. Reason or purpose unknown |
| 18. | Bark of the kalingay tree | 18. So when a person drinks guhang he will not get diarrhea. |
| 19. | Kolino roots | 19. Protection against "envious persons" |
| 20. | Tango sa lite ("teeth of the thunder.") The barriofolk report when lightning strikes a tree little stones are sometimes found sticking to the bark. | 20. Protection against "envious persons" |

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TABLE XX (Continued)

| | |
|---|---|
| 21. Kalamongay stems ("Kalamongay sometimes looks like a dead stick but it keeps sending out new growth all the time") | 21. To keep the sap flowing |
| 22. Lead from a bullet | 22. Protection against "envious persons" |
| 23. Paniawan vine | 23. Protection against "envious persons" |

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The purposes of the various items used in the guhang lihi can be classified into three categories: (1) to protect the buri from "envious persons"; (2) to improve the guhang's flavor; (3) to ensure an abundant and constant flow of sap. The flow and the taste of sap are two uncertainties in making guhang; this may account for their more complete coverage by magic.

There is good reason for this obvious concern over "envious persons" who may desire to harm the buri producing guhang. It is difficult to refuse friends, and especially relatives, a free glass or two of guhang. Yet if one does not refuse there would be little to sell. Both sexes are fond of guhang and gather regularly around the buris when the owners are collecting guhang. If a palm is noted for a particularly fine-flavored guhang, it attracts more barriofolk. While many will not ask for a free drink the purpose of their presence is painfully clear to the tree's owner. Their thirst normally is limited only by the donor's generosity.

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Powdered tan-bark (tongog), purchased in the poblacion and pounded in the mortar, is added to the sap that has been collected in the jar. During the war when the tan-bark from Mindanao was unobtainable, the bark of the antipolo tree was used as a somewhat unsatisfactory substitute. Tan-bark is not grown locally, most of it comes from Mindanao, and costs about ten cents a pound in Siaton poblacion. The addition of the powdered tan-bark gives the guhang a golden color, improves its flavor, and is said to prevent diarrhea.

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Guhang vendors are always young girls or women, reflecting the general barrio pattern that vending is a woman's job. The vendor's profits are small. A dama (17 to 18 quarts) of guhang wholesales from the buri's owner for about seventy-five cents. The standard price for a quart of guhang in Siaton poblacion is five cents; therefore, a vendor's profit on a dama is about ten to fifteen cents.

Profits of the vendors are limited not only by the price but by the supply of guhang. Often the stalls in Siaton poblacion would close early in the evening for lack of guhang. Every evening men, and a few women, usually residents of the poblacion, collect at the guhang stalls to drink and talk; I rarely saw intoxicated drinkers at these evening gatherings. A pleasant custom of the poblacion stall owners permits prospective customers to sample guhang to determine its taste, without cost, before buying.

the sap begins to flow or the task abandoned as hopeless. A deep hole may be bored into the "eye" to increase the diminishing flow of sap.

As one travels up the Siaton River valley the buri palms decrease; at Dolog they disappear. The sap of the ediok palm (Cebo Negros: Arenga pinnata Wurmb (Miller)) is used to make a mildly alcoholic drink called habyob. The ediok produces large bunches of dates that hang on slender stalks from the top of the palm. A stalk is selected and then violently shaken and hit with a stick each morning until it flowers. Then the stalk's tip is cut and a bamboo container is attached at the end to collect the sap. The ediok's sap flows about the same length of time as the buri; tan-bark is also added to habyob for the same reason it is put in guhang.

MINOR SINGLE CROPS OF CATICUGAN

Spencer lists twenty-one different cropping combinations for the Philippines. Of these combinations six are chiefly lowland, eight chiefly upland, and seven are combined upland-lowland crop combinations.[59] The intercropping type typical of Caticugan is the "corn and minor crop" combination listed by Spencer under the combined upland-lowland category. The various cropping combinations in Caticugan are: (1) corn-peanuts; (2) corn-camotes; (3) corn-balatong (Cow peas: Vigna sinensis Linn.); (4) corn-balatong-cassava;

[59] Spencer, op. cit., pp. 11-12.

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when a cacao bush is passed or brushed by a menstruating woman, the fruit may rot or the flowers fall if it is not protected with these rags.

Jackfruit

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A number of jackfruit trees (So-oy: Artocarpus odoratissima Blum) grow in Caticugan. The jackfruit was brought to the Philippines from India (here known as yaca) during the Spanish period.[70] The fruit is eaten raw or boiled as a vegetable. Sometimes jackfruits are wrapped with an old mat or paper, as are squashes, to protect them from the insects; the most serious of jackfruit's pest appears to be ants.

Pineapples and Papayas

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Several small patches of native pineapple, penia, (Ananas comusos Linn.) occur in Barrio Caticugan. The plants, however, were usually given little care; the fruits were small and wormy. Some barriofolk in Caticugan had a few papaya trees (Kapaya: Carica papaya Linn.); they said that more papayas were not grown because of excessive flooding during the rainy season. This explanation, however, was largely rationalization because in many localities papayas could have been grown without risk of flooding at any time of the year. Green papayas were sometimes grated as a "salad" or fed to pigs.

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[70] Antonio de Morga, Blair and Robertson, op. cit. XVI, p. 88.

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There were only four or five coffee trees in the entire barrio. The price of coffee beans in the poblacion was high; most of the people in Caticugan, and many in the poblacion, drank "coffee" made from toasted ground cornmeal.

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There was a custom in the barrio of tying a broken pot or bottles to the cacao, gourd and papaya plants. The pots or bottles were said to make the plants produce large fruits and prevent the fruit from falling when immature. This custom was observed in Siaton poblacion, in nearly every barrio visited in southern Negros, and in Dumaguete City.

Bananas

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Not many bananas are raised in Caticugan or Siaton poblacion. The western barrios, e.g., Cabangahan and Giliga-on, produced most of the bananas sold in the stores of Siaton poblacion; often busses from the west would leave bunches of bananas in the poblacion for sale. However, there were many days when bananas could not be purchased in the marketplace or in the sari-sari stores along the National Road. The banana bud is cooked and eaten as a vegetable; this may be one reason for the scarcity of the fruit in Caticugan.

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Kapok

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In 1948 less than 5 per cent of the total Philippine production of kapok was grown in Negros Oriental. Some kapok trees, doldol (Agave cantalu Roxb.) grow in Caticugan

diet when there is no need to barter or sell them for more filling dietary necessities and when cultural factors favor vegetable production.

Though women predominate in gardening activities in Caticugan the poblacion school teaches only the boys to grow vegetables. It was an early American idea to add gardening activities to the elementary curriculum; the officials concerned did not realize that in the barrios gardening is mainly a female activity. This is probably because women, not men, are the vendors of vegetables. In fact, a man who would sell vegetables in Caticugan would be a deviant in the eyes of most of the barriofolk. One man who vended vegetables was known to all as a bayuto, a name for very feminine-acting men. In southern Negros the school boys are being trained to do a girl's work in the barrios.

Kalamongay

The most commonly grown vegetable in Caticugan is kalamongay (Tag. Malungay: Moringa oleifera Linn.), a small tree-like plant that produces leafy branches. The branches are cut and stripped; the small tender leaves are cooked as greens. Kalamongay often grows so tall that small children can climb it or the top branches are cut with a small knife tied to a bamboo. When the rains come kalamongay is cut back and new cuttings planted. Sometimes ashes are spread around the base of the newly-planted

cuttings to protect them from ants. During this period of several months kalamongay greens are relatively scarce. 244

Tangkong

Another popular but not as widely grown vegetable is tangkong (Ipomoea aquatica Forsk, previously known as Ipomoea reptans (Linn.) Poir.) Tangkong is an aquatic morning glory that trails on mud or floats on the water of quiet pools. Tangkong was grown in Caticugan only along the banks of the Caticugan creek. Caticugan tangkong had a local reputation for being "very fat and big." [824]

Brown incorrectly writes: "The plant [tangkong] is not cultivated but grows wild."[73] While wild tangkong is gathered in some of Caticugan's paddies during the rainy period it is smaller and less succulent. The tangkong patches along the creek are planted and cared for by female owners. Tangkong is usually planted at the end of the rainy season. During the wet season the heavy rains swell the Siaton River, flood the Caticugan creek, and wash away tangkong patches planted at the beginning of the previous year's dry season. During the dry season tangkong is splashed with water once or twice a day or the plant is said to wilt and the leaves to become dry and yellow. 244 222 244

The price of tangkong varies throughout the year. When kalamongay is scarce, just after it is trimmed in 435

[73] Brown, op. cit., III, p. 258.

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profit of $1.85 from her tangkong patch for one month (June 16 to July 16). By the middle of July tangkong often became so cheap that she fed much of it to the pigs.

The woman who had the largest tangkong patch in Barrio Caticugan kept a record of her sales, at my request, for one month (June 16 to July 16). She sold tangkong in the poblacion twenty days in this period, netting $5.60. During the same period she also sold sixty cents worth of tangkong to persons coming to her patch in the barrio. Her total profit for the month was $6.80. The previous year the same woman said her profit from the sale of tangkong was more than $25. In fact, the young woman and her brother, both unmarried, were building a new house; the neighbors said this was largely financed by the woman's tangkong profits.

Eggplant

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Eggplants (talong) are another fairly common vegetable grown in Caticugan. Nearly every family has a few eggplants that bear small fruits. Like most vegetables new eggplants are planted at the beginning of the rainy season; the old stalks are trimmed then so they will produce new fruits. Tomatoes (tamatis) are grown but they are very small and are often sold, or eaten, when they are partly green.

Other vegetables grown are gourds (upo: Lagenaria leucantha Linn.); green onions (sibuyas bombay); patola

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(sikwa: Luffa accisangula Linn.); red peppers (sile: Capsicum frutescens Linn.); squash (calabasa: Cucurbita marima Duc.) and stringbeans. One garden was planted with some halum (Amaranthus viridis Linn.), a stubby plant with edible reddish leaves that is said to be a favorite of the Chinese living in Manila.

Gabi

Gabi, commonly known as taro, is usually planted in Caticugan's canals. A low palm leaf wall is made by weaving leaves between bamboo stakes placed near the inside canal banks. The space between the wall and the bank is gradually filled with sediment where gabi is planted. Gabi is eaten all year, when available, except on Holy Friday; many barriofolk believe if one eats gabi on this religious holiday they will become "nervous" and subject to "shaking fits." A few planted gabi in holes that were only partially filled so when the rains came the water was retained. Ubi is another root vegetable grown in Caticugan; it is not eaten, however, when the plant is leafing for then the roots are said to be fibrous. Little gabi and ubi are raised in Caticugan or sold in Siaton poblacion.

Tobacco

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Only one family raised tobacco in Caticugan; they had planted about fifteen plants in their garden. Most of the tobacco smoked by the people is grown in Bacong and

The task of taking the
animals to the river to drink and bathe, or of moving them to another area to graze (if pegged) is often the duty of young boys.

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Rinderpest was introduced to the Philippines in 1888 and ten years later the disease appeared in Siaton, killing many carabaos. In 1920 and again in 1940 rinderpest struck in Siaton decimating the carabao herd. There is no specific native medicine for rinderpest, although many owners treated their animals with the same medicines used for diarrhea or dysentery in humans. A white film sometimes grows over their eyes and, if not cured, results in blindness. One medicine applied by the barriofolk to eyes so afflicted is a mixture of salt, powdered clay pot, and crushed red peppers! Native veterinarian specialists are called mangalapon; there was none in Caticugan but one lived in Sandolot. To my knowledge he never came to Caticugan to treat a sick animal; this was done by the owner.

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Carabaos are sometimes bitten by a poisonous spider (lawalawa). As a result of the bite, both humans and carabaos are reported to suffer a swollen abdomen and to be unable to urinate; death sometimes results. Treatment is the same for carabaos as for humans. The following ingredients are used: roots of the bono (Abrus precatorius Linn.), tubli (Derris), ongali (Uvaria rufa Blume) and pakobol vines; roots of the homokan, salowasowa (Citrus hystrix, family Rutaceae) and pauli trees, and roots from the taghoy bush, (Canthium gynochthodes Baill.).

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The dogs receive little special training. When young they are taken on hunts with older, more experienced dogs and learn the necessary skills. One major purpose for having a dog, besides serving as a protector of the barrio residence, is to hunt pigs. One informant said: "The credit for all my successful hunts belongs to my dogs. This is why I always take good care of my dogs. I feed them well, just like my own children."[5]

The best places to hunt wild pigs are the cogon grass regions, around springs, or in areas where there are large boulders or many hollow logs where the pigs live. Oracion's Magahat informants said another place to hunt pigs was the creeks where they liked to wallow. Localities where the bangkal (Nauclea junghuhnii (Miq.) Merr.) trees grow are said to be favorite haunts of wild pigs, for they eat the dropped fruit of this tree. A hunter of Barrio Canaway thought the best place to hunt wild pigs is near Barrio Calanan, but that there were many good sites as close as Sitio Balayagolang (Barrio Canaway). (See Plate XX, page 157.)

While wild pigs are hunted all year, hunting is done mostly during the dry season when traveling is easier in the hills and mountains. This is also the time when the cogon grass is burned and "it is easier for the dogs

[5]Some said if the table used in making an annual bood was discovered, the hunter would take a piece of the bamboo "and smoke his dogs." This would make the dogs brave and inordinately skillful in finding a wild pig scent.

and made into small pellets of bait. Some people use inorganic chemical poisons like lime. The toxins in the plants vary; some are stomach poisons, others affect the functioning of the respiratory system through haemolysis of the red blood corpuscles. The plants most commonly used as piscicides contain toxins of saponins, alkaloids and glucosides. Most piscicides act fairly rapidly; the full effect is achieved normally within half an hour.[18]

Five different plants are known or used by the barriofolk of Caticugan as fish poisons for both river and pelagic fishing. These piscicides are: the vines lagtang (Anamirta cocculus (Linn.) W. & A.) and tubli (Derris elliptica (Roxb.) Benth.), a bush called soro-soro (Euphorbia neriifolia L.), the kasay tree bark and the fruit and bark of the bito-on (Barringtonia asiatica (Linn.) Kurz) tree. The most popular one is lagtang.

I never saw Caticugan barriofolk use fish poisons, although they were well-informed about the techniques. The Siaton River near Caticugan does not lend itself to such a method of fishing; it lacks small riverside pools and the current is fairly swift. In the northern barrios of the Siaton River valley the people utilize piscicides more frequently. There are more creeks, the river's current is gentler with many shallow pools.

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[18] Robert F. Heizer, "Aboriginal Fish Poisons," Anthropological Papers, No. 33-42, Bulletin 151, Bureau of American Ethnology, Washington, D.C., 1953, pp. 231-2, 239.

tapsays were used in Malabuhan. One informant said the tapsay was quite popular in Bais municipality. 228

Net Preservatives

Tabigi tree bark (Xylocarpus granatum Koenig) and tanbark are used as net preservatives.[66] One Malabuhan fisherman said he purchased a sack of tabigi bark for seventy-five cents from a Tanjay resident. The bark is boiled down with water that is poured into a boat; the nets soaked in the mixture--and sometimes the fisherman's pants are added! This process is done twice a week, and gives the nets a rich brown color. Boiled tanbark and lime water also are used to preserve the nets. Normally only twine, not abaca nets, are soaked in these preservatives "for twine nets are very expensive." On the whole, these native net preservatives are not widely used by Siaton fishermen, probably because so few have twine nets. 227 [824]

Basnig or Lift Netter

The basnig is a bamboo structure that floats at the mouth of a river and can be moved upstream or downstream. Four tall poles with pulleys are used to lower a large square net into the water. When a school of fish passes over the submerged net it is pulled upward by ropes. In 1951 there was one basnig, owned by an Ilongo from Iloilo City at the mouth of the Canaway River.[67]

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[66] Brown, op. cit., III, p. 66.

[67] Villadolid, op. cit., p. 22. The basnig (as pictured by Umali, page 48) is called salambaw. His use of basnig (pp. 103-4) describes a different net. Umali, op. cit., p. 148.

the framework of the reed spacer. Once through the batten, threads are tied in pairs to the pablon. When all warp threads are fixed to the pablon, the stick is inserted in a groove of the cloth roller. A dried strip of banana stalk or bandan plant (Donax cannaiformis (Forest. f.) K. Schum.) is woven through the warp threads; the purpose is to make the threads nearest the cloth roller's pablon strong and firm. Now the warp, that varies from 34 to 41 inches in width, is ready for weaving.

A number of beliefs are associated with weaving abaca in Caticugan. When the warp thread is first installed on the beam roller, some weavers rub the roller with lime or ginger so "insects will not damage the threads." A piece of cotton dampened with coconut oil or a strand of hair from the weaver's head may also be placed on this roller "so the warp threads will not break easily." Some weavers put a piece of coconut-oil dampened cotton and a spider's web in the shed the first time the shuttle is pushed across the warp. The purpose of coconut oil is the same as above whereas the spider's web is inserted "because the spider starts its web one day and the next morning is finished"; others state the web is used so the woven abaca will be as smooth as the web's texture and not tear easily. Another practice is to weave into the right hand corner of the beginning of the fabric a piece of cotton and a small chicken feather soaked in

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> In case Moros were sighted the watcher would sound the alarm by using a big sea shell called Budyong. The sound of this shell could be heard in all parts of Kalumpang. The people in those days were always ready to flee when the Budyong was heard. They always had their carabaos saddled and their belongings packed so, at any moment, when the Moros came, they could quickly escape to the mountains with their belongings and carabaos.

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During this period another Moro captive from the locality escaped his wardens. Once home he told how the Moros made him fight "like a cock in bulangan (cockpit) with other Moros." He was finally freed by his captors because he won so many of his fights.

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Another stone watch tower was built at Baybay at the mouth of the Siaton River. One old informant of Naga remembered stories from his childhood about the Moros.

> The watcher would blow his Budyong when he saw Moro boats. The people, on hearing the sound, would get their spears and bows and arrows and go to the beach to meet the Moros...I once heard a story about the Moros when I was a small boy. This was before the tower was built at Baybay and watchers posted at the beach. Then the Moros could land freely there. There was a woman who lived near the tower. One day she was weaving abaca unaware that Moros were landing at the beach. In those days whenever a toko [large house lizard] made a noise, we would ask them: 'Will it rain today: Will it not rain today, etc.' Whatever we said when the toko made its last noise was supposed to come true. This day the woman asked a noisy toko: 'Will the Moros come today: Will the Moros not come today, etc.' The toko stopped making noise on the question: 'Will the Moros come today.' The woman then looked into the silong [the space under the raised house] and saw the Moros.
>
> The Moros were surprised that this woman knew they were coming and asked her how she knew. She told them about the toko. The Moros took the toko with them in a piece of bamboo from the loom they destroyed. But they let the woman go free.

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According to the gulang [old people] when the Moro boats were far out to sea there occurred a strong wind and rain. Maybe the Moros were baliw [supernaturally cursed with bad luck] because of the toko.

This why today the gulang will say to a child who oversleeps: 'My God!, if it were like the old days when the Moros came to our place to make captives, children who overslept would find on awakening they would be sleeping in a Moro boat far out at sea.' The children today reply: 'I don't believe you.'

Founding of Siaton Poblacion

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Kalumpang proved to be an unsatisfactory site because of its hilly nature and rocky soil. Capitan Francisco Sugboanon, who had been re-elected in 1827, and the former capitans met, discussed the matter, and brought it to the attention of the people. The barriofolk were divided on the selection of a new site. The people living in Bondo, Canaway, and Inalad wanted the new location to be on their (east) side of the Canaway River. The inhabitants of Mangudkod (who had not migrated to Kalumpang), Lingaton (a sitio of Sandolot), Dolog, Casala-an, Sandolot, Dateg, and Mantuyop desired the new community to be located on the Canaway's west bank.

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It was finally decided, due to the differences of opinion, to hold a paleo. A paleo was a method of voting, particularly well-suited for illiterate groups. Every individual, young and old, man and woman, had one vote, i.e., one stone. These stones were to be put in a certain spot on a designated day.

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After the prescribed period has lapsed, the mansaguate or the owner of the buri holds the lihi. One important reason for the lihi is to protect the palm from "envious persons" (tawo mokuat) who, according to the people, are able to damage the buri if they wish. "Envious people" are those who hold a grudge against the owner of the tree, often because they are refused free drinks, or feel the owner is greedy with his guhang. They become angry at the owner because they arrived too late to buy guhang or their ire stems from past misunderstandings. Such individuals may "whip" the buri with paniawan (Tinospora rumphii Boerl.), a warty vine with a very acrid sap, that is said to make the guhang bitter or even stop the sap's flow.[57] One story was told of a man who "whipped" his own buri with a piece of paniawan "just for fun"; he did not believe folklore about the vine. The sap of his buri soon stopped flowing. Later he "treated" the tree with honey and the sap resumed its flow.

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[57] Brown, op. cit., I, pp. 533-5. Paniawan is also known as makabuhai (Tagalog).

Many items are used in the buri lihi in Caticugan. Each manangueta, however, seems to improvise. Certain items are basic to all the lihis such as pag-i, sharpened bits of thorny bamboo, pauli roots (Cleidion spiciflorum Merr.), and guhang vinegar. Other items depend upon the individual making the lihi and perhaps their availability. I always asked for the specific purpose for each lihi item but the explanation given in some cases was only "it protects the buri," how or why was unknown. Table XX summarizes the information gathered concerning the buri lihi.

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TABLE XX

Guhang Lihi Chart for Caticugan and Environs

| Items Used in Lihi | Purposes |
|---|---|
| 1. Guhang vinegar | 1. To give the guhang a strong taste |
| 2. Roots of pangasan vine that have a bitter taste | 2. To give the guhang a strong taste |
| 3. Bark and roots of badbad tree | 3. Protection against "envious persons" 754 |
| 4. Tagilaway (an insect that is said always to be secreting saliva; tagilaway means "saliva"). | 4. To keep the buri sap flowing |
| 5. Bahagbahag (a seaworm) | 5. Protection against "envious persons" 754 |
| 6. Roots of uli-an vine (uli-an means "bring back"). | 6. Ensure constant flow of sap. If sap stops this may be added to "bring back" sap. |
| 7. Roots of the pauli tree (Pauli means "to come back" or "to go home"). | 7. Same reason as uli-an. Also protection against "envious persons." 754 |

TABLE XX (Continued)

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| 8. | Barb of ray fish (pag-i) | 8. Protection against "envious persons" |
| 9. | Pieces of sharpened thorny bamboo | 9. Protection against "envious persons" |
| 10. | Discarded flashlight bulb or battery | 10. Protection against "envious persons." The idea seems to be that "neither will work without the other," i.e., the flashlight will not work without a bulb or a battery. |
| 11. | Red peppers | 11. To improve the taste of the guhang |
| 12. | Gunpowder | 12. Protection against "envious persons" who might shoot buri. Used in Bonbonon but not in Caticugan. |
| 13. | Mallorca (a commerically produced alcoholic drink made from sugar cane alcohol) | 13. To improve the taste of the guhang |
| 14. | Scrapings from a wild pig's tusk | 14. Protection against "envious persons" |
| 15. | Salt | 15. So "eye" will not leak, be soft and give plenty of sap |
| 16. | Scrapings from the spur of a wild chicken | 16. Protection against "envious persons" |
| 17. | Chicken feathers of any color | 17. Reason or purpose unknown |
| 18. | Bark of the kalingay tree | 18. So when a person drinks guhang he will not get diarrhea. |
| 19. | Kolino roots | 19. Protection against "envious persons" |
| 20. | Tango sa lite ("teeth of the thunder.") The barrio-folk report when lightning strikes a tree little stones are sometimes found sticking to the bark. | 20. Protection against "envious persons" |

Farther north there are said to be a considerable number of manok ihalas (Red Jungle Fowl: Gallus gallus gallus, Linne.) that the barriofolk hunt; some are merely domesticated fowl that have gone wild. There were no wild chickens in Catiesugan and the men did not hunt for them. While the trapping of wild birds is done by both sexes, it is often the sport of young boys. Wild birds furnish a very small part of the diet of only a few families in Catiesugan. 223 [825]

LIZARDS

One large lizard (ibid) is hunted by some barriofolk although most of them hunt ibid only in periods of acute food shortage. This lizard is usually found in bamboo groves or in the kamansilis trees near the river; it is hunted with the blow-gun, trapped with grated coconut meat, or run down by dogs. Large ibid are said to weigh as much as 10 pounds. The meat, boiled in coconut "milk," "tastes like chicken." Another large lizard (halo) found in the locality is not eaten. 224 [252]

COLLECTING WILD HONEY

Once the hives of wild honey bees (potyakan) were hunted for their honey. Few wild beehives are found today in Catiesugan or environs. When the hives are found accidentally, the honey is collected; the people are fond of it. One informant said that when he was a young man 222

CB 175* 563

Spaniard might slap or kick him. An old informant who carried mail during the last part of the 19th century said he always avoided the Spaniards. If he saw one coming he would ride his horse in the opposite direction to avoid giving a sign of respect.

CB 175* 563 291 P 563 291

It was the custom of Spaniards not to permit Filipinos to wear their shirt-tails inside their pants. The Barong Tagalog, the national male costume of Filipinos, a finely-woven and embroidered shirt, is, Guerrero writes, "nothing but a shirt worn with its tails out." He continues by stating: "This seems to have been decried by the Spaniards to make it possible to tell at first glance who was a Spaniard, with the right to wear his shirt-tails properly tucked in, and who was an inferior 'indio.'"[88]

CB 563 175* 681.

One informant said when he was an altar boy for the priest he broke wind during mass. After the service the priest gave him a lashing for this unintentional act. Another informant told how the priest during mass would cry to the people who failed to kneel: "Oy, mga, carabao, lohod kamo!" (Oh, my carabaos, kneel!). If one was discovered possessing a Bible the book was confiscated and burned. Many of the people still believe today, as more did in the past, that to own a Bible may cause insanity.

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On the whole, the Spaniards regarded the Filipinos as children, to be civilized, according to Spanish concepts, and Christianized.

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[88] Leon Ma. Guerrero, "What Are Filipinos Like?", The Philippine Quarterly, I, No. 3 (December, 1951), pp. 5-6.

diet when there is no need to barter or sell them for more filling dietary necessities and when cultural factors favor vegetable production. 262 511 244

Though women predominate in gardening activities in Caticugan the poblacion school teaches only the boys to grow vegetables. It was an early American idea to add gardening activities to the elementary curriculum; the officials concerned did not realize that in the barrios gardening is mainly a female activity. This is probably because women, not men, are the vendors of vegetables. In fact, a man who would sell vegetables in Caticugan would be a deviant in the eyes of most of the barriofolk. One man who vended vegetables was known to all as a bayote, a name for very feminine-acting men. In southern Negros the school boys are being trained to do a girl's work in the barrios. 874 177 244 462 [838]

Kalamongay

The most commonly grown vegetable in Caticugan is kalamongay (Tag. Malungay: Moringa oleifera Linn.), a small tree-like plant that produces leafy branches. The branches are cut and stripped; the small tender leaves are cooked as greens. Kalamongay often grows so tall that small children can climb it or the top branches are cut with a small knife tied to a bamboo. When the rains come kalamongay is cut back and new cuttings planted. Sometimes ashes are spread around the base of the newly-planted 244 [824]

Calendars with pictures of the Holy Family or religious scenes are common in the dwellings; these calendars are distributed free by Dumaguete Chinese merchants. Photographs are fairly typical--pictures of weddings, funerals, relatives, school graduations, etc. A few houses had an aparado, a chest cupboard, often with glass doors.

Every Caticugan dwelling had a family or domestic altar. In some cases the altar was merely a religious picture or a cheap plaster figure of a saint placed on a small shelf or, in one case, on the top of a trunk. A few altars were quite elaborate with two or three religious figures and pictures, vases (often beer bottles) for flowers, and paper cut-out or tinfoil decorations. Some altars have a small tin container filled with coconut oil with a wick made from a twist of kapok or native cotton.[5] The most elaborate altar in Caticugan belonged to two unmarried brothers who lived together; both young men were considered to be bayutes, highly feminine-acting men.

Little care is given most altars; they are often dirty and disarranged. During a novena or the fiesta, however, the altars are cleaned, rearranged and fresh flowers put in the vases.

4 (Continued) and several pages of current events. Personal communication to the writer from Mr. B. Canete, Circulation Manager, Liwayway Publications, Inc., Manila, April 3, 1954. Typescript.

5 There are two varieties of tree cotton in Caticugan, kapas samay and kapas dako; both were identified as Gossypium brasiliense Macf. Also see Brown, op. cit., II, pp. 401-3.

51:Hart E-3 (1950-1952)1954 OA1 Philippines
Central Bisayan OA14



796 sentation implies. First, the novenas (either individual or group prayers) which usually precede the fiesta, the last prayer occurring on *vesperas* evening. Second, the masses held in honor of the patron saint on *vesperas* [851] (the day before *kahologan*) and *kahologan* mornings. Third, the baptism of babies, particularly those born since the last fiesta in *barrios* isolated from the *poblacion* church. In some *barrios* distant from the *poblacion* church of Siaton, as many as 30 babies were baptized by the priest when he visited the community for their annual fiesta. Fourth, the religious procession held on the afternoon of *kahologan* (sometimes on *vesperas*) when the patron saint is taken from the chapel or church and paraded around the fiesta area.

The religious, economic, and social activities of the rural fiesta complex are not solely concentrated in the "fiesta core" which, for most purposes, can be described as *vesperas* and *kahologan* days although variations do exist in some *poblacion* (but rarely *barrio*) fiestas. A series of weekly pre-fiesta dances are held, sometimes beginning two or three months before the "fiesta core." Barrio Caticugan's pre-fiesta Saturday night dances began (in 1951) a month before *vesperas* while those in Siaton *poblacion* started nearly three months before *vesperas* in 1950. As the fiesta approaches these dances increase in frequency, attendance, and admission fee for the individual. Many of the people begin to repair, or even enlarge, their dwellings for the coming fiesta. Efforts are made to earn additional money in order to entertain properly visitors during the fiesta, buy new clothing, etc. One of the busiest periods of tailors and dressmakers in the rural areas is several months before the fiesta. No Filipino likes to wear the [838] same dress at two different fiestas. Beauticians (often *bayots*)[6] invade [305] the *poblacions* and *barrios* along the road to set up their permanent wave shops. Local stores begin to stock their shelves with foods associated with the fiesta but not normally sold to their patrons. More and more committee meetings are held regarding the fiesta organization as the period approaches.

796 An innovation introduced to the original Spanish fiesta complex is 541 the beauty or popularity contest. The beauty candidates are local *barrio* or *poblacion* girls who are supported by various factions in their communities. In the *poblacion* for example, the municipal employees, merchants, and school-teachers will sponsor a candidate for "Queen" or "Muse" of the fiesta. These contests are not as typical of *barrio* fiestas as in larger communities, nor nearly as elaborate. Tickets are sold by the candidates

[6] Hermaphrodites.

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might be started. Noon is a popular time for these gatherings or just after the day's work is done. A buri-producing guhang is rarely without flies, bees and thirsty drinkers looking for a few "drinks on the cuff." At night the men may gather at the buri by the light of the lamp. Guhang trees are a sort of "rural poolhall" in Caticugan.

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Guhang lihis are always made by men. This is unusual since most of the other lihis in Caticugan, particularly in regard to agriculture, are held by women. However, there is a fairly general feeling among many of the barriofolk that it is not wise to permit a woman to ascend a guhang buri since she might contaminate it--especially if she is menstruating. Some believe a menstruating woman might cause the guhang to become malodorous or the sap to stop flowing. Other reasons why few women climb a buri are well summed up by this comment of one woman.

> There is nothing wrong if women climb guhang trees, only it is too dangerous for women to climb. Our skirt might be tangled in the thorns [of the tree] and there is danger of falling. We have a new guhang and just the other day I climbed our guhang because somebody came to buy some guhang and my son and my husband were out working in the field. Our guhang is quite short and nothing happened to the guhang [because she climbed the tree].

Another woman said:

> I have climbed our guhang many times. Others said that it is not good for women to climb the guhang for the guhang might become malodorous. But I do not believe in this because the tuba [guhang] of the guhang [buri] that I have climbed many times did not become malodorous.

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However, I never once saw a woman climb or sit at the top of a buri.

When the lihi is to be held the owner or a manangueta ascends the ladder to the top of the buri. The "eye" is retrimmed with a special bolo called ig-alabia and a small hole bored into its center. Many of the ingredients listed for the lihi (Table XX)[1] are put in a small bottle and mixed with vinegar and/or Mallorca. Most of this liquid is poured into the hole made in the "eye" and the bottle may be left in the palm. The pag-i tail and three small sharpened pieces of bagakay bamboo are put in the hole in the "eye"; sometimes a piece of paniawan vine is hung on one of the upper frond stems.

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Three days after this lihi the buri's "eye" is again retrimmed. A small groove now is cut in the "eye" to direct the flowing sap down a trough and into a large jar (tadyao). (See Plate XXVIII.)[2] Normally the "eye" is trimmed once if not several times each day.

> Fresh cuts [of the "eye"] should be made at frequent intervals, as the rate of the flow [of the sap] may be thus temporarily increased as much as 50 per cent. The rate also varies according to the thickness of the slice removed; at least, if the exudation is from the top of the trunk...As it flows from the tree and for a short time after, the sap is colorless, odorless, and neutral or slightly alkaline. After standing a viscous, followed by a putrid, fermentation develops when no precaution is taken to prevent it. The sucrose begins to invert in a few hours and the process is complete in about thirty hours. A comparatively small yield of alcohol results from the spontaneous fermentation of the sap; a greater portion of the reducing sugars being changed by the viscous, putrid, and other fermentations than by the alcoholic...[58]

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[58] Brown, op. cit., I, p. 298.

1 [See p. 350ff, cat. 273 + 245--Analyst]

end a bamboo container (sankob) is attached that collects the sap. Ginit is put in the top of the container to keep out insects that are attracted by the sweet scent of the sap. 273

An average coconut bud will produce sap for about one month, although not all buds give sap. Tan-bark is powdered and added to the tuba for the same reasons as in making guhang. There are no lihis connected with making tuba. Tuba is collected once a day; the house of this tuba maker was a favorite barrio meeting place.

Cacao

In 1951 only 50-60 cacao bushes grew in Caticugan. Cacao beans sold in the poblacion for about four dollars a pound--so expensive that few barriofolk drank or served chocolate except at wedding feasts or during the local fiestas. Owners of the cacao bushes ground the seeds and made small patties of chocolate which were dried in the sun. 245 435 251

One farmer in Barrio Caticugan had an ingenious method of watering his four cacao bushes and one coffee tree. A bamboo filled with water was propped against a tree so that the lower end was at the base of a cacao plant, and the water slowly dripped through a small hole. When the ground around the plants became too damp this hole in the bamboo was plugged for a few days. 245

Faded rags, originally red, were tied to branches of many of the cacao bushes. Some people believe that, 841

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when a cacao bush is passed or brushed by a menstruating woman, the fruit may rot or the flowers fall if it is not protected with these rags.

Jackfruit

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A number of jackfruit trees (So-oy: Artocarpus odoratissima Blum) grow in Caticugan. The jackfruit was brought to the Philippines from India (here known as yaca) during the Spanish period.[70] The fruit is eaten raw or boiled as a vegetable. Sometimes jackfruits are wrapped with an old mat or paper, as are squashes, to protect them from the insects; the most serious of jackfruit's pest appears to be ants.

Pineapples and Papayas

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Several small patches of native pineapple, penia, (Ananas comusos Linn.) occur in Barrio Caticugan. The plants, however, were usually given little care; the fruits were small and wormy. Some barriofolk in Caticugan had a few papaya trees (Kapaya: Carica papaya Linn.); they said that more papayas were not grown because of excessive flooding during the rainy season. This explanation, however, was largely rationalization because in many localities papayas could have been grown without risk of flooding at any time of the year. Green papayas were sometimes grated as a "salad" or fed to pigs.

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[70] Antonio de Morga, Blair and Robertson, op. cit. XVI, p. 88.

These attitudes and customs associated with securing aquatic products in Siaton illustrate how Catholicism overlaid the ancient religious concepts. Animism and Catholicism operate in different conceptual frames of reference and barriofolk shift from one to the other without any severe conflict. This situation may explain the relative ease with which the Spanish padres "converted" Filipinos to Catholicism in the past.

The technology of aquatic products, like that of agriculture, also illustrates the sexual division of labor. Some activities are strictly male or female; for a male to participate in women's activities would render him suspect. For example, the only men in Caticugan who were vendors of vegetables, guhang or rice cakes, were individuals known to the barriofolk as bayutes, highly feminine-acting men. There are some activities that either a male or a female may perform as far as the participants' physical strength is concerned, or take into consideration the restricted mobility of most women. The concept of menstrual pollution is another factor; e.g., women should not climb guhang trees (spoil flavor of drink), approach men making boats (the wood might crack), or approach the fish corral (the bonsod's luck might be lost). Age may modify one's role in certain activities. For example, old men may and do help women gather clams and snails at the seashore, an activity in which most young men would not think of participating.

The religious concepts of Caticugan barriofolk are integrated into most aspects of their culture. Religion

One incident was reported of a Chinese father who tried to drown his first child, a girl. The Siaton Chinese believed if their first child were a female their business would be unsuccessful. This Chinese was jailed and every Sunday, for one month, tied, whipped and driven around the poblacion by the Guardia Civil to be taunted by the populace. He later left the poblacion having "lost face."

563 681 [847]

Every February (Chinese New Year) the Chinese merchants in Siaton poblacion would hold a gala celebration. They closed their stores and met to feast and frolic. Prominent poblacion officials were sent baskets of food and fruit and some were invited to Chinese homes for an elaborate dinner.

563 527

Lucas Ege Founds Barrio Caticugan

The first reference to Lucas Ege, founder of Barrio Caticugan, is his election as capitan in 1859.[66] His grandson, still living, said Lucas was born in the locality of Siaton but he did not know the birthplace of Ege's father. The land where Barrio Caticugan is now situated (not including Naga, Dangola, and Talo-ot) was owned by Father Celestino Romero, priest of Siaton parish. Romero succeeded Mezquita; the exact date is not known but it was before 1856.[67]

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[66] Capitan Kinkito was followed by Celestino Makagig (1841-42); Rosindo Kinamot (1843-44); Gabriel Kibotkibot, nicknamed "Antoy" (1845-46); Pedro Macolbacol, nicknamed "Padugo" (1847-48); Francisco Ege, nicknamed "Iton" (1853-54); Felipe Nacapanas, nicknamed "Anyag" (1855-56); Rosindo Kinamot, nicknamed "Balangka" (1857-58) and Lucas Ege (1859-60). These family names are still common in Siaton.

[67] Ruiz, op. cit., p. 151.

paternal uncle. She took the quarrel to Siaton municipio and the chief of police advised her to retain the land during her lifetime. One informant's brother's wife died and her husband retained his deceased mate's fields in Datag. A Dumaguete lawyer informed the husband, however, that he could enjoy usufruct of the land only until his death. Then his wife's property would go to her brothers and sisters since she had no children. There were several cases in which heirs took to court in Siaton the attempt of a childless remarried sister- or brother-in-law to sell a deceased mate's property--an illegal procedure.

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Legitimate and Illegitimate Children as Heirs

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The Philippine Civil Code of 1949 states that legitimate children and their descendants succeed to the parents and other ascendants, without distinction as to sex or age, even if they were derived from different marriages.[11] This Code was revised recently (1951); illegitimate children are now legally entitled to an equal share in a parent's property. However, before this revision in Caticugan the illegitimate children of fathers rarely inherited unless "they served their fathers," i.e., helped him with his work, cared for him

[11] Robert S. Hardie, Philippine Land Tenure Reform: Analysis and Recommendations. Manila, Special Technical and Economic Mission, Mutual Security Agency, 1952, p. 67.

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during sickness, etc. On the other hand, children born out of wedlock always received the same share of their mother's properties as her legitimate children.

Some barriofolk in Caticugan explained that a mother's illegitimate child is always her child regardless of the circumstances of its birth whereas a father can always deny the child is his. Illegitimate children are normally raised by the mother; the bonds of affection and devotion are closer for the mother than the father. In Siaton poblacion I know of one unmarried woman, who purposely had a liaison with another man in order to have a child to care for her during her old age.

An illegitimate boy and girl lived in Barrio Caticugan with their deceased mother's two spinster sisters; their father resided a dozen houses away. Since they were not "serving" their unmarried father, on his death his property was to be inherited by his brothers and sisters. Another old man (an illegitimate child himself) died in Barrio Caticugan during my residence. On his death-bed he told his eldest son to see that his "pet" (favorite) illegitimate daughter, who lived with her unmarried mother in Siaton poblacion, inherited some of his land when his son died. Most barriofolk doubted that the son would remember his father's wish for he had several children. Sometimes it was reported that "a father may

take pity on his illegitimate children" and leave them some of his property. Yet they rarely, if ever, received an equal share with other heirs. 428 848

There are a number of hazards for a father who wishes to leave his property to an illegitimate child. A man in Barrio Caticugan gave his illegitimate son (who, by the way, had not "served" him) a parcel of land. When he died the brother and sister who had cared for him during his last sickness took the land away from the illegitimate son. The son brought the dispute to Siaton municipio; since he had no legal documents to show that the land was given him it reverted to his father's brothers and sisters.

Another case of a property dispute involving illegitimate children was brought to the municipio from Barrio Canaway. A man and woman living as common-law husband and wife had a son and daughter. Later they separated and never were reconciled. On the man's death his brother and sister sold his land but refused to share the money with his two illegitimate children. The children presented their case in the Siaton court; the judge ruled against them since they were illegitimate children and the father had died before Philippine Civil Code revision.

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[6] Hermaphrodites.

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The barriofolk are quite unaware of the possibility that their Garuda-like carved bolo handles may symbolize Hindu influence in their cultural heritage. It is curious that only bolo handles are selected; none of the other weapons or personal equipment is carved for decorative purposes. Perhaps the explanation lies in the importance attached to a man's bolo in pre-Hispanic Philippines.

Various household articles are made by the barriofolk of Caticugan. Long pieces of bamboo are hollowed and used to carry water from the springs and river to the houses. Spoons and dippers of coconut shell are fixed with rattan to bamboo handles. A few young men made ukeleles from local woods, buying only the gut strings. I never saw parents make toys for their children.

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SUMMARY

The meager barrio handicrafts in Caticugan are in a state of decline. Abaca cloth is woven less frequently than in the immediate past and certain types of weaving and fabrics have disappeared. Most barriofolk consider abaca a poor substitute for cotton garments; imported used American clothing is changing the people's mode of dress. Self-sufficiency of the barriofolk in pottery has been lost; today nearly all of them depend on pottery wares produced in Dumaguete. Bamboo drinking cups, plates and eating

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[23] Benitez, op. cit., pp. 21-2.

[24] Oracion, op. cit., p. 40.

passing the field said he thought sigoins were eating the corn because it was so early in the morning. Some barriofolk thought this dawn harvest unfair and the owner was said to be "greedy." In two instances fields were harvested Sunday morning when many of the women were attending church in the poblacion; normally no work is done in the fields on Sunday. Another cultivator began to harvest a small cornfield and attracted the manalabangs; then other members of the family harvested a larger field. The small harvest decoyed the manalabangs away from the larger field. 243 476

These harvesters are mostly women and young children. Men rarely harvest corn other than their own crop; they are said to be ashamed or embarrassed to do so. Most manalabangs who harvested corn or rice in Caticugan came from the nearby barrios. Once a harvest begins the news spreads rapidly and the manalabangs scurry toward the field with folded sacks on their heads to carry home their share. A field that could be harvested in several hours by a family may have forty or fifty unrequested harvesters. 243 476 462 857

While the share of the manalabangs varies it is never large. Their share depends upon (1) the size of the field; (2) the amount of corn harvested; (3) the number of harvesters present, and (4) the generosity of the cultivator. Relatives of the cornfield's owner or cultivator usually get more than non-relatives although both groups do the same amount of work. Harvesters who arrive after the harvest is completed may be given a few ears of corn 243 476

Corn stalks from the first paddy corn harvest are given to those who cut them. At this time the nearby grazing areas are green and fodder is plentiful. During the harvest or shortly afterwards men or young boys come to cut the stalks and carry them home for their animals. However, in the later corn and rice harvests the cultivators do not donate the harvested stalks. By this time the pastures have begun to dry up; the corn and rice stalks are retained by the owners for their own animals.

243 476 231 [462 857]

Local Harvest Migrations

During July many people from Caticugan, the poblacion and nearby barrios go to Omanod to help in the corn harvest. Corn is usually harvested earlier in Omanod than in Siaton.[49] Omanod is situated in a small riverine plain in Sta. Catalina municipality, about three or four miles west of Barrio Bonawon. In 1951 people came from Bacong and Dauin to help in the Omanod corn harvest. Some took the bus and others from Siaton poblacion walked or rode horses. Women and young children outnumbered men. Several families in Caticugan and the poblacion left younger children under the care of an elder daughter while mother and father went to Omanod.

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[49] Siaton corn harvests sometimes occur before those of Omanod. Normally, however, the earlier rains of Omanod make it possible for the barriofolk to plant (and harvest) their corn before Siaton. However, in 1952, fewer harvesters went to Omanod from Siaton because both harvests occurred about the same period.

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796 Queen is proclaimed at the evening dance. *Vesperas* is the "day of arrival" of most of the fiesta visitors; at least, it is the ideal pattern. If
535 one lives fairly near the fiesta, one may not come until early *kahologan* morning. The young men and women, however, prefer to arrive on *vesperas* in order to attend the dance that evening, an event which holds little attraction for most older Filipinos. (In the smaller *barrios* the dances are rarely attended by the older people who do not know how to dance the fox-trots, mambos and tangos of the younger generation.) The
514 arrival of relatives and guests on *vesperas* depends upon such factors as; (1) distance one lives from the fiesta; (2) transportation facilities; (3) whether relatives are living in the community giving the fiesta; (4) prestige of the fiesta; (5) weather conditions, etc. For larger fiestas special busses are added to the regular schedule and the fare is often raised.

796 *Vesperas* may begin with a "reveille" or *diana*, as early as four or
507 five in the morning, when the orchestra marches around the *poblacion* playing sprightly melodies to awaken the people—many of whom have been up for hours busy with food preparations or gambling all night. One can often determine the residences of the *principalia* by following the band, for their route is normally from one such residence to another where they stop to play a few minutes and then pass on. Often the orchestra's members may be invited inside for a breakfast snack. There may be some fireworks after the *diana*. While the fiesta programs for *kahologan* invariably state that church services follow the *diana*, this is not always the case in *vesperas*. If masses are held, they are followed by athletic games.

At noon the church bells are rung and more fireworks may be exploded. A few fiesta programs list "Dinner in all houses" but this event is not as frequently included in the progams for *vesperas* as on *kahologan*. Meals served *vesperas* noon are not as elaborate as those served *kahologan* noon. *Vesperas* afternoon is filled with sports, Boy Scout exhibitions, demonstration of folk dances or calisthenics by the local school children. Gambling activities continue all day, either at the residences of the people, or at the mean gambling area of the fiesta, often the market place. There are
857 games of chance, such as *palipat, diolens, or argolya*, card games, *monte, albores*, or *hantak*, and cockfights. There are games of chance for the "small fry" which require only one-centavo bets. Frequently, the writer saw small boys (10-14 years) dealing at card games and was told that they had been hired by gamblers to impress the players that their game was an honest one.

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Nearly all of the boats are equipped with a coconut shell or bamboo bailer. One baroto had a hole in the bottom of the hull, from which a wooden plug could be removed to empty the boat of water. Paddles (borsay) are made from a light, sturdy wood. When boats are beached they usually are covered with palm fronds to protect them from the heat and rain. Some large bancas are kept in palm leaf sheds when not in use.

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A young boy who lives in a seaside barrio becomes adept at handling a baroto; the young girls have less chance to learn. While women may ride as passengers in boats they rarely, if ever, go fishing; almost all aspects of pelagic fishing are masculine. No toy boats or small boats were seen in the fishing barrios for teaching young boys skills necessary when they become adults.

Summary

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Securing aquatic products, from creeks, rivers and sea, consumes more time on the part of the barriofolk than any other activity except agriculture. It is necessary to make traps and nets, keep them in repair, and inspect them for catches. The people of Caticugan, however, depended little upon the sea for aquatic foods although the community is near the coast. When the cost of a fish corral is known, it is apparent that most barriofolk lack the necessary capital for the initial investment in boat, nets, building supplies, etc. Although a bobo trap could be made by most of the Caticugan barriofolk, one reason why so few have bobos is the lack of a boat. No

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underemployment of the barriofolk.[2] Most of these cottage industries aim at producing export handicrafts or luxury items. Perhaps most important is the changing attitudes of the barriofolk toward their own handicrafts. Abaca clothing is felt, by many young folk, to be a symbol of a rustic. The barriofolk claim that they can buy better and cheaper pottery than they can make. With the expanding role of money in the general economy, fewer people make handicrafts for bartering. As a result, in Caticugan, the younger generation, particularly women, grows up without training in basic handicrafts of their forefathers, and with an attitude that such training is neither desirable nor important.

[291 369] [437] [868]

This chapter deals with the following handicrafts that still exist in Caticugan and vicinity: (1) pottery; (2) buri weaving and basketry; (3) abaca weaving; and (4) woodwork, i.e., making wooden saddles and carved wooden bolo handles.

## POTTERY

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There are an estimated 20,000 potters in the Philippines. "Much of the work is done by women who sit beneath

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[2] Recently a crafts team was sent to the Philippines under the auspices of the Economic Cooperation Administration and the United Nations. It consisted of a furniture designer, a wood products designer, and a textile expert, Marianne Hammarstrom. The unpublished Hammarstrom report has been briefly, and somewhat inaccurately, summarized by Will Savoy, "Philippine Weavers Learn New Techniques," Department of State Field Reporter, I, No. 2 (September-October, 1952), pp. 13-4. I was able to secure a typescript copy of the original report.

owing to firing difficulties. Most of my material on techniques of pottery was obtained from this cooperative Datag potter. 323 178

Most clay cooking pots now used in Caticugan are made in Dumaguete city. In this city there is a district, Daro, that specializes in the manufacture of cooking pots, clay stoves and large waterjars for drinking purpose. Some pots sold in Siaton poblacion are made in Mayabon, Zamboanguita, but are regarded as inferior to Daro's products. Mayabon is situated in a small enclave of Dauin clay that may explain the small pottery industry. (See Plate X, page 64.) A family came to Siaton from Daro in 1951 and started to make clay pots for sale in the poblacion; the business did not succeed and after several months they left. 323 369 438 [134]

The decline of pottery in Caticugan and environs is due largely to improvement of transportation facilities in southern Negros. The superior clay wares of Dumaguete became easier to buy in Siaton poblacion. Better transportation facilities increased both the number and frequency of visits to the city. The pots became so cheap that the barriofolk preferred to buy rather than make them. One old woman of Caticugan explained: "I stopped making pots because it is hard work. I would get sick always having my hands in the cold clay, squeezing it. And they are very cheap to buy." 323 369 438 178 489

As older women ceased their pottery activities, their daughters were not taught the technique. With a 323 [868] 178

supports. (See Plate LXXII, 4 and 22.)[1] Unlike the looms in Ilocos that are built underneath the house, using the upright beams supporting the dwelling for part of the loom structure, Caticugan looms are kept inside the dwelling. The loom is a Malayan horizontal type with two foot treadles that manipulate two cord heddles for speedy intercalation of the spool shuttle.[11] The weaving product is a coarsely-woven stiff fabric called abaca (Cebuano: hinabol).

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Nearly all women who wove abaca said they learned the technique from their mothers; one informant said she was taught by her father who had learned from his mother. A few men were said to weave, although no men living in Caticugan did so.

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[H/62]

Stripping the fibers from the abaca plant and building the loom are a man's work, whereas the processing of the fiber, weaving and the final preparation of the cloth are a woman's work. Several older women in Caticugan were able to weave when they were in their early teens. There was one abandoned loom in Caticugan that the owner said was smaller than the normal loom; it had been used by a mother to teach the girl to weave. Normally, however a girl learns to weave on the regular-size loom.

No abaca is grown in Caticugan so the fibers must be purchased from abaca-growing communities. This may be a minor factor in the decline of weaving in Caticugan.

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[11] On this matter see the articles by H. Ling Roth, "Studies in Primitive Looms, Part III: 6. Indonesian Looms," The Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland, XLVII, 1917, pp. 323-66.

1 [See p.710, cat. 286--Analyst]

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Then the pounded thread is sorted for size, a process called tog-ot.[13] One of the first tasks taught a young girl learning to weave is to sort thread. Five different sizes of thread based on its thickness as determined by the weaver's sight and touch are sorted. These five classes of thread are, from the thickest to the thinnest, respectively: dagku; halan-avon; okvot; katung-an; and magamaya. Halan-avon is the most plentiful in the abaca hanks (gatang) purchased by weavers.

[868]

Bonos: Tieing

The second step, bonos, is tying the various thread sizes into one continuous thread, e.g., all dagku threads are tied together.[14] A weaver's knot (dogkong) is used to joint the individual threads. (See Plate LXXIII below.)

PLATE LXXIII

DOGKONG KNOT

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[13] In Bacong, Negros Oriental, tog-ot is begun at high tide, the belief being that this will increase the number of the fibers. Timoteo S. Oracion and Avelino T. Torres, "Some Notes on the Weaving of Abaca Cloth in Bacong, Negros Oriental, Philippines." Dumaguete, Silliman University, Negros Oriental, Philippines, 1953, p. 4. Typescript.

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[14] In Bacong bonos is done at high tide. Kapinan shells and homemade wooden combs are placed in kalalay baskets to increase the length of abaca fibers. It may be that the purpose of the combs is to prevent the fibers from tangling. Ibid., p. 5.

discouraged most women who know how to weave. Since no abaca is grown near Caticugan, it is necessary to make a long, tiring trip to the mountain sainsins of the north. Weavers of Caticugan probably would have woven more if abaca had been cheaper and easier to obtain.

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[438]

Second, abaca fabric is stiff and scratchy; soaking and pounding the material helps but it remains uncomfortable to wear. Third, the younger generation, for the most part, is prejudiced against abaca clothing that they regard as a symbol of rusticity. This attitude, with improved educational facilities and increased contacts with Dumaguete, may not be expected to decline. Most young people said they were ashamed to wear abaca clothing to church or to festive events such as the fiesta. As one informant explained:

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> Some people will tease you if you wear abaca clothing. 'Why are you wearing abaca? You look like the old people in the ancient times'--this is what they may say.

Only the children of the poor wore abaca clothing to school in Siaton poblacion.

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With the decline in the number of Caticugan weavers, young girls are not being taught to weave. I never saw a young woman weaving in the barrio; the weavers were always older women. Some young people said they did not wear abaca clothing because no one in their family could weave. Mothers explained their daughters were not interested in learning to weave for they preferred to wear clothing purchased in the poblacion stores. In the past a mature woman

who could weave skillfully was a more desirable mate than one who could not. Difficulties of obtaining abaca fiber, the cost, and the tedious and time-consuming processes of preparing thread, weaving, and processing the woven fabric--plus the growing satorial sophistication of the young generation--militate against weaving in Caticugan. 286 178 868

The most recent event that probably has dealt the coup de grace to any increase of abaca weaving for clothing in the future is the sale of used American clothing; the barriofolk speak of this as "relief clothing." After the last war tons of used American clothing were sent to the islands for rehabilitation purposes. Some of the clothing was sold illegally to the people and a new post-war Philippine business was born. Today used American clothing is imported regularly to the Philippines with Cebu City as a distribution center for the Visayas. Agents go to the city to buy the clothing that they later sell in rural areas through Negros. 286 178 291 438 443

Every Sunday in Siaton poblacion Dumaguete vendors came to sell used American cotton and silk dresses, blouses, and children's clothing. At every fiesta I attended there were vendors who had big piles of used American clothing through which the barriofolk hunted for correct sizes. My impression was that most of the clothing was for women or children. As a result a new source of inexpensive clothing competes with abaca garments--and is modifying the barriofolks' mode of dress. T-shirts are replacing the abaca shirt of the past as cotton trousers have already done. 178 291 438 443

sold. The paddies of the average farmer in Siaton and Zamboanguita are so small that they cannot produce sufficient rice to last the families through the year. About 23 per cent of the cultivated land is also occupied by coconut palms. In Pamplona is one of the largest coconut plantations in Negros; it is owned and managed by Americans. Generally, however, coconut plantings vary from 5 to 15 acres and are owned by Filipinos. Many families have a few coconut trees that provide their chief cash income. Coconut palms usually appear along the littoral where the sandy soils are too well-drained for other crops and the internal drainage from the Central Mountain range favors coconut cultivation. Coconuts, however, are frequently planted along field boundaries and extend toward the interior of many parts of this region.

Coconut palms begin to bear as early as five years after planting and often produce nuts when a century old. The Laguna variety is common in this region; it is an early-bearing tree that usually produces nuts after eight or ten years. The fresh coconut meat is dried under the sun or in crude, smoky ovens, tapahans. The dried meat is known as copra and is the chief export of Dumaguete port; in 1951 it amounted to more than $5,000,000. The prosperity of this region is closely tied to copra prices. When prices are high, for example, enrollment in both public and private schools rises; but when copra prices fall school enrollments decrease

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20: Hart E-5 (1951) 1954 QA1 Philippines
Central Bisayan QA14



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Siaton Schools During the Spanish Period

Prior to 1863 there was no systematic educational structure or administration in the Philippines. "The government did not have any agency for the control and supervision of the schools. Each school was left to its own devices--to choose its teachers, to adopt its curriculum, to administer its own affairs according to the desire of the founders.[104] The royal decree of 1863 extended to the Philippines a school system originally developed for Cuba and provided for "incomplete" primary schools in each barrio of 500 persons or less. The supervision of local schools was given to the parish priests. Two years later the organization of secondary schools, one in each province, was also decreed.[105]

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There had been a school, for boys and girls, in Siaton for several decades before 1890 but the Cadiane manuscript does not go into detail. In 1891, however, Baldomores Torres, the Guardia Civil commandant, decided

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[104] "The parish priest, as ex-officio supervisor, had the following functions: to visit the schools, to admonish erring teachers or to suspend them, to encourage attendance of pupils, to certify whether a child should be admitted to the school, free of charge or not, to recommend to the provincial inspector any needed improvement of the school, and to supervise the teaching of religion and morals." Isidro Antonio, The Philippine Educational System. 2nd ed. Manila, Bookman, Inc., 1949, pp. 9-10.

[105] Katherine M. Cook, Public Education in the Philippine Islands, Bulletin 1935, No. 9, Washington, D. C. U. S. Department of the Interior, Office of Education, 1935, p. 22.

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20: Hart E-5 (1951) 1954 OA1 Philippines
Central Bisayan OA14



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to build a new school in the poblacion. He told the people to collect the materials for the building and selected the plaza as the site. The parish priest, Jorje Carcabilla, objected to the erection of the school on land that belonged to the church.

A bitter struggle between the two leaders followed. The quarrel over the school was secondary; the root of the disagreement was the conflict between the parish priest and the commandant over the management of local affairs and the accession of heirs of the Spanish throne. The political rivalries of Spain were carried to the Philippines. Carcabilla was a supporter of the Carlista party and Torres of the Isabelina party who were then quarreling over the accession rights of Isabel and Carlos, King Ferdinand's children.

Cadiane describes the priest as "cruel, like a soldier," but he is an obvious admirer of Torres. The priest emerged victorious in this dispute and classes continued to be held in the old school building. This victory of the parish priest over the commandant of the Guardia Civil indicates the power the priests then wielded in the Philippines.

Zaide writes that the average parish priest during the Spanish period was "virtual ruler of the town."[106]

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[106] Zaide, The Philippines Since the British Invasion, p. 163.

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There was hardly a branch of the local government to which the influence of the priest did not extend, directly or indirectly. He was the inspector of primary schools, the town censor, honorary president of all local government committees, a member of the town council, assisted in choosing the local officers (technically without a vote), signed all certificates of election, participated in decisions to build public works, and even had the authority to decide at what hour the town council would assemble.[107] The priests of Siaton parish were not atypical.

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Cadiane writes of the schooling he received in Siaton poblacion during the latter part of the 19th century.

> Here was the real study. There were many students. You were given three days to learn a lesson. If you did not learn your lesson you were told to lie on your stomach on a bench and you were whipped three times. If you were absent from class the number of days you were absent was doubled and you were whipped this many times.

A great deal of time appears to have been spent in studying Spanish.

> If you did not speak Spanish in the class and outside in the yard we were in danger of being punished if someone reported us. If we were discovered or reported not speaking Spanish we were whipped six times, [i.e., given six lashes]. We had a Spanish

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[107] Report of the Philippine Commission to the President. Washington, D.C., Government Printing Office, I, 1900, pp. 57-8. This report is often called the "Schurman Report" after the head of the Commission, Jacob Gould Schurman. Hereafter cited as Philippine Commission Report, I, 1900.

grammar translated into Visayan and also a big Spanish-Visayan dictionary. If you asked your teacher questions while the class was in session he might pull your ears or scold you. If you failed to answer questions on the lesson given you in the morning that afternoon you were given five lashes.[108] 175* 872

The school was mainly for the sons of the better-to-do Filipino who lived in the poblacion. Children from the nearby barrios rarely attended this school. [565]

## THE PHILIPPINE REVOLUTIONS AND THE REPUBLIC OF NEGROS

In 1856 Negros was raised to the status of a military-political province; in 1890 it was divided into the provinces of Negros Occidental and Negros Oriental. In 1887 Negros' population was estimated to be 270,891, an increase of more than 65,000 in ten years.[109] Cadiane mentions this administrative division of Negros and reports that a "military government was organized at Dumaguete under Governor Joaquin Tavira."[110] Negros' new provinces were still classified as corregimientos (military provinces) and governed by army officers. 175* 635 [161]

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[108] The stress on teaching Spanish in Siaton is interesting since this was not typical of most of the schools during the Spanish period. In 1885 a Franciscan friar wrote a pamphlet which ridiculed the Filipinos' efforts to learn Spanish and stated: "All a Filipino needed to enable him to go to heaven was to learn how to pray, to plow, and to be obedient to his superiors, especially to the parish priests." Encarnacion Alzona, A History of Education in the Philippines: 1565-1930. Manila, University of the Philippines Press, 1932, pp. 96-7.

[109] Galang and Osias, op. cit., pp. 405-6. In 1893 Echauz states Negros had a population of 320,606 with 42 towns and that the number of Recollect priests in the island had increased to 47. Echauz, op. cit., p. 37.

[110] This statement is from Cadiane's manuscript and is supported by Pedro Teves, "Una Breve Historia de Dumaguete," The Official Progress of Dumaguete City. Dumaguete, Negros Oriental, November 24, 1948, p. 46.

The entire community is active at this time. School attendance drops sharply during the transplanting season, for the children must help. The paddies are dotted with busy men, women and children; the women wrap their heads with cloths for protection against the hot sun. Young children scurry across the paddies carrying baskets full of seedlings. The chocolate-colored paddies soon change to a pale green over which later the maya birds swoop in squadron-like maneuvers. 243 [872]

Although in 1951 transplanting activities in Caticugan continued for more than a month, they began abruptly. The barriofolk wait for someone else to begin; when the first farmer starts to transplant all the others follow his lead. They believe it is best for all to transplant at the same time so that the damage to the paddies by insects and birds will be distributed equally. If a person planted his paddy several weeks earlier than the rest, his rice would be growing when the other paddies were bare or only newly transplanted. Insects and birds would concentrate on his paddies instead of having such damage spread evenly among all the paddies. [183]

This attitude is one reason why the Macan Sta. Rosa variety is planted so widely. The people of Barrio Caticugan do not like to interplant with Macan Sta. Rosa earlier maturing varieties. In the past older residents of Barrio Caticugan said many rice varieties with different maturity

been living as common-law couples, to baptize and confess the unbaptized and unconfessed, rarely reach as many people in the more isolated barrios as in Caticugan. At least, in one specific case the mission was partly responsible for abandonment of the dulot by a Naga family.

Children of Caticugan can more readily get a formal education than the children of Casala-an or Apoloy. In these northern communities the parents who wish a complete elementary education for their children must make arrangements to room and board them in the poblacion. For the children of Caticugan school is only a short walk from home. The young people of Caticugan have greater access to newspapers and magazines, to the poblacion reading center, and the radio, than the youngfolk of the northern barrios where illiteracy is prevalent.

The barriofolk, particularly the younger generation, are very sensitive about being called "country hicks" by their more sophisticated poblacion friends. For example, one reason why most young people of Caticugan dislike abaca clothing is that the homewoven material is a symbol of a rustic. To the better educated residents of the poblacion the dulot is a "pagan practice" and most of them have no scruples about ridiculing those who practice it. As a result many of the barriofolk are ashamed of the dulot yet not convinced that it is safe to abandon it. Stories of those who have stopped the dulot without any serious consequences are matched by tales of persons who have fallen ill for the same reason.

part, the planters receive 60 per cent of the sugar obtained from the cane while the mills retain the remainder. In 1952 there were twelve sugar cane mills operating in Negros with only one in Negros Oriental (Bais). 249 257

At Victorias the workers are provided with squat cement houses with running water and electricity. Victorias is a small city with a church (one of the most dramatically modern structures in the Philippines), stores, hospital, recreational facilities, and schools. The general standard of living of the mill workers is much higher than that of the average farmer of Caticugan. Mr. Frederico Ossorio, General Manager of the Victorias Milling Company, has initiated a cooperative vocational school, and other programs to encourage community development and leadership among the workers. 257 361 [511] [874]

Negros' major sugar region begins in the south with Ilog and continues northward and eastward along the littoral. (See Plate XVI.) This region has been divided into the northern and western subregions. On Negros' eastern coast there are two small sugar cane districts, San Carlos and Bais. The sugar cane regions and the plains of Negros coincide closely. (See Plates V and XVI.)[1] 311 249

Wernstedt reports: "The western sugar subregion is the most important sugar-producing region on Negros Island, and the most important single sugar-producing

1 [See pp. 38+105, cat. 311+249 -- Analyst]

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diet when there is no need to barter or sell them for more filling dietary necessities and when cultural factors favor vegetable production.

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Though women predominate in gardening activities in Caticugan the poblacion school teaches only the boys to grow vegetables. It was an early American idea to add gardening activities to the elementary curriculum; the officials concerned did not realize that in the barrios gardening is mainly a female activity. This is probably because women, not men, are the vendors of vegetables. In fact, a man who would sell vegetables in Caticugan would be a deviant in the eyes of most of the barriofolk. One man who vended vegetables was known to all as a bayute, a name for very feminine-acting men. In southern Negros the school boys are being trained to do a girl's work in the barrios.

[838]

Kalamongay

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The most commonly grown vegetable in Caticugan is kalamongay (Tag. Malungay: Moringa oleifera Linn.), a small tree-like plant that produces leafy branches. The branches are cut and stripped; the small tender leaves are cooked as greens. Kalamongay often grows so tall that small children can climb it or the top branches are cut with a small knife tied to a bamboo. When the rains come kalamongay is cut back and new cuttings planted. Sometimes ashes are spread around the base of the newly-planted

694

Nearly all cooking pottery is purchased; most of it is made in Dumaguete for none of the local womenfolk make their own pottery. In the near vicinity of Caticugan only one woman regularly made pottery that she bartered for food. Weaving of fine fabrics from banana fibers has ceased completely in the barrio; the weaving of abaca cloth is rapidly declining, though a few women still weave abaca for skirts, men's shirts, and a few other purposes. Abaca clothing, however, is quite unpopular with the younger generation and the barriofolk's style of dress is being changed by the post-war traffic in used American clothing.

Few baskets are made today in Caticugan. The winnowing basket that is used daily is normally purchased in the poblacion or in Dumaguete. I never saw a woman making such a basket, though several Naga women were said to weave them. Tin basins have taken the place of wooden basins and metal spoons and forks are rapidly replacing those made of coconut shell. The most widespread handicraft in Caticugan is the weaving of sleeping mats and bags from buri fronds; this handicraft appears to be threatened by a decrease in palms.

The decline of barrio handicrafts has been recognized by the Philippine government. School programs attempt to perpetuate and revive certain handicrafts; however, the school programs I observed do not promise to be very successful. Advice on the development or modernization of cottage industries has been given by American experts as one means of reducing the chronic

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barriofolk. Possibly the developing jute industry of the Philippines will replace buri plaiting in the future.

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BARRIO BASKETS

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Three major types of baskets used by the barriofolk of Caticugan are: (1) the harvest basket, bukag; (2) the winnowing basket, niggo or avagang; (3) and the shallow kalalaw used in abaca weaving. Several other types of baskets were made by schoolchildren in the poblacion but never used in the barrio; they are taught to make small bags and baskets that can be sold as curios. Basket-making is said to be predominately a woman's job, although some men make bukags. Baskets were made so rarely in Caticugan that I never saw any of these three types being plaited.

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The bukag, previously mentioned in connection with the corn harvests, is a loosely plaited basket of thin strips of bamboo and rattan about 2 feet in height with an 18-inch opening. The bukag is roughly made and does not take much time to plait. This type of basket, to my knowledge, is always made by the barriofolk; I never saw any for sale in either the poblacion or Dumaguete. They are used, almost entirely, to carry unhusked corn from the fields to the house or storehouse.

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The wide shallow basket used for winnowing the chaff from pounded rice or ground corn is called the nikgo or avagang. This basket also is plaited from rattan and thin pieces of bamboo. An increasing number of them are

51:Hart E-3 (1950-1952)1954 OA1 Philippines
Central Bisayan OA14



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> ...do not neglect their duty in sending their children to school because they believe that in a democracy what is paramount is education, which is necessary for good citizenship.[10]

The messages may praise the *principalia* of the *poblacion*. One fiesta program states:

> Such great and prominent men as the late Governor Demetrio Larena, the late Senator Hermenegildo Villanueva, the late Representative Enrique C. Villanueva, the late Governor Guillermo Z. Villanueva, and the late Governor Praxedes Villanueva; all these dead national figures hailed and were reared in . . . (name of *poblacion*).

Such a sentence underlines the personalism typical of most Philippine politics.

Many of the messages, however, have a definite political slant, usually praising the national, provincial, or municipal politicians. In the printed fiesta program of one small *poblacion*, the then Speaker of the House of Representatives wrote:

> You are indeed fortunate in having Congressman... (of the same party as the Speaker) as your representative in Congress. I am happy to tell you that Congressman ... is truly a representative of the people.... He is one of the most able members of the House .... With him, the fortune and future of your town is in safe hands. I urge you, therefore, to extend to him your unqualified support and cooperation.

(This fiesta occurred just before the election in which the congressman was running for a provincial office.)

Below are a few samples of the political aspects of many of the messages printed in the fiesta programs.

Important strides have been made towards the beautification

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[10] This statement is an illustration of how effectively the American Administration (1898-1946) in the Philippines transferred *the American attitude that* education is a panacea for all economic and social problems. As for the *actual influence* of American educational theories and practices in rural Philippines, one noted Filipino educator has written about the "little dent the much-vaunted American-sponsored educational system has made in Philippine rural life." Laya, J.C. *Little Democracies* (Revised edition; Manila: Inang Wika Publishing Co., 1951, p. 6

disadvantage of such heirs to repartition the fields among their younger brothers and sisters. If they did, they would be unable to work all the fields or receive 50 per cent of the harvest; they would receive only the crops raised on their own fields. 428 578

Another case will illustrate how temporary division of the fields of the deceased (or living parents) in Caticugan caused rancor and dissension among the heirs. One father, while he was alive, divided his land between his two sons. Shortly after his death a flood ruined part of the elder son's field near the Mantuyop River. The division had been acceptable to both sons until the flood. After the flood the elder son demanded repartition of the land, arguing his field now was less valuable than that farmed by his younger brother. This quarrel smouldered during my entire residence.

When parents become very old they often live with married children. Sometimes the children are given permission to farm their parents' fields but the latter continue to share in the harvest; the children are their parents' tenants. An old woman in Caticugan had divided her land between her daughter and spinster sister. She still received part of the harvest each year from her field that was cultivated by her son-in-law. It was understood that on her spinster sister's death the latter's property would revert to her niece (i.e., daughter of her elder sister). Other elderly persons retain part 388 ● 428

of their land as insurance against old age and sickness. They state that this property will be given to those who care for them during their last days--usually their children. 428 888

Permanent Division of Property

The permanent division of property is usually made after the deceased parent's hobkas. A hobkas is a memorial service on the first anniversary of an adult's death that normally consists of a novena (prayers at the family altar for nine consecutive evenings) and maybe a memorial mass in the poblacion church. The tenth day of the novena a feast is held in honor of the deceased person. The hobkas costs money; a pig or goat must be slaughtered, food and drink purchased, and if a memorial mass is held a payment is made to the church. These expenses are deducted from the deceased's property before the permanent division is made. If the property were permanently divided before the hobkas, disputes might arise over sharing the cost of the memorial service. 428 765

Sometimes the permanent division of one's property is made after the kaliwasan, the tenth day after the deceased's funeral. (A kaliwasan is a novena that begins the day of one's death with a feast on the tenth day.) The kaliwasan is another expense connected with death in the barrio and the cost is deducted from the deceased's property. In one case in Catiogan a woman's property was permanently divided after her kaliwasan but her heirs